

FRONTISPIECE.



BRONZE HEAD OF HADRIAN, found in the Thames, 1834.
British Museum. (3/8). See p. 44.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON
HISTORICAL MONUMENTS

(*ENGLAND.*)

AN INVENTORY

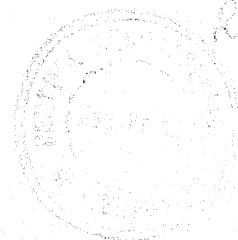
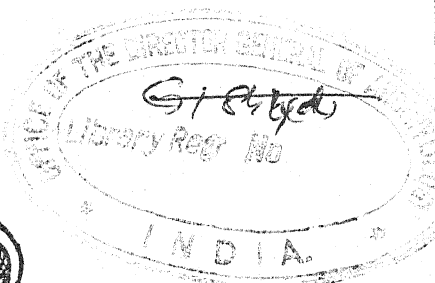
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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	iv
CHAIRMAN'S PREFACE	ix
REPORTS with List of Monuments selected by the Commission as especially worthy of preservation	xi
PUBLICATIONS AND AUTHORITIES REFERRED TO IN THE INVENTORY ..	xv
INTRODUCTION by R. E. M. Wheeler.	
1. Classical Authorities	1
2. Post-Classical writers on Roman London	7
3. The Geological and Geographical Setting	10
4. London in A.D. 43.	19
5. London in A.D. 60.	27
6. Roman London after A.D. 60	33
7. The Status of Roman London	56
8. London in the 5th century	62
INVENTORY.	
A. The Defences	69
The Town Wall	83
The Ditch	94
The Gates	97
The Bastions of the town-wall	99
B. Structures within the Walls	106
C. Structures outside the Walls	145
(a) North of the River.. .. .	145
(b) South of the River	148
(c) Structures in outlying parts of the County of London ..	150
APPENDICES.	
I. Burials	153
II. Inscriptions of Roman London, by R. G. Collingwood	170
III. Terra Sigillata prior to A.D. 60, by T. Davies Pryce.. ..	179
IV. Roman Coinage of London, by G. F. Hill	187
V. Notes on the site of the Roman Bridge at London, by Guy Parsloe	192
VI. List of References on Map A	195
GLOSSARY	197
INDEX	198

LIST OF PLATES.

BRONZE HEAD of HADRIAN, found in the Thames, 1834. In Profile. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i> ..	Frontispiece.
Photograph by British Museum.	Plate.
BRONZE HEAD of HADRIAN, found in the Thames, 1834. Three-quarter. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i> ..	1
From " <i>Guide to Antiq. of Rom. Brit.</i> ", British Museum.	
BRONZE ARM, found in Seething Lane, 1884, and HAND, found in Gracechurch Street, 1866-8. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i> ..	2
BRONZE HAND, found in Lower Thames Street, and BRONZE FOOT found in London. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i> ..	3
BRONZE FORCEPS, found in the Thames, 1840. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i> ..	4
From " <i>Guide to Antiq. of Rom. Brit.</i> ", British Museum.	
PLAN of BASILICA. Survey by H. Hodge (Guildhall Library) ..	5
FRAGMENT of SCULPTURE with three figures, found in London before 1859. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i> ..	6
SEETHING LANE, fragment of sculpture of Mother Goddesses, found about 1840. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i> ..	6
BASTION (10), CAMOMILE STREET. Figure of a soldier, found in 1876. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i> ..	7
From an engraving in " <i>On a Bastion of London Wall</i> ," J. E. Price, 1880; and as existing, 1927.	
SCULPTURED FRAGMENT (Rape of Sabines?), found in London. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i> ..	8
SCULPTURED FRAGMENT (Torso), found in London. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i> ..	8
FRAGMENTS OF SCULPTURE, found in London. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i> ..	9
Putto, etc., forming part of a framed tablet.	
Torso.	
Probably part of a funeral banquet.	
SCULPTURES, found on the site of the Walbrook, 1889. <i>LONDON MUSEUM</i> ..	10
Slab showing Mithras slaying the Bull, etc.	
Fragment of marble figure of a River God.	
A Genius or Bonus Eventus (marble).	
BASTION (10), CAMOMILE STREET. Re-used Sculptures, found in 1876. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i> ..	11
Colossal head of a man.	
Lion.	
GOLDSMITHS' HALL. Altar of Diana, found in 1830. <i>GOLDSMITHS' HALL</i> ..	12
Front.	
Back.	
TOMBSTONE, found at Islington, with a male figure and Greek inscription. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i> ..	12
TOMBSTONE, found in London, with large and small figures. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i> ..	12
TOMBSTONE, found at Islington, with figure of Gladiator and Greek inscription. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i> ..	13
TOMBSTONE, found in Drury Lane, with figures of woman and boy. <i>LONDON MUSEUM</i> ..	13
SCULPTURED STONE, found in Duke Street, Aldgate, 1908, with three small figures. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i> ..	13
SCULPTURED STONES, found in London ..	14
Fragment of a tablet or tombstone with part of a human figure. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i> .	
Fragment of a tombstone with part of a soldier carrying a shield. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i> .	
Figure from Mithraic group. <i>LONDON MUSEUM</i> .	
Figure (of Atys?), found in Bevis Marks, 1849. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i> .	
BASTION (10), CAMOMILE STREET. Re-used carved stones, found 1876. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i> ..	15, 16, 17
COPED TOP of a MARBLE TOMB, found at Great St. Helens, Bishopsgate, 1877. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i> ..	18
GRANITE BASE of a LARGE COLUMN. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i> ..	18
TERMINAL FIGURE, found in St. Mary Axe, 1849 ..	19
From the <i>Victoria County History of London</i> , Vol. I.	
BASTION (8), BEVIS MARKS. Fragments of column, found 1880. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i> ..	19
TOWN WALL (41), QUEEN STREET. Purbeck marble capital and shaft, found 1841. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i> ..	19
CANNON STREET. Carved base stone of a gable, found 1926. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i> ..	20
CAPITAL, found re-used in a wall in London. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i> ..	20
SMALL CAPITAL, part of a larger stone, from Camomile Street Bastion. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i> ..	20

	Plate.
BASTION (9), CASTLE STREET. Re-used stones, found 1884	21
TOWN WALL (3) and BASTION (2), TRINITY PLACE, from a sketch of 1852	22
From " <i>Illustrations of Roman London</i> ," C. Roach Smith.	
TOWN WALL (5), COOPERS ROW, as exposed 1864	23
From <i>Archæologia</i> , LXIII.	
TOWN WALL (27), ALDERMANBURY POSTERN. Sketch showing blind arches exposed 1857	23
From " <i>Illustrations of Roman London</i> ," C. Roach Smith.	
TOWN WALL (7). Part destroyed 1881 for the Blackwall Railway. Sections	24
From a drawing by H. Hodge (Guildhall Library).	
TOWN WALL (4), TRINITY PLACE. View of part destroyed 1882	25
From a photograph in the possession of Dr. P. Norman.	
TOWN WALL (9), JEWRY STREET and CRUTCHED FRIARS. Remains at "Roman Wall House" ..	26
View of the Wall as exposed 1905. From <i>Archæologia</i> , LX.	
Part of remains, as preserved 1927.	
TOWN WALL (21), in LONDON WALL. Sketch of arch for sewer, discovered 1837	27
From " <i>Illustrations of Roman London</i> ," C. Roach Smith.	
TOWN WALL (37), NEWGATE PRISON SITE. Part of wall as exposed 1903	27
From a photograph in the possession of Dr. P. Norman.	
BASTION (7), DUKES PLACE, ALDGATE	28
View from an etching by E. F., mid 18th century.	
View from a copy by Gough, 1763, in " <i>Illustrations of Roman London</i> ," C. Roach Smith.	
BASTION (3), AMERICA SQUARE	29
From a drawing of 1881, by H. Hodge (Guildhall Library).	
BASTION (11), ALL HALLOWS' CHURCH, LONDON WALL. Sketch of 1907	30
From <i>Archæologia</i> , LXIII.	
TOWN WALL (15), and BASTION (9), BEVIS MARKS and CASTLE STREET.	
Section	31
Plan	32
From a drawing of 1884, probably by H. Hodge, in the possession of Dr. P. Norman.	
BASTION (12), ST. GILES'S, CRIPPLEGATE. Section	33
From <i>London and Midsx. Arch. Soc. Trans.</i> , N.S., I.	
BASTION (14), WINDSOR COURT, MONKWELL STREET. Sketch as existing 1865	33
From <i>Illus. Lond. News</i> , Aug. 19th, 1865.	
TOWN WALL and BASTIONS, SITE of CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, now the General Post Office.	
Town Wall (35) and Bastions (18) and (19). Plans	34
Bastion (18). View looking S.W. in 1909	35
Bastion (19). View of interior in 1909	36
Town Wall (35) and Bastion (19). View of inside of wall in 1909	37
From <i>Archæologia</i> , LXIII.	
BASTION (11), ALL HALLOWS', LONDON WALL. Angle-pilaster, re-used in the base	38
From <i>Archæologia</i> , LXIII.	
BANK OF ENGLAND. WELL OF BARREL-STAVES. Stamped Inscription on a Stave	38
From the <i>Antiquaries Journal</i> , VI.	
BROAD STREET (OLD). View of tessellated pavement discovered under the Excise Office, 1854	39
From " <i>Illustrations of Roman London</i> ," C. Roach Smith.	
FENCHURCH STREET. Tessellated Pavement, found 1857. Plan	40
From " <i>Desc. of Rom. Tessel. Pavement in Bucklersbury</i> ," J. E. Price.	
BUCKLERSBURY. Plan and detail of the Chamber containing the tessellated Pavement discovered in 1869 ..	41
From " <i>Desc. of Rom. Tessel. Pavement in Bucklersbury</i> ," J. E. Price, 1870.	
BUCKLERSBURY. Tessellated Pavement found 1869. Coloured Plan	42
From <i>Description</i> by J. E. Price, 1870.	
No. 50, CORNHILL. Pier below corner of St. Michael's Church exposed 1891	43
From a photograph in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries.	
LOMBARD STREET and GRACECHURCH STREET. Central brick pier exposed 1925	43
From a photograph by Dr. William Martin.	
PUDDING LANE. Hypocaust exposed 1836-41	44
From <i>Archæologia</i> , XXIX.	
THAMES STREET (LOWER). Hypocaust at the Coal Exchange, as existing	45
No. 63, THREADNEEDLE STREET. View of Roman Bath exposed 1849	46
From <i>Archæologia</i> , LX.	
ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL, SOUTHWARK. Walls of a Roman house exposed 1840	46
From <i>Archæologia</i> , XXIX.	

	Plate.
BANK OF ENGLAND. Pavement found 1805. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i> . Coloured plan	47
BROAD STREET. Pavement found under the Excise Office, 1854. Coloured plan	48
LEADENHALL STREET. Pavement found at East India House, 1803. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i> . Coloured plan	49
THREADNEEDLE STREET. Pavements found under the French Church, 1841. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i> . Coloured plans	50
SCULPTURED STONES found in London	51
Fragment of human head. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i> .	
Human face. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i> .	
Stone vase. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i> .	
TOWN WALL (41), UPPER THAMES STREET. Fragment with trellis ornament, found 1841. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i>	51
GREENWICH. Arm of a statue found 1902	51
LIVERPOOL STREET. Fragment of a terra-cotta figure found 1872. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i>	52
From <i>Archæologia</i> , LXIII.	
ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL. Roman Altar found 1907. <i>LONDON MUSEUM</i>	52
From <i>Archæologia</i> , LXIII.	
BLOMFIELD STREET. Pottery fragments found 1901 with the pile-structures	53
From the <i>Arch. Journ.</i> , LX.	
SOUTHWARK. Flagon with inscription. <i>LONDON MUSEUM</i>	53
BASTION (2), TOWER HILL. Portions of a sepulchral monument, found 1852. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i>	54
Terminal ornament.	
Part of inscribed stone.	
PLAN showing POSITION OF BURIALS	55
WARWICK SQUARE. Leaden cylinders, found 1881, with a glass vessel inside the second. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i>	56
WESTMINSTER ABBEY. Stone coffin, found 1869. Now in the vestibule to the Chapter House	57
CLAPTON. Marble sarcophagus, found 1867. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i>	57
MINORIES. Sarcophagus, found in Haydon Square, 1854. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i>	57
LEADEN COFFIN-LIDS, found near London. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i>	58
At Battersea Fields, 1794.	
At Old Ford, 1864.	
From the <i>Victoria County History of London</i> , Vol. I.	
MINORIES, leaden coffin-lid, found 1854. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i>	58
From " <i>Guide to Antiq. of Rom. Brit.</i> ", British Museum.	
WARWICK SQUARE. Vase of grey fine-grained igneous rock, found 1881. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i>	59
LUDGATE HILL. Tombstone, found 1669. <i>ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD</i>	60
TOWER HILL. Tombstone, found 1852. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i>	60
BLACKFRIARS. Fragment of a tombstone, found in Playhouse Yard, 1843. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i>	61
LONDON WALL. Inscribed slab, found 1837. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i>	61
MAIDEN LANE. Fragment of a tombstone, found 1842. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i>	61
LUDGATE HILL. Column, found 1806. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i>	62
From a photograph in the possession of the Guildhall Library.	
BASTION (9), CASTLE STREET. Inscribed stone, found 1884. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i>	62
WARWICK LANE. Tile with graffito inscription, found 1886.	63
From <i>Archæologia</i> , LXIII.	
FRAGMENT of a SAMIAN VESSEL, with inscription. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i>	63
FRAGMENT of a SHALE TABLET. <i>GUILDHALL MUSEUM</i>	63
PLANS showing finds of ITALIC and EARLY GAULISH POTTERY	64
CASTS OF COINS of the Roman Mint of London. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i>	65
BRONZE STATUETTES, found in the Thames, etc. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i>	66
BRONZE FIGURES, found in the Thames, etc. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i>	67
GOLD MEDALLION of Constantius I, found near Arras, 1922.	67
From <i>Aréthuse</i> .	
BRONZE STATUETTE of Archer, found in Queen Street, 1842. <i>BRITISH MUSEUM</i>	68
Photograph by British Museum.	

LIST OF PLANS AND OTHER DRAWINGS IN THE TEXT.

PLAN A. LONDON. Showing structural Roman remains	At end of Report
PLAN B. SOUTHWARK. Showing structural Roman remains	Facing p. 150
PLAN C. Of the London district, showing Roman roads and remains	Facing p. 12
PLAN D. Of the London district, showing relief and river systems	Facing p. 12
PLAN OF BASILICA	See Plate 5
PLAN showing positions of burials	See Plate 55
PLAN showing finds of Italic and early Gaulish pottery	See Plate 64
Fig. 1. Bed of the Walbrook. Diagram showing deposits	p. 17
From <i>Archæologia</i> , LX.	
„ 2. Early coarse pottery. Sections and outlines	p. 21
„ 3. Cornhill, Lombard Street and Gracechurch Street Area. Plan	p. 36
„ 4. Leadenhall Market. General view of excavations	p. 37
„ 5. „ „ Wall, No. 1. Sketch	p. 38
„ 6. „ „ Wall, No. 4. Section and Elevation	p. 39
„ 7. „ „ Wall, No. 12. Sketch	p. 40
4-7. From <i>Archæologia</i> , LXVI.	
„ 8. Roman London. Suggested nucleus of street-plan	p. 68
„ 9. City Wall. A typical portion. Section and Elevation	p. 70
„ 10. City Wall. Sections showing foundations	p. 71
From the <i>Victoria County History of London</i> , Vol. I.	
„ 11. City Wall. Tower of London, America Square and Houndsditch. Sections	p. 84
From <i>Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.</i> , XXXVIII.	
„ 12. Culvert, W. of All Hallows' Church. Plan and Section	p. 86
„ 13. Wall, W. of All Hallows' Church. Elevation	p. 87
„ 14. Wall, London Wall, opposite Carpenters' Hall. Section and Elevation	p. 88
12-14. From <i>Archæologia</i> , LX.	
„ 15. Wall at No. 122, London Wall. Section	p. 90
From <i>Archæologia</i> , LXXI.	
„ 16. Christ's Hospital Site. Supposed earthen bank. Section	p. 91
From <i>Archæologia</i> , LXIII.	
„ 17. Wall in Upper Thames Street. Plan and Section	p. 93
„ 18. River Wall, No. 125, Lower Thames Street. Elevation	p. 93
„ 19. Wall and ditch, America Square. Section	p. 95
„ 20. Ditch, America Square. Plan	p. 95
18-20. From <i>Archæologia</i> , LXIII.	
„ 21. Ditch, New Broad Street. Section	p. 95
From <i>Archæologia</i> , LX.	
„ 22. Wall and Ditch, Christ's Hospital. Section	p. 96
„ 23. Two Ditches, Christ's Hospital. Section	p. 96
„ 24. Roman Newgate, with mediaeval reconstructions. Plan	p. 98
22-24. From <i>Archæologia</i> , LXIII.	
„ 25. Wall and Bastion, Camomile Street. Plan, Elevation and Section	p. 101
„ 26. Bastion, Camomile Street. Plan	p. 102
25-26. From "On a Bastion of London Wall," J. E. Price.	
„ 27. Bastion, All Hallows', London Wall. Plan	p. 103

Fig. 28.	Wall and Angle-bastion, Christ's Hospital, now G.P.O.	Sections and Elevations	..	..	..	p. 105
27-28.	From <i>Archæologia</i> , LXIII.					
29.	Bank of England. Roman remains.	Plans and Section	..	..	..	p. 106
30.	No. 101, Bishopsgate Street. Mosaic pavement.	Plans	..	..	..	p. 108
	From <i>Archæologia</i> , XXIX.					
31.	Bucklersbury. Drain.	Sketch	..	..	..	p. 109
	From " <i>Rom. Tessell. Pavement in Bucklersbury</i> ," J. E. Price.					
32.	Bush Lane. Walls.	Diagram, from City Sewer Plan	..	..	..	p. 110
33.	Cannon Street. Bath.	Plan and Sections	..	..	..	p. 112
	From <i>Archæologia</i> , LX.					
34.	Coleman Street. Stream-Depression.	Plan and Section	..	..	..	p. 114
	From <i>Archæologia</i> , LXIII.					
35.	No. 50, Cornhill. Walls.	Plan	..	..	..	p. 115
36.	Nos. 45, 46 and 47, Cornhill. Walls.	Plan	..	..	..	p. 116
37.	Eastcheap. Roadway.	Sections	..	..	..	p. 117
	From <i>Genis. Mag.</i> , 1836.					
38.	Nos. 46 and 47, Fenchurch Street. Walls.	Plan	..	..	..	p. 118
39.	Old Fish Street Hill. Arch.	Sketch	..	..	..	p. 119
	From <i>Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.</i> , I.					
40.	Friday Street and Knight-rider Street.	Wall. Plan and Elevation	..	..	..	p. 120
	From <i>Archæologia</i> , LX.					
41.	Wood Street, Gresham Street, etc.	Walls, etc. Plans	..	..	..	p. 122
	By C. Roach Smith (Guildhall Library).					
42.	Jewry Street. Ditch between Street and City-Wall.	Plan	..	..	..	p. 123
	From <i>Archæologia</i> , LX.					
43.	Queen Victoria Street Area. Walls.	Plan	..	..	..	p. 124
44.	Little Knight-rider Street. Sewer.	Sketch	..	..	..	p. 125
	From <i>Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.</i> , I.					
45.	Leadenhall Street. Remains under East India House.	Plan	..	..	..	p. 126
	From <i>Archæologia</i> , XXXIX.					
46.	Lombard Street. Remains found 1785.	Plan	..	..	..	p. 128
	From <i>Archæologia</i> , VIII.					
47.	No. 42, Lombard Street. Walls.	Plan	..	..	..	p. 129
	From Plan by Mr. O. Campbell Jones.					
48.	London Wall. Pile-Structures.	Plan and Sections	..	..	..	p. 131
	From <i>Anthrop. Rev.</i> , V.					
49.	Lothbury. Walls at Founders' Court.	Plan	..	..	..	p. 132
50.	Miles Lane. Timber and other constructions.	Plan	..	..	..	p. 133
51.	Poultry. Piles, found at Midland Bank 1925.	Plan and Section	..	..	..	p. 136
	From a plan by J. C. Melliss & Co.					
52.	Queen Victoria Street, etc. National Safe Deposit Co.'s premises.	Plan	..	..	..	p. 137
	From " <i>Rom. Antiq. Nat. Safe Dep. Premises</i> ," J. E. Price.					
53.	Royal Exchange. Roman remains.	Section and Sketch	..	..	..	p. 138
	From " <i>Cat. Antiq. Royal Exchange</i> ," Tite.					
54.	St. Paul's Churchyard. Pottery-Kilns.	Plan and Sketch...	..	..	..	p. 140
	From <i>Victoria County History of London</i> , I.					
55.	Lower Thames Street. Remains under Coal Exchange.	Plan and Details	..	..	..	p. 142
56.	No. 62, Threadneedle Street. Bath.	Plan and Section	..	..	..	p. 144
	From <i>Archæologia</i> , LX.					
57.	Threadneedle Street. Remains near Merchant Taylors' Hall.	Plan and Section	..	..	..	p. 145
	From <i>Archæologia</i> , LXIII.					
58.	Blomfield Street. Pile-Structures.	Plan and Section	..	..	..	p. 146
59.	" " " "	Plan and Sections	..	..	..	p. 147
60.	" " " "	" "	..	..	..	p. 148
61.	" " " "	Sections of coarse pottery, found 1858-61	..	..	..	p. 148
	From <i>Arch. Journ.</i> , LX.					
62.	Borough High Street. Pavement.	Plan and Section	..	..	..	p. 149
	From <i>Archæologia</i> , LXIII.					
63-69.	Burial urns, etc.	Sections and Elevations	..	..	..	pp. 152, 156, 158, 160, 162, 166, 168
70-90.	Drawings of inscriptions		..	..	..	pp. 170-177
91-93.	Terra Sigillata or Samian Ware.	Sections and Elevations	..	..	..	pp. 178, 182, 184

CHAIRMAN'S PREFACE.

WHEN the Commission decided that the importance of the subject made it necessary to devote a special volume to Roman London, it became evident that only by the appointment of an *ad hoc* Committee to collate and sift the enormous mass of available but scattered material, could an adequate and authoritative report be obtained.

Of the structural remains above ground of the Roman City and its walls only thirteen portions are now visible. But a vast amount of information can be gathered from records of past and present excavations, covered up almost as soon as made, and valuable deductions have been, and can still be made, from the burial and other urns that from time to time have been disclosed, as well as from carvings, tomb-stones and coins, together with inscriptions or accounts existing in museums or buried in printed documents of very varying value.

The Commission therefore owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. R. G. Collingwood, Dr. P. Norman, Mr. F. Reader, Mr. T. Davies Pryce, Mr. J. P. Bushe-Fox, Mr. Quintin Waddington, Dr. Mortimer Wheeler and Miss Taylor for accepting the invitation to join this Committee. The Commission were directly represented on the Committee by the Technical Editor of the Commission, Mr. A. W. Clapham, and by Mr. W. Page, the General Editor of the Victoria County Histories, where, in the London Volume, the chapters by his contributors form in fact the basis of our Committee's enquiry.

I can only shortly summarize the qualifications of the scholars for the task allotted to them. Thus, Mr. Collingwood, the Chairman of the Committee, is a well known contributor of articles on the study of Roman Britain and a Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, and in this volume deals with the section on Roman inscriptions. Mr. Bushe-Fox has an exceptional knowledge of Romano-British pottery, and has excavated Roman sites at Wroxeter, Richborough and elsewhere. Mr. Clapham is primarily responsible for collecting of the details in the Inventory incorporated in the present report. Dr. Norman has throughout his long life made a special study of all matters relating to ancient London, and, for a great many years, has taken personal note of all sites in the city as they were excavated for the erection of new offices. Mr. Davies Pryce is part author of the standard English work on "Terra sigillata," while for many years Mr. Francis Reader, like Dr. Norman, has observed and recorded the discovery of Roman remains in the city. Miss M. V. Taylor at one time assisted our late Commissioner, Professor Haverfield, and is Secretary to the Society for the Promotion of Roman studies. Mr. Quintin Waddington is Museum Clerk at the Guildhall Library in London, and has special knowledge of the documentary records housed in that library. Lastly, Dr. Mortimer Wheeler has been Director of the National Museum of Wales, and is now the Keeper of the London Museum, and is actively interested in investigating Roman sites and problems in various parts of the country. Further assistance was given to this Committee by experts to whom they referred, as is mentioned in their report, the most notable among whom were Dr. G. F. Hill, the Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, and Mr. Guy Parsloe.

Whilst we may admit at once that many of the fragments of evidence recorded in this volume may never acquire any special significance, others—and it is at present impossible to say which—will almost certainly achieve unsuspected value in some future context. It is for this reason that the somewhat lengthy catalogue of existing evidence has been recorded by the Committee as the essence of their Report. It will be noted, however, that Dr. Wheeler, in the interesting introductory section for which he is responsible, thought it desirable to embark upon certain tentative generalizations from the evidence in question. Thus, the examination of the early red-glazed pottery of Italic or Gaulish origin, has re-opened the question as to whether London began as a semi-Roman trading settlement in the time of Cunobelin, or whether it sprang up only as a consequence of the Claudian conquest. Similar researches have thrown new light upon the extent of the city destroyed in the year 60 by Boudicca. Again, the much discussed question of the date of the town-walls is subjected to detailed and critical investigation both of the direct archaeological evidence and of continental analogies. A considerable advance has also been made in our knowledge of the extent of the great Basilica which stood on and adjoining the site of Leadenhall Market, and is now known to have been the largest Roman building yet discovered in Britain, and probably one of the largest in the Roman provinces. With help from this building and other data, a reasoned attempt has been made to reconstruct a nucleus of the street plan of the Roman city. Lastly, two sub-sections are devoted to a consideration of the political status of Roman London, and to the vexed problem of the history of the city in the 5th century.

Such then are the main problems, and the evidence that will be found in respect of them in this volume, while the choice of the actual site of London as a Roman city of importance has been graphically illustrated by the map prepared for the Committee by Mr. Duncan Montgomerie, a member of the Commission, in the coloured contour map, facing page 12, and the additional map of the London district based on the geological survey, showing the open or wooded spaces that were probably available for the first settlers on which to found the mighty capital of which Londinium was destined to become the focus.

CRAWFORD & BALCARRES.

19th April, 1928.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ROMAN LONDON.

THE Committee appointed to inquire into, and make an Inventory of, the Roman monuments of the County of London, having now completed its investigations, begs to report to the Commission as follows :—

1. With the assistance of the Staff of the Royal Commission, we have prepared a volume on the structural remains of Roman London which were recorded or otherwise known prior to the end of 1927. We have further noted such of the non-structural finds as throw some special light on the history and development of the Roman city. We have also prepared and selected the necessary photographs and drawings to illustrate this volume.

2. The volume consists of Introduction, Inventory and Appendices. The sources of our information are indicated under each entry in the Inventory, and those of the illustrations reproduced in the volume are further specified in the List of Illustrations (p. iv). Information previously unpublished is followed by the initials of the member of the Committee responsible for the record.

3. The special nature of the subject has induced us to follow the general plan adopted by the Commission in the description of the Roman Monuments of Colchester (Essex iii).

4. Our thanks are due to the following persons, not on our Committee, who have contributed sections on particular subjects :—Mr. G. F. Hill, M.A., Litt.D., LL.D., F.B.A., F.S.A., Keeper of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, for the Appendix dealing with the Roman coins of London ; and Mr. Guy Parsloe, M.A., of the Institute of Historical Research, for the Appendix dealing with the site of the Roman bridge.

5. Our thanks are further due to the following persons who have materially assisted us in our researches :—Mr. Reginald A. Smith, B.A., F.S.A., Keeper of the British and Mediaeval Antiquities in the British Museum ; Mr. Felix Oswald, D.Sc., F.S.A. ; Mr. H. J. Melliss, B.A., A.M.Inst.C.E., F.G.S. ; Mr. D. A. J. Buxton, M.A., F.S.A. ; Mr. William Martin, LL.D., F.S.A. ; Mr. F. C. E. Erwood, F.S.A. ; Mr. J. L. Douthwaite, Chief Librarian to the City of London ; Mr. J. F. Coldwell, of the City Engineer's Office ; Professor H. E. Butler, M.A. ; Mr. H. Dewey, F.G.S. ; Miss E. Jeffries Davies, M.A., Reader in the History and Records of London in the University of London ; Sir George Macdonald, K.C.B., LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A. ; Mr. R. C. Bosanquet, M.A., F.S.A. ; Mr. F. Lambert, M.A., F.S.A. ; and Mr. D. Montgomerie, F.S.A., a member of the Commission.

6. We also wish to thank the British Museum, the Society of Antiquaries of London, the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, and the Haverfield Bequest Committee for the loan of blocks ; and the Society of Antiquaries of London, the Guildhall Library, the Royal Archæological Institute, the British Archæological Association, and the Illustrated London News for permission to reproduce illustrations from their publications or original drawings in their possession.

7. We wish to point out that the following structural relics of Roman London are still visible :

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) TOWN WALL, Wardrobe Tower and adjoining section of Wall (pp. 83 and 99). | (7) BASTION, in St. Giles' Churchyard (p. 104). |
| (2) TOWN WALL, section standing in Trinity Place (p. 83). | (8) TOWN WALL, between St. Botolph's Churchyard, Aldersgate, and the General Post Office (p. 91). |
| (3) TOWN WALL, section in Cooper's Row (p. 83). | (9) TOWN WALL, and the Bastion in yard of General Post Office (pp. 91 and 104). |
| (4) TOWN WALL, section in Roman Wall House (p. 85). | (10) TOWN WALL, fragment at back of Warwick Square (p. 92). |
| (5) TOWN WALL, and bastion (wall only visible) under and adjoining All Hallows' Church (pp. 86 and 103). | (11) THAMES STREET, LOWER, building with hypocaust under the Coal Exchange (p. 142). |
| (6) TOWN WALL, in St. Alphage's Churchyard, London Wall (p. 90). | (12) Brick pier under shop at corner of Gracechurch Street and Central Avenue (p. 127). |
| | (13) Walling under No. 50, Cornhill (p. 115). |

Of these we recommend Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 11 as especially worthy of preservation.

8. We wish in conclusion to express our thanks to Mr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, M.C., D.Lit., F.S.A., Honorary Secretary of our Committee, for the extremely able and thorough way in which he has discharged the duties of his office.

Signed :

R. G. COLLINGWOOD (*Chairman*).

M. V. TAYLOR.

PHILIP NORMAN.

FRANCIS W. READER.

T. DAVIES PRYCE.

A. W. CLAPHAM.

QUINTIN WADDINGTON.

WM. PAGE.

J. P. BUSHE-FOX.

R. E. MORTIMER WHEELER,
Hon. Secretary.

9th February, 1928.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE ANCIENT AND HISTORICAL MONUMENTS
AND CONSTRUCTIONS OF ENGLAND.

REPORT

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

1. MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY.

We, the undersigned Commissioners, appointed to make an Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions connected with or illustrative of the contemporary culture, civilization and conditions of life of the people in England, excluding Monmouthshire, from the earliest times to the year 1714, and to specify those which seem most worthy of preservation, humbly submit to Your Majesty the following Report on the Monuments in Roman London, being the Eleventh Interim Report on the work of the Commission since its appointment.

2. We tender to Your Majesty our respectful thanks for the gracious message which accompanied Your Majesty's acceptance of our Inventory of the Monuments of Huntingdonshire.

3. We have to record with great regret the death of our colleague Sir John Francis Fortescue Horner, a Knight Commander of Your Majesty's Royal Victorian Order, and an original member of this Commission.

4. Owing to the exceptional character of the research required to determine the extent and nature of the occupation of Roman London, we felt it necessary in connection with the present Inventory to devolve a large part of our duties on experts from outside. At the same time, we placed our Investigating Staff entirely at their disposal, and we are glad to report that on our invitation the following authorities on the varied aspects of Roman London as disclosed by the visible or reasonably authenticated finds in connection therewith, placed their services freely and unrestrictedly at the disposal of Your Commissioners.

5. Under Mr. R. G. Collingwood, a Referee to the Commission on Roman Monuments, as Chairman, and with Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, Keeper of the London Museum and likewise a Referee on Roman Monuments, as Secretary, a Committee was formed consisting of Mr. J. P. Bushe-Fox, Mr. A. W. Clapham (Technical Editor to the Commission), Mr. W. Page (a Commissioner), Mr. T. Davies Pryce, Mr. Francis W. Reader, Miss M. V. Taylor, and Mr. Quintin Waddington. They were desired to report on the structural remains of Roman London, as recorded or otherwise known prior to the end of 1927, and to take note of such of the non-structural finds as might throw light on the history and development of the Roman City.

6. The unanimous Report which they have presented to us precedes immediately this our Report and has been accepted by us in its entirety. So great indeed is its value in our opinion that we humbly submit it to Your Majesty as the considered Report of your Commissioners, and, at the same time, we wish to recognize our special indebtedness to Mr. Collingwood, Dr. Wheeler, Mr. A. W. Clapham, Mr. T. Davies Pryce, Dr. G. F. Hill and Mr. G. Parsloe, for the important contributions for which they are individually responsible, as well as to our investigators, Mr. J. W. Bloe and Mr. P. K. Kipps, for the photographs and drawings which illustrate the text.

Signed :

CRAWFORD & BALCARRES (*Chairman*).

DILLON.

J. G. N. CLIFT.

E. J. HORNIMAN.

ARTHUR J. EVANS.

C. HERCULES READ.

M. R. JAMES.

D. H. MONTGOMERIE.

WILLIAM PAGE.

C. R. PEERS.

HARTINGTON.

GEORGE H. DUCKWORTH,

Secretary.

19th April, 1928.

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INTRODUCTION.

By R. E. M. WHEELER.

(NOTE.—The numbers cited in connection with structures have reference to the large plan at the end of the volume.)

1. CLASSICAL AUTHORITIES.

London is mentioned by two classical historians, by a panegyrist, and in seven lists compiled in classical times or from classical authorities for geographical, administrative or ecclesiastical purposes. The historians, Tacitus and Ammianus Marcellinus, were both contemporary with the events which they describe in this connection, and the facts and implications which they compress into their brief references to the city form the framework of its early history. Cassius Dio, writing nearly two centuries after the event, seems to refer to the London district in his description of the Roman conquest, and is therefore quoted below ; but the passage is vague and unsatisfactory and adds nothing certain to the history of the site (*see* p. 19). The panegyrist, probably Eumenius who was at one time private secretary to Constantius Chlorus, distorts the campaign whereby Britain was recovered from Allectus, in order that Constantius, after losing himself and reaching London only in time to police the city, might appear as the real hero of the occasion. To this distortion, however, we owe not merely the bare mention of London (omitted in all other references to the campaign), but a fleeting picture of the city as a natural point of convergence both by land and by sea. The geographers add little. Ptolemy, in including London amongst the cities of Kent, expresses the continental point of view that London was the natural horizon of arrivals from the south-east ; a view which may be contrasted with that of Saxon Britain, in which London went with Essex, not with Kent. The Antonine Itinerary emphasises the geographical dominance of London in the British road-system. The Ravennas and Stephen of Byzantium, late compilers depending presumably on earlier material, add nothing to our knowledge. The *Notitia Dignitatum*, or official summary of the military and civil administration of the Empire, appears for the most part to represent the state of affairs in Britain soon after 400, and seems to indicate that London was then the main financial centre of the province. The ecclesiastical documents show that London was a headquarters of organized Christianity by 314, and preserve the names of two London bishops of the Roman or sub-Roman era.

TACITUS (c. A.D. 55–120), describes the revolt of Boudicca and the Iceni in south-eastern Britain and the hurried return of the Roman governor, Suetonius Paulinus, from North Wales :—

“At Suetonius mira constantia medios inter hostis Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniae non insigne, sed copia negotiatorum et commeatumum maxime celebre. ibi ambiguus an illam sedem bello deligeret, circumspecta infrequentia militis, satisque magnis documentis temeritatem Petilii coercitam, unius oppidi damno servare universa statuit. neque fletu et lacrimis auxilium eius orantium flexus est quin daret profectionis signum et comitantes in partem agminis acciperet : si quos inbellis sexus aut fessa aetas vel loci dulcedo attinuerat ab hoste oppressi sunt. eadem clades municipio Verulamio fuit, quia barbari omissis castellis praesidiisque militarium, quod uberrimum spolianti et defendentibus intutum, laeti praeda et laborum segnes petebant. ad septuaginta milia civium et sociorum iis quae memoravi

locis cecidisse constitit. neque enim capere aut venundare aliudve quod belli commercium, sed caedes patibula ignes cruces, tamquam reddituri supplicium ac praerepta interim ultione, festinabant." [*Annals*, XIV, 33, Oxford Ed.]

"Now Suetonius with remarkable determination marched straight through the midst of the enemy to London, a place not indeed distinguished by the title of 'colony' but crowded with traders and a great centre of commerce. There he deliberated whether he should stand and fight on that spot, but, considering the small numbers of his troops, and in view of the fact that Petilius [whose legion had already been routed by the rebels] had only his rashness to thank for his defeat, he decided to sacrifice the single town in the interest of the province as a whole. Neither the tears nor the entreaties of the stricken citizens bent him from his purpose. He gave the order for departure, taking those who would follow as part of his column; and those whom the weakness of sex, frailty of age, or reluctance to leave their homes retained within the town were overwhelmed by the enemy. The same disastrous fate befell the municipality of Verulam; for the rebels, avoiding fortifications and places under military protection, and eager for booty easily won, sought only what was most worth the plundering and was unguarded by defenders. In the places I have mentioned [Colchester, London and Verulam] no less than 70,000 Roman citizens or other members of the loyal population are estimated to have perished. For the enemy neither took nor sold prisoners nor indulged in any of the traffic incidental to ordinary warfare, but massacred, hanged, burned and crucified with a headlong fury that was stimulated by the knowledge of forthcoming retribution and by the desire to snatch meanwhile at the vengeance within reach."

CASSIUS DIO (c. A.D. 150-235), in describing the advance of the Roman army of invasion under Aulus Plautius in the year 43, apparently refers to the London district although he does not name the town:—

"ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τῶν Βρεττανῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ταμέσαν ποταμόν, καθ' ὃ ἔς τε τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐκβάλλει πλημμύροντός τε αὐτοῦ λιμνάζει, καὶ ῥαδίως αὐτὸν διαβάντων ἅτε καὶ τὰ στέριφα τὰ τε εὐπορά τοῦ χωρίου ἀκριβῶς εἰδόντων, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπακολουθήσαντές σφισι ταύτῃ μὲν ἐσφάλησαν, διανηξαμένων δ' αὖθις τῶν Κελτῶν, καὶ τινῶν ἐτέρων διὰ γεφύρας ὀλίγον ἄνω διελθόντων, πολλαχόθεν τε ἅμα αὐτοῖς προσέμιξαν καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν κατέκοψαν, τοὺς τε λοιποὺς ἀπερισκέπτως ἐπιδιώκοντες ἔς τε ἔλη δυσδιέξοδα ἐσέπεσον καὶ συχνοὺς ἀπέβαλον."

[*Ρωμαϊκὴ Ἱστορία*, LX, 20.]

"Thence the Britons retired to the river Thames at a point near where it empties into the ocean and at flood-tide forms a lake. This they easily crossed because they knew where the firm ground and the easy passages in this region were to be found; but the Romans in attempting to follow them were not so successful. However, the Germans swam across again and some others got over by a bridge a little way up-stream, after which they assailed the barbarians from several sides at once and cut down many of them. In pursuing the remainder incautiously, they got into swamps from which it was difficult to make their way out, and so lost a number of men" [*Loeb Series Trans.*, VII, 419].

PTOLEMY the geographer (c. A.D. 100-151) mentions London thrice.

"Καὶ Λονδινίου τῆς Βρεττανίας Νοῖόμαγον εἰπὼν νοτιωτέραν μιλίοις νθ', βορειωτέραν αὐτὴν διὰ τῶν κλιμάτων ἀποφαίνει [ὁ Μαρῖνος]." [*Geogr.* I, 15; ed. Firmin-Didot, I, 41.]

"And [Marinus], after saying that Noiomagus was 59 miles more to the S. than Londinium in Britain, shows clearly by its relative position that it is to the N. of it."

“Μεθ’ οὗς ἀνατολικώτατοι Κάντιοι, ἐν οἷς πόλεις Λονδίνιον κ’ νδ’, Δαρούερνον κα’ νδ’, Ρουτουπίαι κα’ L’ δ’ νδ’.” [II, 3.]

“Next to whom [i.e. the Silures], the most easterly are the Cantii, amongst whom the principal cities are Londinium (20°, 54°), Daruernum (21°, 54°), and Rutupiae (21° 45', 54°).”

“Τῆς δὲ Ἀλουίωνος νήσου τὸ μὲν Λονδίνιον τὴν μεγίστην ἡμέραν ἔχει ὥρων ἑῷ, καὶ διέστηκεν Ἀλεξανδρείας πρὸς δύοσι ὥραις δυσι καὶ γό.” [VIII, 3.]

“In the Island of Albion, Londinium has its greatest day of 18 hours, and differs from Alexandria to the westward by 2½ hours.”

THE ANTONINE ITINERARY (possibly early 3rd-century) begins or ends seven of its fifteen *itineraria* at London:—

- | | | |
|------------|------------|---------------------------------|
| 473, 1. | Iter III. | A Londinio ad portum Dubris. |
| 473, 6, 7. | Iter IV. | A Londinio ad portum Lemanis. |
| 474, 1. | Iter V. | A Londinio Luguvalio ad vallum. |
| 476, 7. | Iter VI. | A Londinio Lindo. |
| 477, 10. | Iter VII. | A Regno Londinium. |
| 478, 6. | Iter VIII. | Ab Eburaco Londinio. |
| 479, 10. | Iter IX. | A Venta Icinorum Londinio. |

Moreover, 466, 5, 6, Iter II, “A vallo ad portum Ritupis,” passes through Londinium. [*Itinerarium Antonini Augusti*, ed. Parthey and Pinder.]

EUMENIUS (c. A.D. 260–311), in his Panegyric to the Caesar Constantius Chlorus, describes how, in the year 296, Constantius sailed from Boulogne under adverse weather conditions to recover Britain from the hands of the usurper Allectus. He proceeds:—

“Siquidem, ut ex ipsorum relatione comperimus, ad tempus ipsum tantae se dorso maris nebulae miscuerunt, ut inimica classis, apud Vectam insulam in speculis, atque insidiis, collocata, ignorantibus omnino hostibus praeteriretur, ne vel moraretur impetum, quamvis non posset obsistere. Jam vero quod idem ille vestro auspicio invictus exercitus, statim atque Britanniae litus invaserat, universis navibus suis injecit ignes, quinam alii nisi divinitatis vestrae monitus impulerunt? aut quae alia ratio persuasit nullum praesidium fugae reservare, nec vereri dubia bellorum, nec Martem, ut dicitur, putare communem, nisi quod vestri contemplatione constabat, de victoria non posse dubitari?

“Ipse ille autem signifer nefariae factionis, cur ab eo litore, quod tenebat, abscessit, cur classem portumque deseruit, nisi quod te, Caesar invicte, cujus imminetia vela conspexerat, timuit jam jamque venturum? Utcunque cum ducibus tuis maluit experiri, quam praesens majestatis tuae fulmen excipere. Demens, qui nesciebat, quacunque fugeret, ubique vim vestrae divinitatis esse, ubi vultus vestri, ubi signa colerentur.

“Te tamen ille fugiens incidit in tuorum manus; a te victus, a tuis exercitibus oppressus est. Denique adeo trepidus, et te post terga respiciens, et in modum amentis attonitus properavit ad mortem, ut nec explicarit aciem, nec omnes copias, quas trahebat, instruxerit, sed cum veteribus illis conjurationis auctoribus, et mercenariis cuneis barbarorum, tanti apparatus oblitus, irruerit. Adeo, Caesar, hoc etiam reipublicae tribuit vestra felicitas, ut nemo fere Romanus occiderit, imperio vincente Romano. . . .

“Enimvero, Caesar invicte, tanto deorum immortalium tibi est addicta consensu omnium quidem, quos adortus fueris, hostium, sed praecipue internecio Francorum, ut illi quoque milites vestri, qui per errorem nebulosi, ut paulo ante

dixi, maris abjuncti ad oppidum Londiniense pervenerant, quidquid ex mercenaria illa multitudine barbarorum praelio superfuerat, cum, direpta civitate, fugam capescere cogitarent, passim tota urbe confecerint; et non solam provincialibus vestris in caede hostium dederint salutem, sed etiam in spectaculo voluptatem. O victoria multijuga” etc. [*Panegyricus Constantio Caesari*; in *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, I, lxvii].

“Indeed, as we learn from the mouths of eye-witnesses, such thick mists descended upon the surface of the sea at that very moment that the hostile fleet [of Allectus], watching in ambush by the Isle of Wight, was passed by entirely without the knowledge of the enemy; so that it was prevented even from delaying the advance which it was in any case impotent to withstand. And now whose inspiration, other than that of your own divine self, was it that impelled the invincible army under your heaven-sent guidance, as soon as it reached the shores of Britain, to set fire to all its ships? Or what judgment commended that no base should be garrisoned, that no fear should be felt for the chances of war, or that Mars should not, as he is said, be thought impartial? What judgment other than that which emerged from your own firm consciousness that victory could not be in doubt? As for the standard-bearer of that infamous faction [i.e. Allectus], why did he beat a retreat from the shore which he then held? Why did he desert his fleet and harbour?—Unless because he trembled that you, unconquered Caesar, whose threatening sails he had beheld [across the Channel], were ever about to come upon him? At any rate he was less unwilling to make trial of your generals than to await the fulminations of your own awful presence. Madman, who knew not that, wherever he might fly, the power of your divinity was present in every place where your person and the standards of your troops were revered.

“Nevertheless, fleeing from you, he fell into the hands of your men; vanquished by you, he was left for your armies to crush. At length he was reduced to such a state of panic, with you upon his heels, that dazed with mad terror he hurried to his death; he neither set his battle in array nor marshalled all the forces which he hurried along with him, but, with those old associates of his in the conspiracy and with detachments of mercenaries levied amongst the natives of the frontiers, forgetful of all his military preparations, he rushed without thought to his doom. Thus, Caesar, to your favoured fortune was due also this boon to the State, that a Roman victory was won with scarcely any loss of Roman blood

“Moreover, unconquered Caesar, by the approval of all the immortal gods it was granted to you to inflict such slaughter upon the enemy, especially the Franks, that those also of your troops who [instead of landing on the south coast] had been led astray by the sea-fog to which I have referred and had at last reached London found the survivors of the barbarian mercenaries plundering the city, and, when these began to seek flight, landed and slew them in the streets. And not only did they bring safety to your subjects by the timely destruction of the enemy, but, in addition, induced a sentiment of gratitude and pleasure at the sight. O teeming victory!”

THE COUNCIL OF ARLES.—Amongst the clerics who attended the Council of Arles in A.D. 314 were three British bishops:—

“Eborius Episcopus de civitate Eboracensi provincia Britannia.

“Restitutus Episcopus de civitate Londinensi provincia suprascripta.

“Adelfius Episcopus de civitate Colonia Londinensium” [*Corbie Codex*, 6th–7th century].

" Eborius, bishop of York in the province of Britain.

" Restitutus, bishop of London in the said province.

" Adelfius, bishop of *Colonia Londinensium*."

The last name is clearly corrupt, and has been variously amended to *Colonia Legionensium* and equated with Caerleon-on-Usk; to *Colonia Lindumensium* and equated with Lincoln; and to *Camulodunensium* and equated with Colchester. The first amendment is on general grounds unlikely; the last is supported by the alternative reading *ex civitate Colonia* which occurs in the Toulouse Codex [A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, I, 7; F. Haverfield, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XI, 419; and S. N. Miller, *ibid.*, XLII (1927), 79].

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS (c. 325–390) mentions London thrice. In the year 360 incursions of the Picts and Scots necessitated special action, and Julian, who was himself detained at Paris by the threatening attitude of the Alemanni, sent his general Lupicinus to Britain.

" Ire igitur ad haec ratione vel vi componenda Lupicinum placuit, ea tempestate magistrum armorum, bellicosum sane et castrensis rei peritum, sed supercilia erigentem ut cornua, et de tragico (quod aiunt) coturno strepentem: super quo diu ambigebatur avarus esset potius an crudelis. Moto igitur velitari auxilio, Aerulis scilicet et Batavis, numerisque Moesiacorum duobus, adulta hieme dux ante dictus Bononiam venit, quaesitisque navigiis, et omni imposito milite, observato flatu secundo ventorum, ad Rutupias sitas ex adverso defertur, petitque Lundinium, ut exinde suscepto pro rei qualitate consilio, festinaret ocus ad procinctum" [*Rerum Gestarum Lib. XX*, 1; *ed.* C. U. Clark, 1910].

" Therefore, to deal with the situation either through diplomacy or by the strong hand, it was decided to send Lupicinus, who was at that time *magister armorum*, certainly a good soldier and experienced in matters of the camp, but of haughty demeanour and smacking somewhat of the tragic actor; in whom it was long a matter of doubt whether avarice or cruelty predominated.

" Accordingly with a flying column of Aeruli and Batavi, together with two battalions of Moesians, the aforesaid general came in the midst of winter to Boulogne; and collecting transports and embarking his troops, he sailed with a fair wind to Richborough on the opposite coast. Thence he marched to London, that he might there take such decision as the aspect of affairs demanded and might more quickly hasten to the task in hand."

The second mention is in connection with the similar but more serious crisis of the year 367–8. The commander of the Saxon Shore in Britain had been slain and the commander of the northern frontier captured. Valentinian, who was in Gaul, despatched his general Theodosius to the island.

" Postremo ob multa et metuenda, quae super eadem insula rumores adsidui perferebant, electus Theodosius illuc properare disponitur, officiis Martiis felicissime cognitus: adscitataque animosa legionum et cohortium pube, ire tendebat, praeunte fiducia speciosa. . . .

" Eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi, Dicalydonas et Vecturiones, itidemque Attacotti, bellicosa hominum natio, et Scotti, per diversa vagantes, multa populabantur. Gallicanos vero tractus Franci et Saxones, isdem confines, quo quisque erumpere potuit, terra vel mari, praedis acerbis incendiisque, et captivorum funeribus omnium violabant.

" Ad haec prohibenda, si copiam dedisset fortuna prosperior, orbis extrema dux efficacissimus petens, cum venisset ad Bononiae litus, quod a spatio controverso

terrarum, angustiis reciproci distinguitur maris, attolli horrendis aestibus adsueti, rursusque sine ulla navigantium noxa, in speciem complanari camporum, exinde transmeato lentius freto, defertur Rutupias, stationem ex adverso tranquillam. Unde cum consecuti Batavi venissent et Heruli, Iovique et Victores, fidentes viribus numeri, egressus tendensque ad Lundinium, vetus oppidum, quod Augustam posteritas appellavit, divisus plurifariam globis, adortus est vagantes hostium vastatorias manus, graves onere sarcinarum, et propere fuis, qui vinctos homines agebant et pecora, praedam excussit, quam tributarii perdidere miserrimi. isdemque restituta omni praeter partem exiguam, impensam militibus fessis, mersam difficultatibus suis antehac civitatem, sed subito, quam salus sperari potuit recreatam, ovantis specie laetissimus introit " [*Lib.*, XXVII, viii, §§ 3, 5-9].

"Lastly, on account of the many formidable reports which a continual stream of messengers brought about that island, Theodosius was appointed to proceed thither, and ordered to make great haste. He was an officer already distinguished for his prowess in war, and, having collected a numerous force of cavalry and infantry, he proceeded to assume the command in full confidence. . . .

"It will be sufficient here to mention that at that time the Picts, who were divided into two nations, the Dicalidones and the Vecturiones, and likewise the Attacotti, a very warlike people, and the Scots were all roving over different parts of the country and committing great ravages. While the Franks and the Saxons who are on the frontiers of Gaul were ravaging the country of their neighbours, the Gauls, wherever they could effect an entrance by sea or land, plundering and burning, and murdering all the prisoners they could take.

"To put a stop to these evils, if a favourable fortune should afford an opportunity, this most energetic general set out for the very ends of the earth; and when he reached the coast of Boulogne, which is separated from the opposite coast by a narrow strait of the sea that, ebbing and flowing, now is raised by tides of horrible violence and now sinks flat as a level plain, without doing any injury to those afloat upon it, he crossed the strait in a leisurely manner, and reached Richborough, a sheltered haven on the opposite coast.

"And when the Batavi and Heruli, and the Jovian and Victorian legions who followed from the same place, had also arrived, he then, relying on the force of numbers, landed and marched towards London, an ancient town which has since been named Augusta; and dividing his army into several detachments, he attacked the predatory and straggling bands of the enemy who were loaded with the weight of their plunder, and having speedily routed them while driving prisoners in chains and cattle before them, he deprived them of their booty which they had carried off from these miserable tributaries of Rome.

"To whom he restored the whole except a small portion which he allotted to his own weary soldiers; and then, amid scenes of jubilation which recalled a Roman triumph, he made his entry into the city which had just before been overwhelmed by disasters, but was now suddenly re-established almost before it could have hoped for deliverance."

The third mention relates to the concluding phase of the same episode, in 369:—

"Theodosius vero, dux nominis inclyti, animi vigore collecto, ab Augusta profectus, quam veteres appellavere Lundinium, cum milite industria comparato sollerti, versis turbatisque Brittannorum fortunis, opem maximam tulit oportuna ubique ad insidiandum barbaris praeveniens loca, nihilque gregariis imperans cuius non ipse primitias alacri capesseret mente. Hocque genere cum strenui militis munia

et praeclari ducis curas expleret, fuis variis gentibus et fugatis, quas insolentia nutriende securitate, adgredi Romanas res inflammabat, in integrum restituit civitates et castra, multiplicibus quidem damnis adflicta, sed ad quietem temporis longi fundata" [*Lib.*, XXVIII, iii, §§ 1-2].

"But Theodosius, a general of outstanding reputation, marched with resolution from Augusta, which the ancients used to call Lundinium, with an army which he had collected with great energy and skill; bringing a mighty aid to the embarrassed and disturbed fortunes of the Britons. His plan was to seek everywhere favourable situations for laying ambushes for the barbarians; and to impose no duties on his troops of the performance of which he did not himself cheerfully set the example.

"And in this way, while he performed the duties of a gallant soldier, and showed at the same time the prudence of an illustrious general, he routed and vanquished the various tribes in whom their past security had engendered an insolence which led them to attack the Roman territories: and he entirely restored the cities and the fortresses which through the manifold disasters of the time had been injured or destroyed, though they had been founded to secure the age-long tranquillity of the country."

The NOTITIA DIGNITATUM [*Oc.* XI, 37; ed. Seeck, 150] includes amongst the "praepositi thesaurorum" (who are "sub dispositione viri illustris comitis sacrarum largitionum"), under the sub-heading "In Britannis," the solitary entry:—

"Praepositus thesaurorum Augustensium."

"Officer in charge of the Treasury at Augusta (London)."

The British section of the *Notitia* has been ascribed in part to c. 300 by Mommsen, to 428 by Bury, and to c. 400 by other writers [see J. B. Bury in *Journ. Rom. Studies*, X, 131; R. G. Collingwood, *Ib.*, XII, 74; F. S. Salisbury, *Ib.*, XVII]. The use of the name *Augusta* seems to indicate that the entry above quoted is after, and perhaps considerably after, 326 (see p. 59).

ST. JEROME.—The martyrology wrongly ascribed to St. Jerome but compiled apparently not later than 630 on a 5th-century foundation mentions an otherwise unknown bishop of London, the record of whose martyrdom dates from the time when the city was known as "Augusta"—i.e. presumably from the 4th century:—

"VII Idus Febr.—In Britannis, civitate Augusta, natalis Auguli Episcopi" [A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, I, 27].

STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM (probably early 6th-century), in his geographical dictionary entitled 'Εθνικά refers to London:—

"Λινδόνιον, πόλις τῆς Βρεττανίας. Μαρκιανὸς ἐν περίπλῳ αὐτῆς. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Λινδονίως."

"Lindonion, a city of Britain; Marcian in his circumnavigation thereof is my authority. The name of the inhabitants is Lindonini" [ed. Meineke, 417].

ANONYMUS RAVENNAS, or the Ravenna Geographer (7th-century, based on earlier authorities), mentions London thrice:—

"Londinis" [V, 31, p. 425, 14; ed. Parthey and Pinder].

"Landini" [V, 31, p. 428, 7].

"Londinium Augusti" [V, 31, p. 429, 12].

2. POST-CLASSICAL WRITERS ON ROMAN LONDON.

John Horsley, in an age still prone to err on the side of credulity, saw fit to open the Introduction to his scholarly *Britannia Romana* (1732) with the protest: "To enter into the fabulous accounts of the monkish historians would be lost time and

labour." To-day it would be pedantic to insist upon this austere attitude towards mediaeval fable; rather may it be permitted to regard the legends which grew up round the earlier history of London as, in a secondary sense, an integral part of that history. We may therefore follow Stow rather than Horsley, and begin with GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH (1100 ?–1154) in a summary list of those whose work has, in one way or another, enriched the literature of the subject. Let Stow's own Elizabethan paraphrase stand:—

"As the Romane writers to glorifie the citie of Rome drew the originall thereof from Gods and demie Gods, by the Troian progenie: so Giffrey of Monmouth the Welsh Historian, deduceth the foundation of this famous Citie of London, for the greater glorie thereof, and emulation of Rome, from the very same originall. For he reporteth that Brute, lineally descended from the demy god Eneas, the sonne of Venus, daughter of Iupiter, about the yeare of the world 2855. and 1108. before the natiuitie of Christ, builded this city neare vnto the riuer now called Thames, and named it Troynouant or Trenouant. But herein as Liuie the most famous Hystoriographer of the Romans writeth, Antiquitie is pardonable, and hath an especial priuiledge, by interlacing diuine matters with humane, to make the first foundation of Cities more honourable, more sacred, and as it were of greater maiestie. King Lud (as the foresaid Giffrey of Monmouth noteth) afterward, not onely repaired this Cittie, but also increased the same with faire buildings, Towers and walles, and after his owne name called it Caire-Lud, as Luds towne, and the strong gate which he builded in the west part of the Cittie, he likewise for his owne honour named Ludgate. This Lud had issue two sons, Androgeus, and Theomantius, who being not of age to gouerne at the death of their father, their vncle Cassibelan took upon him the crowne: about the eight yeare of whose raigne, Iulius Caesar arriued in this land, with a great power of Romans to conquer it, the manner of which conquest I will summarily set down out of his owne Commentaries, which are of farre better credit, then the relations of Giffrey Monmouth."¹

Two other mediaeval chroniclers deserve a passing notice, as they provide information from an unknown source and not elsewhere recorded, which may possibly be based on earlier British records or tradition. The first of these, JOCELIN, a monk of Furness (c. 1200), wrote a work *De Britonum Episcopis* from which Stow seems to have copied the list of the Archbishops of London; the work itself is now lost. The second GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS (c. 1146–1220), in a work entitled *De Invectionibus*, is the sole authority for the statement that London was the capital of Flavia Caesariensis (*below*, p. 61).

JOHN STOW himself (c. 1525–1605) was sufficiently near to Geoffrey to follow him in his etymology of the supposed earlier name of London. "*Caesar* nameth the Cittie of Trinobantes, which hath a resemblance with *Troy nova*, or *Trinobantum*, having no greater difference in the Orthographie, than changing *b.* into *v.*" Indeed Stow, although he was, for all his lapses, the first scientific historian of London, contributes little to our knowledge of the Roman city. His only reference of any length to the antiquities of that period is his account of the cemetery in Spitalfields (*below*, p. 159). His *Survey of London* was first published in 1598 and was reprinted in 1603, 1613, 1633, etc. The standard edition is that of C. L. Kingsford (2 vols., 1908).

From Stow onwards, the significant references to Roman London are cited elsewhere in this volume in their appropriate contexts, and in the present Section

¹ For other references to London in Geoffrey's work, see *below*, p. 16 and 63*n.*

little more than a list of the principal names will suffice. The first of these names is that of WILLIAM CAMDEN (1551–1623), whose *Britannia*, published first (in Latin) in 1586, quickly ran through six editions and was enlarged to folio form in 1607. It contains a summary of the history of Roman London with some account of its defences, but includes little original information. The editions of Edmund Gibson, 1695 and 1753, and Richard Gough, 1789 and 1806, contain some additional information on Roman discoveries in London and its vicinity.

Another contemporary writer, JOHN WEAVER (1576–1632) makes incidental mention of Roman burials in London in his *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, published in 1631, but his interests were almost entirely mediaeval.

SIR WILLIAM DUGDALE (1605–1686) also was mainly interested in mediaeval and later matters. His works, however, contain certain incidental references to Roman remains; in particular, his *History of Imbanking and Drayning*, 1662, includes an account of discoveries in Southwark.

SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN (1632–1723), after the Great Fire of 1666, was appointed "Surveyor-General and principal Architect for rebuilding the whole city" (*Parentalia*, 263). He thus had unrivalled opportunities for observing the Roman remains which then came to light. His observations, however, preserved in *Parentalia*, are of quite a casual nature and except for a fairly detailed account of the finds on the site of St. Paul's they are of no great value. His general conclusions as to the extent and arrangement of the Roman city are on a level with the general state of archaeological knowledge of his age, but he exhibited an incredulity in advance of his time when dealing with the supposed sites of the Roman temples of Diana and Apollo (St. Paul's and Westminster).

DR. JOHN WOODWARD (1665–1728) was not primarily interested in antiquities. He published, however, a pamphlet—"An account of some Roman Urns . . . with reflections on the Antient and Present state of London," 1713, containing two letters addressed to Wren and Hearne, dated 1707, on various Roman discoveries in London. Dr. Woodward's account of the town-wall at Bishopsgate, and the burials just inside it, is marked by careful and exact observation.

JOHN STRYPE (1643–1737) published an enlarged edition of Stow's *Survey* in 1720, containing a certain amount of information regarding discoveries of Roman remains at that period.

WILLIAM STUKELEY (1687–1765), in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, 1724, includes some remarks upon the approaches to the city and elaborate accounts, with illustrations, of supposed camps of Caesar at St. Pancras and Hounslow, but adds nothing of value to the study of Roman London.

WILLIAM MAITLAND (1693?–1757), in his *History of London*, 1739, devoted several chapters to the Roman period. His remarks show little power of selection or judgment, but include a few valuable notes on matters which came under his own immediate notice.

JAMES PELLER MALCOLM (1767–1815), in his parochial history entitled *Londinium Redivivum*, 1802–7, barely touched upon Roman antiquities, but occasionally included a useful note upon individual discoveries.

CHARLES KNIGHT (1791–1873) allotted to the Roman period 24 pages of the discursive work which he edited and largely wrote under the title of *London* (1841–4). This short chapter represents the first attempt to bring together a reasoned summary of the archaeology of the subject, and, although some of the views expressed are naturally out of date, it incorporates information of permanent value.

ALFRED JOHN KEMPE (1785?–1846) contributed useful reports on current discoveries of Roman structures and other relics in London to *Archæologia* and the *Gentleman's Magazine* from 1816 onwards, and was largely responsible for directing C. Roach Smith's interests towards archæology.

CHARLES ROACH SMITH (1807–1890) is the outstanding name in connection with the antiquities of Roman London. For many years he was a chemist in the City, and, amidst much discouragement, spent his spare time in watching London excavations and in collecting antiquities from them. His collection was ultimately acquired by the British Museum; and his records, preserved in the pages of *Archæologia*, the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, *Collectanea Antiqua*, *Illustrations of Roman London*, and other works, are the permanent basis of research in the subject.

Other 19th- and 20th-century writers on Roman London include SIR WILLIAM TITE, the architect of the Royal Exchange, who published in 1848 a *Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities found in the Excavations at the New Royal Exchange*; GENERAL PITT-RIVERS who (as Colonel Lane Fox) recorded in the *Anthropological Review* (1867) the excavation of pile-structures in the valley of the Walbrook; E. P. LOFTUS BROCK and J. E. PRICE, both of whom contributed notes on current discoveries to the British Archæological Association and other bodies, whilst the latter published monographs on *The Roman Tessellated Pavement found in Bucklersbury* (1870) and *A Bastion of London Wall* (1880); DR. PHILIP NORMAN and MR. FRANCIS W. READER, to whose work, published in *Archæologia*, the *Journal of the Royal Archæological Institute* and elsewhere, we are indebted for much of our knowledge of the Roman town-wall and other structures; MR. FRANK LAMBERT who, during his tenure of office at the Guildhall Museum, watched London excavations and published his observations in a series of papers in *Archæologia*; and DR. WILLIAM MARTIN and others who have contributed valuable notes on Roman discoveries to the *Transactions* of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society. Mr. Reader collaborated with MR. REGINALD A. SMITH and MR. H. B. WALTERS in the preparation of the Roman chapter in the *Victoria County History of London* (1908), which has been of the utmost service in the preparation of the present volume; and F. HAVERFIELD and SIR GEORGE MACDONALD have subsequently published concise recensions of the evidence, the former in the *Journal of Roman Studies* (1911), and the latter in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (1927). Other summaries include *Londinium: Architecture and the Crafts* (1923), by PROFESSOR W. R. LETHABY; and *London: its Origin and Early Development* (1923), by MR. WILLIAM PAGE.

3. THE GEOLOGICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING.

Attempts have been made on two occasions to establish a permanent metropolis elsewhere than at London; the supremacy of Colchester, however, was short-lived, while Winchester was always a dynastic rather than a national capital. Only in ecclesiastical administration—by the diversion of the archiepiscopal see to Canterbury at the beginning of the 7th century—has the metropolitan authority of London found a permanent rival. With this exception, the concurrence of peculiarly favourable geological and geographical conditions that determined the origin of the city has equally decided her destiny; and an introductory note on the nature of these conditions is, therefore, doubly necessary to any discussion of her early history.

For fuller information the reader is referred to the Geological Survey Drift-maps (sheets 256, 257, 270 and 271), issued by the Ordnance Survey, and to the Memoirs on London and the adjacent districts issued since 1921 by the Geological Survey of England and Wales.

The primary importance of the Thames estuary as the main gateway into Britain from the Continent is manifest at most periods from the Bronze Age onwards and requires no emphasis. We may pass, therefore, immediately to the more local problems of the city and its environs. London stands somewhat S. of the centre of the great chalk-basin which extends from southern Hertfordshire on the one side to the North Downs of Surrey and Kent on the other. N. of the Thames, the chalk last emerges in the neighbourhood of Watford, whence it dips south-eastwards beneath an accumulation of Tertiary deposits, to re-appear S. of the river in the neighbourhood of Sutton, Croydon, Farnborough and Dartford. Of the deposits which fill this basin, superficially the most extensive is the London Clay. This is occasionally capped (as at Hampstead) by patches of light Bagshot sand, and overlies alternating sands and clays which come to the surface sporadically S. of the river; but of more importance than these in the present context are the deposits of river-gravels which have here and there been formed upon the Clay and have covered it locally with a clean, dry metalling that was to determine the extent of urban habitation here until the end of the 17th century.

The patches of gravel with which we are particularly concerned are three in number: (1) a large triangular area, with a base extending from the former mouth of the Fleet river at Blackfriars to the alluvium of the Lea at Blackwall, and with its apex at Lower Clapton; (2) a smaller area extending westwards from the Fleet to Westminster; and (3) a large, irregular stretch extending southwards from Southwark to Camberwell. All these regions were occupied in Roman times, but one of them offered special attractions. The south-western corner of the first-mentioned takes the form of two small hills rising to a maximum height of about 50 ft., and divided by the shallow bed of the former Walbrook, which joined the Thames on the W. of the present site of Cannon Street Station. These two hills were both commanding and accessible; but their determining advantage was that they lay opposite to the third of our gravel oases at Southwark. Here is the lowest point in the Thames valley at which two readily traversable areas are thus confronted; here may have been the approximate tidal limit in Roman times; and here, under appropriate conditions, was the obvious focus of land-borne, river-borne and sea-borne traffic.

The appropriate conditions were twofold. In order to appreciate them it is necessary to reconstruct the general aspect of the district before its natural vegetation was swept away by the hand of man. The tracts of gravel may be supposed to have supported an open tree-growth with light scrub, and with alder and willow along the banks of streams such as the Walbrook or the Fleet.¹ The surface would drain readily, but ample fresh water would be found at the junction of the gravel with the clay. In short, these gravel islands were from every standpoint suitable for human occupation. On the other hand, beyond them to the N. and N.W. stretched many miles

¹ The areas shown as gravel on the Geological Survey Drift Maps include in fact occasional patches of overlying brick-earth which are too small in extent to appear on the one-inch scale. For example, brick-earth is found on the gravel at St. Paul's (where the Romans appropriately established kilns) and in the neighbourhood of King William Street (*see* p. 32). These patches would tend to increase locally the density of the natural vegetation; and, similarly, other small local variations in the subsoil which are not indicated on the map would slightly modify the general statements made in the text in regard to the ancient distribution of heath and forest.

of the heavy London Clay, ill-drained and closely covered with oak-forest, with a dense shrub-layer of hazel, sloe, hawthorn and brambles—a jungle impossible to clear save by maintained and intensive labour, and relieved only by rare patches of heath or light birchwood on the sands at Hampstead or Harrow.

Thus, gripped by forest but easily accessible by water, London looks naturally southwards and seawards. The first condition for a prosperous London is, therefore, maritime trade. In itself, however, this condition is insufficient to explain the growth of the city; for innumerable objects, not infrequently of foreign type, found in the bed of the river and along its banks show that throughout the Bronze and Early Iron Ages the Thames estuary had been already the main inlet for overseas commerce and immigration. But the earlier settlers, concentrating upon the easy river-highway, had had no special reason for staying their progress at the future site of London. Rather had they found their way upstream to the more friendly reaches of the river at Hammersmith and Mortlake, where long stretches of gravel flank the comparatively narrow waterway on both sides. The site of London only came into prominence when a further condition became insistent—when regular distribution towards the hinterland to the N. and the S. became as important as up-river traffic, and when the lowest convenient crossing of the Thames was called into use as the natural point of disembarkation for this overland trade. Such trade, again, implies a strong and wealthy central authority, capable of making and maintaining long roads through the uninhabited forest-lands of the interior. The two historical conditions requisite for developing the natural potentialities of the site were, therefore, regular foreign intercourse and effective centralized government. When these conditions, and with them London, came into being will be discussed in the next section.

It has been suggested by Haverfield and others, though without emphasis, that the southern rather than the northern bank of the Thames may have borne the first Roman settlement. Certain it is that early Roman pottery, together with Roman buildings and burials of various dates, has been found in Southwark. The historical position of these discoveries will be considered later, but the physiographical problems which they raise are appropriate to the present section. Southwark has been included, above, amongst those regions, rendered specially suitable for human habitation by deposits of gravel. Nevertheless, to-day almost the whole of the tract lying between the river and a line drawn roughly E. and W. from Deptford and New Cross to Lambeth—a tract about 4 miles long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles deep—is 5 or 6 ft. below Trinity High Water Level.¹ Within this tract the only area which rises definitely above the tide is at Bermondsey, the name of which proclaims the site to have been formerly an island. Here the Trinity High Water contour encloses a space about one-third of a mile long and half-a-mile wide. Apart from this, two other areas may have been comparatively dry: Horsleydown, between Bermondsey and the river; and St. George's Fields, represented now by St. George's Circus and Borough Road, nearly a mile W. of Bermondsey. It is clear, however, that these limited and scattered refuges are not sufficient to account for the distribution of Roman occupation in London S. of the Thames, and the explanation must be sought elsewhere.

Two explanations have been offered. The first, put forward with a wealth of valuable detail by Mr. Codrington,² is that the Romans built a riverside embankment about 7 miles long and 12 ft. high, extending from Deptford to Vauxhall, and thus

¹ Trinity High Water is $12\frac{1}{2}$ ft. above Ordnance Datum.

² T. Codrington, "London South of the Thames," *Surrey Arch. Col.*, XXVIII, 111 ff., with map.

PLAN C.



PLAN D.



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excluding the tide from the area in question. Some such embankment is known to have existed at least as early as the 13th century, and there is evidence that the Roman engineers were quite capable of draining marshes and erecting sea-walls.¹ On the other hand, Mr. F. C. J. Spurrell and others have pointed to a gradual change in the relative level of tide and land-surface along the Thames estuary since Roman times and have maintained that "of banks against the tide in the district below Purfleet there are none surviving of the Roman period, while above that place none or but the slightest ones were needed, and no signs of any can be found."²

Of the two views, the latter is unquestionably correct. At Tilbury the structural remains of Romano-British huts can still be seen *in situ* on the foreshore at a depth of about 13 ft. below Trinity High Water,³ and many other evidences of occupation in this period at a correspondingly low level have been recorded, along both banks of the river, from Westminster downwards.⁴ The gradual lowering of the land-level relatively to sea-level is indeed a well-known phenomenon along the more southerly shores of Britain and the adjacent shores of the Continent, and has been proceeding intermittently since early neolithic times. It is marked by submerged layers of peat, silt, clay, and forest, and has inspired countless legends of "engulfed cities" and the like. One of these sunken forests is noteworthy in the present context. "In the marshes of Long Reach and nearer London, the upper layer of the great mass of peat supported a forest of birch, elm, hazel and yew, with many others including oak. The yew-forest is a remarkable feature—as the yew is intolerant of water and cannot live in salt—yet the yew-forest stretches across the whole marsh at Dartford, Dagenham, Rainham, Erith, and Plumstead (as well as elsewhere)."⁵ The stubs of the trees, in some cases upwards of 18 inches in diameter, were found *in situ* "on both sides of the river bank in Long Reach" at a depth of about 12½ ft. below Trinity High Water—i.e. at about the same average depth as that of Roman relics from the estuary. No absolute equation of the two is possible on the present evidence, but the extent and level of the sensitive yew-forest at least indicate that the tidal-flow was comparatively restricted in the Thames estuary at a time which is not likely to have been remote from that of the Roman occupation. In other words, the level of high tide must have been upwards of 13 ft. (probably at least 15 ft.) below its present level in relation to the existing land-surface.⁶

If this datum be applied provisionally to the Southwark area, it at once becomes apparent that the greater part of the original surface stood safely above the former high-tide level. Roman remains are recorded to have occurred there on twenty sites

¹ Tacitus, *Agricola* 31, and the Roman centurial stone found in the sea-wall of Monmouthshire, have been cited in this context.

² *Journ. Royal Arch. Institute*, XLII, 269 ff.

³ Roy. Com. on Hist. Mons. (Eng.) *Essex S.E.*, 38-9. For the depth, I am indebted to Mr. H. J. Melliss, who, in connection with the building of a jetty, made a borehole within a few feet of the huts in 1923. The huts may well have extended to a yet greater depth, since erosion has obliterated the lower limit of the settlement.

⁴ See Spurrell, *loc. cit.*, 274 ff. Compare also the submergence of some of the Essex "red-hills." See Reader and Wilmer, Report of the Red Hills Exploration Com. (Society of Antiquaries of London), 3.

⁵ Spurrell, *loc. cit.*, 270. This statement contains an inaccuracy in that peat does not actually "support" forest trees.

⁶ No discussion need be attempted here of the various factors (such as subsidence, the deposit of silt, the shrinkage of reclaimed land flanking the river, the possibility that the concentration of the tidal wave between river-walls may have tended to raise the high-tide level, etc.), which may have contributed to this result. Only, in regard to the shrinkage of reclaimed land, it is worth noting that between 1850 and 1906 the construction of low-level sewers in Southwark, by draining the subsoil water, lowered the surface by more than two feet over a considerable area.—Codrington, *loc. cit.*, 161.

at an average depth of $9\frac{1}{2}$ ft. below Trinity High Water, and only in one instance, where the depth is given as 17 ft., does it exceed 15 ft.—a depth which is itself abnormal. These maxima must have been quite close to the old high-tide level—a fact which would adequately account for the frequent discovery of alluvial deposit and of pile-substructures in association with Roman remains there, but at the same time indicates that there was no necessity for any extensive system of embanking in Roman times.¹

One further point arises from these considerations. The submergence of the land-surface since Roman times has not only changed the relative levels of land and tide; it has affected the whole floor of the estuary and led to its gradual encroachment westwards. The action would be progressive submergence, leading to greater tidal flow and this in turn to increased scour and consequent widening and deepening of the channel. Allowing for a 15 ft. submergence since Roman times, tidal action at the site of London Bridge must have been very much less than at present and the conditions much more favourable for a crossing-point. The range of tidal action must have ceased a good deal below its present limit at Teddington, and it is not unlikely that, as in the case of other Roman settlements at the heads of estuaries, Roman London was established at, or only a short distance below, the tidal limit at the time.

To turn now to the topography of the actual site of the City. At the outset it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that the natural surface—normally gravel but occasionally brick-earth or alluvial clay—lies at a depth of from 10 to 30 ft. below that of the existing streets. This difficulty has hitherto prevented any closely accurate survey of the contours of the site, and the drastic levelling-influence of streets and buildings is not easy to appreciate.² The main features, however, appear to have been as follows. At a distance of rather less than three quarters of a mile from each other lay the summits of the two hills (marked now by Leadenhall Market on the E. and St. Paul's Cathedral on the W.) at a height of 50 ft., more or less, above Ordnance Datum. Between them lay the valley of the Walbrook, steep towards its mouth at Dowgate (on the western side of Cannon Street Railway Station) but sloping more gradually from the present site of the Mansion House northwards. To this stream, forming as it did the central landmark of the ancient city, it will be necessary to return. On each side of it the hills fell sharply southwards to the river with an average drop of 1 in 16. A slightly more gradual slope, where Ludgate Hill and Snow Hill now lie, carried the western bluff to the banks of the Fleet or the Turnmill Brook (now Bridge Street and Farringdon Street), which probably received a small tributary from a re-entrant on the site of Smithfield Market. This re-entrant marked the N.W. limit of the city and influenced the line of the town-wall at this point (but *see also* p. 79). Similarly, the northern stretch of the wall followed approximately the flank of a shallow depression falling slightly from W.N.W. to E.S.E. through Finsbury, but partially interrupted by a small natural or artificial salient at Aldgate and a rather broader one at Bishopsgate. The south-eastern corner of the city was bounded by a

¹ The entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under 1114 has been cited as indicative of a comparatively dry Southwark as late as the 12th century: "In this year also was so great an ebb-tide everywhere in one day, as no man remembered before, so that men went riding or walking over the Thames eastward of London Bridge."

² A useful sketch-map of the present contours of the City is included by Mrs. H. Ormsby in *London on the Thames* (1924), which also contains a concise account of the physical features of the site and its environs.

further re-entrant dividing Tower Hill from the corresponding knoll on which the Mint now stands. To the E. and N.E. the gravel plateau, at a maximum height of about 40 ft., undulates towards the wide and shallow valley of the Lea.

It has been seen that the natural axis of the Roman site was the Walbrook, and this small stream played so great a part in the subsequent development of the city that a somewhat detailed consideration of its course and physical history is essential to the proper understanding of the subject. The information accumulated by a series of observers, from Tite and Kelsey onwards, and here collated by Mr. A. W. Clapham, is enough to make it unlikely that any subsequent evidence will throw much fresh light on the subject.

The following account, though based upon the evidence contained in the various papers cited at the end of the section, will be found not always to agree with the conclusions arrived at by the observers themselves. This is in part due to the fuller light cast on the subject by later discoveries and in part to the conflict of opinion which must always arise in a discussion of this nature. It can only be suggested that the account here put forward provides the simplest explanation of the facts observed.

The original course of the Walbrook, before the building of the Roman city, has been observed and noted in various places. Its sources consisted of a number of small streams rising to the N. of Hoxton and Shoreditch. Five of these rivulets, according to Tite, still existed in sewers in the district of Finsbury, where they united to form the Walbrook. Between this point and the Thames the united stream flowed at the bottom of a gradually broadening depression, washed out by storm-water in the surface of the natural gravel.

At the northern limit of the city this depression was about 150 ft. wide; farther S., near the Bank of England, it had increased to 250 ft., and at its outfall it was perhaps some 300 ft. wide. The depth of the depression below the banks also increased towards the S., being about 8 ft. at London Wall and over 15 ft. near the Bank of England. In its passage through the city the main stream was fed by at least two considerable tributary channels, one flowing in a little S. of the wall and the other making a junction at the E. end of Poultry. It has often been asserted that the lower part of the Walbrook channel formed a tidal inlet, but whether this was the case in Roman times is an open question. That the broad depression formed by the stream remained without any considerable deposit on its bed and banks before the establishment of the Roman city is proved by the uniform presence of Roman antiquities in the lowest stratum of the deposit which subsequently filled it, and also by the fact that the structure of the town-wall, where it crosses the depression, is accommodated to the fall of the ground in such a way as to prove that the original depression was still largely unencumbered when the wall was built, the culvert being at or near the bottom of the depression.

One curious feature contemporary with the stream-bed in its early state deserves particular notice. On five sites, within and without the town-wall, large quantities of human skulls have been found, accompanied by very few other human bones. Wherever these discoveries have been scientifically noted, the skulls were found to lie on the actual gravel banks or bed of the channel, and one was partly built over by the town-wall. The presence of the skulls alone, or with only a minimum quantity of other bones, may perhaps imply that they had been deposited along the banks by the action of storm-water, the rounded shape of the skull accounting for its greater mobility as compared to the other bones. This implies a very large deposit of human remains higher up the course of the stream, at a date either preceding or very early in the Roman occupation.

Another explanation is suggested by a passage in Geoffrey of Monmouth [*Hist. Britonum*, V, 4] describing the capture of the city by Asclepiodotus: the defenders being all killed except one legion, its commander Gallus "surrendered himself and his men to Asclepiodotus, who was disposed to give them quarter; but he was prevented by a body of Venedotians, who rushed upon them, and the same day cut off all their heads upon a brook within the city, which from the name of the commander was afterwards called in the British tongue Nantgallim and in the Saxon, Gallembourne." This stream is identified by Speed with the Walbrook. It is certainly remarkable that a circumstance related by the romancer Geoffrey should be so closely illustrated by an archaeological discovery. The place and the circumstances exactly equate and it is only in the date that the account does not fit in with the facts. Is it possible that some remote traditional echo of an actual event had been preserved by Geoffrey's informants and that Boudicca and not Asclepiodotus was responsible for a wholesale execution?

The establishment of the Roman city involved an immediate alteration in the conditions of the stream-channels within the limits of habitation. The earliest method of confining the stream appears to have been the erection of enclosing walls on the top of the banks of the depression. Remains of these walls have been found lining the depression of the tributary stream near the foot of Coleman Street. This method, even if it were universally used within the city, and of this there is no evidence, can have subsisted only for a short time; for the filling up of the stream-channels began quite early in the Roman period, as is indicated by the date of the objects and coins found in the lowest deposits. The rapidity of accumulation of this deposit near the main bed of the Walbrook is shown by the discoveries of General Pitt-Rivers on a site to the S. of London Wall. Here the deposit, composed almost entirely of black earth, was some 8 ft. thick, the whole belonging to the Roman period, as was proved by the discovery of Roman leather shoes, etc., up to the top. This accumulation can only be accounted for on the supposition that the broad depression of the stream was used by the Romans from the first as a repository for refuse, the deposit being increased and solidified by the surface water drainage from the streets and house-roofs on the adjoining slopes.¹ That a central channel, probably of quite small dimensions, was kept open is indicated by the discovery of two or more culverts discharging into open ditches, found in the neighbourhood of London Wall and designed initially to carry the water of the various streams under that barrier.² The area thus recovered from the broad stream-valley on both sides was early built over, some of the timber-structures recorded by Pitt-Rivers having piles driven into the original gravel-bed. At a rather later date more substantial buildings were erected, and at numerous points on both sides of the stream remains of tessellated and other pavements have been found, proving that towards the close of the Roman period the stream was confined to a quite narrow channel even as near its mouth as Cannon Street.

¹ In some places there may have been a definite levelling up of the stream-depression. Thus on the Bank of England site (see p. 106) an unstratified deposit of black occupation-earth, 8 ft. thick, was observed overlying the earliest remains of Roman occupation; it contained a certain amount of pottery, none of it necessarily of later date than the 1st century. This deposit was apparently of the same nature as that observed by Pitt-Rivers and there is at least a probability that it was the result of the destruction of the City of Boudicca.

² These culverts (see p. 87-9) were carried, in the form of built sewers, to an indeterminate distance (20 ft. or more) beyond the wall, both within and without the city. The discoveries on the main channel of the brook perhaps indicated that, at a later date, it became necessary to pierce a second culvert, five feet above the original opening.

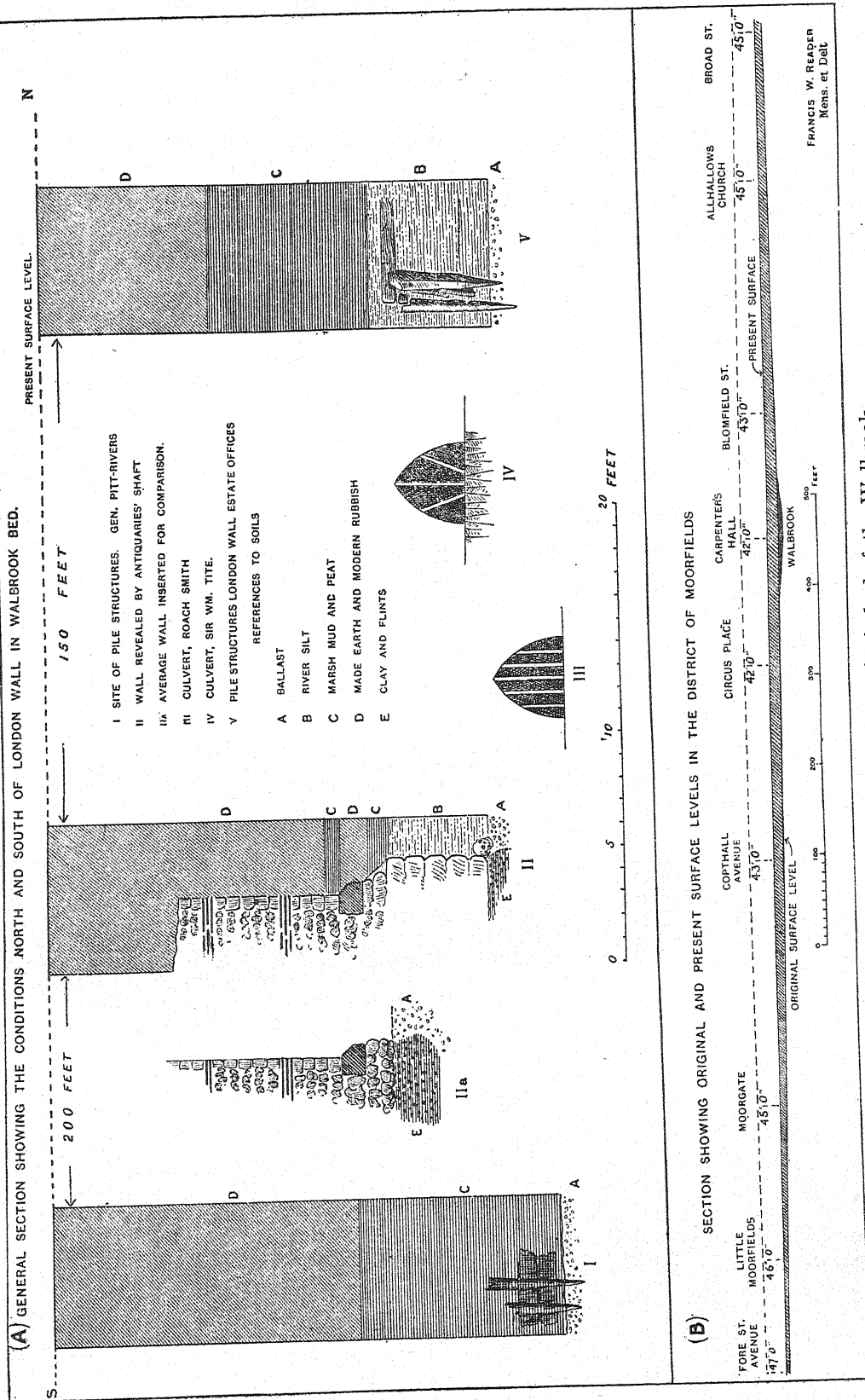


FIG. 1. Diagram showing deposits in bed of the Walbrook.
From *Archeologia* LX, by permission.

We have so far considered only the conditions S. of the city-wall ; to the N. of this barrier a rather different course of development seems indicated by the investigations of Mr. F. W. Reader on the W. side of Blomfield Street. Here the total Roman deposit was about 8 ft. thick, much the same as at the corresponding site studied by General Pitt-Rivers within the wall, but its composition was quite different. Only the top 3 ft. consisted of black earth, the remainder, down to the original gravel-bed, being composed entirely of river sand and silt. This sand would appear to represent the deposit brought down by the stream while its course was still open, though confined, first by the culverts which conducted it under the wall, and secondly by the timber-structures built on the sloping banks of the depression which formed its bed. These constructions would appear to have been erected some time after the first obstruction, caused by the wall and its culverts, for the following reasons :— (a) The piles penetrate into the original gravel to a depth not sufficient of itself to ensure stability ; and (b) the enclosures formed by the camp-sheathing were filled with made earth to form a platform and this made earth rested on a deposit of sand and silt about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick above the gravel ; the surface of this deposit must thus have been the surface of the ground when the pile-structures were first built. That this date was hardly later than Trajan is indicated by the consistent evidence of the pottery found with these structures.

Much the same conditions were observed in the shaft sunk by the Society of Antiquaries immediately outside the wall in 1905. Here, however, the silt was a foot less in thickness than in Blomfield Street and was immediately surmounted by a band of black marsh deposit.

It would seem probable that the conditions represented by the deposits of silt and the construction of the pile dwellings continued until well on in the Roman period ; that is to say, that the culverts were kept open and were sufficient to deal more or less effectively with the normal flow of water, the silt being presumably the result of storm-water which temporarily choked the culverts. The deposit of black earth or mud on the top of the silt, however, points to a different state of affairs. There is ample evidence that the culverts at last became entirely blocked and that the city-wall was thus transformed into a vast dam holding back the waters of the Walbrook and eventually producing the fen or marsh of Moorfields, which subsisted throughout the Middle Ages. The evidence already adduced points to the beginning of this state of affairs towards the close of the Roman period, and with this the subsequent evidence is entirely in accord. It is clear that once the culverts became permanently blocked the first place of deposit would be the depression, now greatly reduced in depth, of the original stream-bed. The marsh conditions would spread more gradually over the surrounding area, the water eventually finding its way under the foundations of the city wall and producing a not very dissimilar state of affairs on the S. side of that boundary also. The 3 ft. of black earth, containing Roman remains, found by Mr. Reader, represents the first stage of this process—the filling-up of the stream-depression and its immediate neighbourhood. The investigations of Mr. F. Lambert in Finsbury Circus show that the Roman deposit was confined to the surface of the gravel or to a reed-layer 1 ft. thick, both levels being overlaid by the black marsh deposit which contained no Roman remains. This seems conclusive evidence that the great Marsh of Moorfields was not formed, except to a limited extent neighbouring on the town-wall, before the close of the Roman period, more especially as the objects found by Mr. Lambert below the marsh deposit almost all belonged to the later Roman period [Roach Smith in *Arch.*, XXIX, 152 ; Tite in *Cat. Antiq. Roy. Exch.*, xxxi ; Pitt-Rivers in *Anthrop. Rev.*, V (1867), lxxi ; Reader in *Journ. Roy. Arch. Inst.*, LX, 137 ; Norman and Reader in *Arch.*, LX, 169 ; Lambert in *Arch.*, LXXI, 75.]

4. LONDON IN A.D. 43.

South-eastern Britain was overrun by the troops of the Roman emperor Claudius in A.D. 43. Whether London was founded under the new régime, or whether the Roman city developed round a pre-Claudian nucleus, is an old problem which is still a new one. The discussions to which it has given rise have tended to converge upon (i) the *a priori* likelihood that an open, well-watered, accessible and fairly commanding site such as that of London would have attracted prehistoric settlers; and (ii) the fact that the name of London, however interpreted,¹ is of Celtic origin, with the inference that the settlement must therefore have been a "Celtic" foundation. Like all such arguments, the former can only stand if supported by tangible evidence, whilst the latter is nullified by the well-known preference of the Romans for native names, even for frontier-posts planted by them on previously uninhabited sites. Haverfield, whose own conclusion was that "either there was no pre-Roman London, or it was a small and undeveloped settlement, which may have been on the S. bank of the Thames," refers in this connection to the frequency with which modern Europeans have used a native nomenclature for towns which they have themselves founded in their colonies; he might to-day have cited Canberra as an apposite illustration. Before accepting Haverfield's qualified rejection of a pre-Roman London, however, it is desirable to review the evidence in the light of the discoveries and experience which have accumulated during the sixteen years since he wrote.

The literary evidence, quoted in Section 1 (p. 1), is clear on one point: Tacitus, writing of circumstances within the experience of his own generation, states that in the year 60 London was a busy and populous trading-centre. Cassius Dio may be thought to carry us farther back. In his description of the Roman advance to the Thames in the year 43 he refers to difficult fords near the point where the river "empties into the ocean and at flood-tide makes a lake." The reference can scarcely be other than to the fords which, at favourable states of the tides, then lower than to-day, formerly existed between Battersea and the Pool. But, after recounting the initial failure of the Romans to follow the retreating Britons across these fords, Dio suddenly introduces a bridge "a little way up stream." Whether this bridge was a light raft-construction put together by the Roman engineers, or whether it already existed but was ignored in the preliminary stages of the rout, is as obscure to us as it may have been to Dio himself writing 180 years or more after the event. Unfortunately, a point which was of little moment to Dio is of vital importance to us; for a pre-Claudian bridge in the neighbourhood of London would have implied the existence of some sort of bridge-head settlement there before the invasion, and would thus have gone far to solve our initial problem. As it is, Dio's statement cannot be claimed as evidence, and it is necessary to look elsewhere—to archaeology—for the solution.

No structural evidence of a pre-Roman London has yet come to light. Attempts have been made to interpret some of the numerous pile-structures which are found from time to time in the old bed of the Walbrook as the remains of a "Celtic" settlement. Even General Pitt-Rivers, who, in 1866, closely watched the uncovering of piles in the alluvium of the Walbrook adjoining the street known as London Wall, was influenced by the discoveries of prehistoric lake-dwellings which were at the time

¹ The Latin name represents a Celtic *Londinion*, and the prevalent view is "that which regards it as a possessive (neuter adjective) derivative from a hypothetical personal name *Londinos* . . . which would be regularly formed from *londos*, 'fierce'" (Bradley, *Athenaeum*, 7th March, 1908, p. 289). For this, and for the fantastic "interpretations" which it replaces, see Miss E. Jeffries Davies, "The Derivation of London," *History*, XI, 1926, p. 227.

the dominant topic in European archæology.¹ Having admitted that "it is very remarkable that . . . Roman remains are interspersed at different levels from top to bottom throughout the peat" which enclosed and, at least in some cases, preceded the piles, he concludes: "That they [i.e. the habitations formerly supported by these piles] were occupied during the Roman period is evident, but it does not necessarily follow that they were of Roman origin." Two pages later this conclusion is developed: "Upon the whole, therefore, it appears not unlikely these piles may be the remains of the British capital of Cassibelaunus, situated in the marshes, and of necessity built on piles." As we read, we are present at the birth of a legend, which was later to reach maturity in the work of Sir Laurence Gomme. This writer, having incidentally transferred General Pitt-Rivers' discoveries to "the junction of the Fleet river with the Thames," states that "the earliest London is the home of the Celtic pile-dwellers," and that "the Thames was undoubtedly the site of lake-dwellings of the familiar type made known to us principally from the discoveries in the Swiss Lakes."² How unworthy these piles were to carry so imposing a historical superstructure has been amply demonstrated not only by Pitt-Rivers' own record but also by the consistent evidence of similar discoveries elsewhere in London; notably those observed by Mr. F. W. Reader in Finsbury, within a stone's throw of the London-Wall group. Mr. Reader has shown that there again the evidence was overwhelmingly in favour of a Roman date for the structures.³ But the legend will die hard.

In the absence of recorded structural remains of a prehistoric London, it is necessary to consider the evidence of minor relics from the site—particularly of the potsherds which are the surest sign of settled occupation. Metal objects of pre-Roman date are very few and scattered, and do not in themselves prove other than occasional visitation in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages.⁴ In range and quantity the ceramic evidence is even more restricted. Amongst the great masses of pottery saved from building-excavations, which are now normally carried well into the natural gravel, there appears to be no single sherd of Bronze-Age or Hallstatt date or of La Tène I and II. There is, however, a small quantity of pottery which shows affinity with native types in use at the close of the prehistoric period; and the difficult problem whether this pottery represents a native occupation of the site just before the conquest, or whether it was derived from native sources in the early years of the Roman occupation, can only be discussed on a detailed survey of the evidence. This survey must be extended to include an examination of such Italic pottery as may seem to antecede the Claudian invasion and so be presumed to have been introduced by trade into a pre-conquest, but already partially Romanized, London. These two groups will be considered in turn.

A. Pottery suggesting pre-Roman types. (Fig. 2).

The most important series under this heading is a number of fragmentary pedestal-urns which have come to light in various parts of the City, mostly since 1924. The pedestal-urn—a type first described by Sir Arthur Evans⁵ and subsequently reviewed by Mr. J. P. Bushe-Fox⁶—is distinguished, as its name implies, by a slender and

¹ *Journ. Anthropol. Society*, V, lxxi, ff.

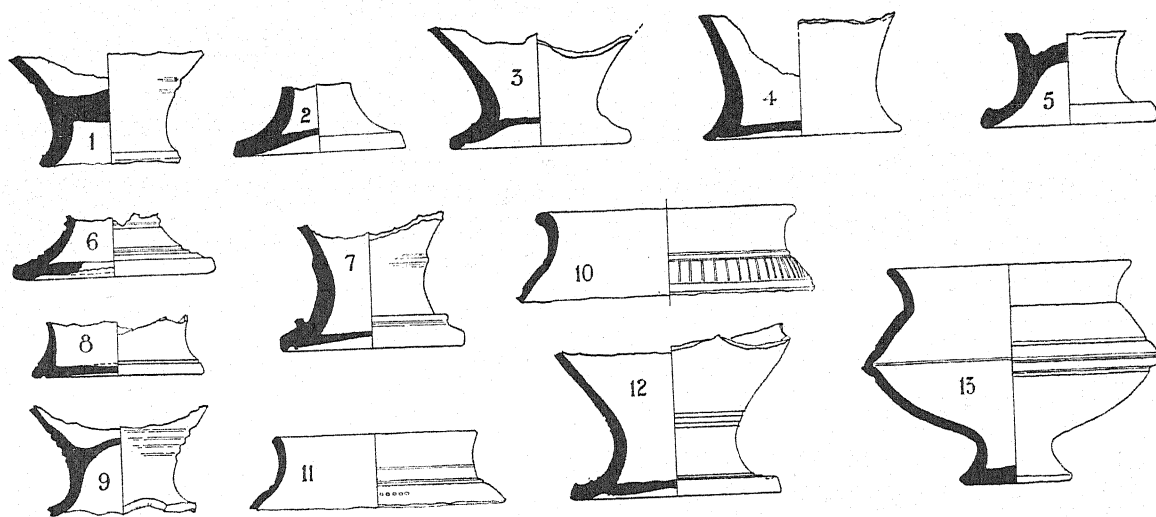
² *Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, XXXI, 490; and *The Making of London*, 34.

³ *Journ. Roy. Arch. Inst.*, LX, 137 ff. (see below, p. 145).

⁴ For Bronze-Age implements from the City, see *Antiquaries Journal*, VII, 294. There are still fewer metal objects of the Early Iron Age.

⁵ *Arch.*, LII, 317.

⁶ "Excavations of the Late-Celtic Urn-field at Swarling, Kent," *Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, V, 1925; hereafter cited as *Swarling*.

FIG. 2. Early coarse pottery from London. ($\frac{1}{4}$)

graceful pedestal-base which spreads to a well-marked disc-like foot. The lower part of the pedestal is usually made separately and joined to the main body of the vessel before baking. In earlier examples the foot is commonly hollowed, but later it tends to become flat and heavy. The body is characteristically pear-shaped, and is often decorated with raised mouldings or cordons. The clay is normally fine and well-baked, and the wheel is invariably used. The form is derived from Illyro-Italic prototypes of metal, which were copied by the potters of the Aisne and Marne in La Tène I and II (principally 4th to 2nd centuries B.C.), and later modifications of these copies were introduced by immigrants into the south-eastern counties of England during La Tène III, probably not long before 50 B.C. The occasional discovery of pedestal-pottery in association with Roman wares shows that the general type sometimes survived in this country into the second half of the first century A.D.; and it is necessary therefore to hesitate before using any individual example as evidence of pre-Roman occupation. As none of the London fragments has hitherto been published, it is desirable to examine them here in detail. They are all preserved in the Guildhall Museum.

(1) From the site of the old General Post Office in St. Martin's-le-Grand. Found in the centre of the eastern part of the site in 1925, apparently in one of a group of Roman rubbish-pits. Fragmentary pedestal of somewhat coarse grey ware. The rather high, hollow foot is characteristic of the earlier rather than the later examples of the type, but this feature alone is not a certain criterion of date since it occurs at Colchester almost certainly after the Roman conquest.¹

(2) From the same site, S.E. corner, 1925. Fragmentary pedestal of grey ware. The very slightly hollowed base is a late feature. Beyond ascribing the specimen to the last phase of the pedestal-series, however, nothing can be said as to the date. The pedestal is said to have been found with amphoræ having straight handles of an early but not closely dated type.

¹ *Swarling*, pp. 16 and 21.

1 with No. 2. Fragmentary pedestal of grey ware. The form of the milar to that of an urn found at Folkestone with a Samian cup (form 27) jug of fairly late 1st-century type (*Swarling*, Pl. V, 1, and Pl. XI, 6). parable to a base found at Margidunum with Roman pottery (F. Oswald, *Studies*, XIII, 115).

the site of No. 112 Fenchurch Street, 1925. Fragmentary pedestal-like are, possibly of a butt-beaker rather than of an urn of true pedestal-type. is in itself a late feature, and the base-ring is a Roman rather than a teristic. But the important feature of this base is that, together with s found with 1st-century Samian pottery, including two sherds of orm 12" and a piece of form 29 of Nero-Flavian type. The authority ation is Mr. Q. Waddington, of the Guildhall Museum, who was present ery.

d with No. 4, together with post-Claudian pottery. Fragmentary ey ware. The high hollow foot is, at first sight, an early feature, but the k" in the centre is a Roman rather than a "Celtic" characteristic. e pedestals found with Roman pottery at Margidunum, *Journ. Rom.*, 115.) In the early (native) pedestal-urns, the base of the main body of ds, on the other hand, to sag into the pedestal.

the site of the Bank of England, 1926. Fragmentary pedestal of dark h smooth black surface. The fabric is identical with that of the so-called res of the first half and middle of the 1st century A.D. The very sharp grooving is also quite foreign to the pedestal-pottery of the Aylesford-s, and links the example with those from the earlier Roman levels at (cited above).

the same site, 1926. Fragmentary pedestal of dark grey ware, with ed by a prominent moulding. This moulding may be compared with stal found in Colchester and "in pure Roman technique . . . hardly e Claudian invasion of A.D. 43" (*Swarling*, 21 and Pl. X, 5). The al is even more closely similar to that of a large jug found at Silchester, of mid or late 1st-century date (T. May, *Silchester Pottery*, Pl. LXXI,

the same site, 1926. Fragmentary base of dark grey ware probably, rt of a butt-beaker. A late type; the base-ring and general fabric ly indicate a Romano-British date.

Miles Lane, near London Bridge, 1926. Fragmentary pedestal of black istrous graphite surface. For the high pedestal with central "kick," ve. Probably after rather than before the Claudian invasion. The ce is unusual; it is a late Hallstatt technique which is found in this ngistbury Head, Hampshire, where one fragment was found in a deposit t later than the 2nd century B.C." (J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Excavations at lead*, 44). On the other hand, this ware occurred in the hut-circles at abundant pottery of c. A.D. 50 and later, and has been found by the in rubbish-layers on the site of the Bank of England with Roman A.D. 50-100.

the same site, 1926. Graphite-coated black rim with smoothed linear ably part of the same vessel as No. 9. A somewhat weak and flattened pedestal-urn rim.

(11) From the same site, 1926. Fine graphite-coated black rim with ornament of applied dots. This rim can be matched in the Swarling and related series.

(12) From the site of Fenchurch Buildings, Fenchurch Street, 1924. Fragmentary pedestal of smooth grey ware. The flat base and elaborate grooving are again foreign to the Swarling pedestal-series and suggest Romano-British workmanship.

(13) From the South-Eastern Railway, Southwark, 1864. Biconical vessel of smooth grey ware, with pedestal-foot and sharply defined girth-mouldings. This vessel, illustrated also in the Guildhall Museum Catalogue, Pl. VI, 3 (note also 4, 5 and 10 on that plate), is here chosen as the outstanding example of a considerable quantity of London pottery which shows marked "Celtic" characteristics but cannot at present be ascribed to a pre-Claudian date. Types akin to the present example, but less finely moulded, occur at Silchester with Roman pottery (May, *Silchester Pottery*, Pl. LXXIX, 14; cf. Pl. LXXI, 166), and at Claudian Hofheim. The form is developed from that of the tazza or pedestal-bowl, such as occurs with the normal pear-shaped pedestal-urn at Shoebury and Welwyn. In origin, the tazza consisted of a small, sharply carinated and cordoned cup, to which a high pedestal had been added for convenience. The definitely pre-Roman examples generally emphasize the essential independence of cup and pedestal, but derivatives from Roman sites tend to amalgamate them by making the cup biconical or curvilinear and so easing the transition of its lines into those of the pedestal. The Southwark example well illustrates this process, in an advanced stage.

To review the evidence of these thirteen examples—the only examples of London "coarse" pottery which may profitably be brought into a discussion of the present problem—it is at once apparent that, on the one hand, in no case is a pre-Claudian origin certain, whilst, on the other hand, there are in most cases features which definitely distinguish our group from the known prehistoric series. The distinguishing features of the London examples are: (i) the flat base, or, where the pedestal is hollow, the tendency for the top of the hollow pedestal to "kick" instead of to sag as in the Aylesford-Swarling series; (ii) the pedestal of one piece with the body of the vessel, and not made separately and joined as in the Aylesford type; (iii) the exaggerated use of sharp grooves and mouldings; (iv) the hard, well-baked fabric of most examples, with a tendency to approximate to "Belgic" finish; and (v) a general technical precision which is foreign to the known native examples and seems to imply the introduction of improved mechanism. The Swarling pottery suggests the decadence of a craft-tradition; the London pedestals in several cases suggest a technical revival, though within the range of the same general cultural tradition. This revival may have been due to commercial intercourse with the Continent in A.D. 30 or 40 under the strong régime of the "King of the Britons,"¹ or in A.D. 45 under the direct rule of Rome. The latter alternative is rendered the more likely by the results of the recent excavations at Richborough which have conclusively proved that native pottery of pre-Roman technique was still being made and used on a purely Roman site after the death of Claudius; and when the so-called "Upchurch" wares of the Thames and Medway estuaries have been studied adequately from a cultural and chronological point of view, it may be found that, in the outburst of commercial activity which certainly followed the Claudian conquest of south-eastern Britain, our native crafts were re-fertilized by the introduction of new methods and possibly new craftsmen from Romanized Gaul. Certainly the London pottery which has been

¹ Suetonius, *Caligula*, XLIV, speaking of Cunobelin.

examined above suggests an old native tradition in a new environment ; and to adopt the obvious course of attributing that new environment to the dominating historical event of the period is in all probability correct.

B. Imported pottery of Italic origin.

Most of the characteristic red-glazed pottery which is found in great quantities on Romano-British sites was made between the second quarter of the 1st and the middle of the 3rd centuries A.D. at various factories in Gaul or Germany. It is known with equal inexactitude as "Samian" or "terra sigillata," and these nick-names are used alternatively in the present report. The convenience of the latter is that it also includes a red-glazed fabric which is not of provincial but of Italic origin and was, indeed, the prototype of the provincial ware. This Italic factory is commonly known also as "Arretine," from the name of the place (Arretium, now Arezzo) where much, though not all of it, was made. The flourishing period of the industry was from about B.C. 30 to A.D. 20, and, though the potteries survived until the Flavian period, their export-trade had ceased by the middle of the century owing to the successful competition of the derivative factories in southern Gaul. The interest of the Italic or Arretine fabric in the present context is therefore obvious ; for, if much of it is found at such a site as London, the probability, on general grounds, will be that it arrived before rather than after Claudius.

The evidence is stated in detail by Mr. Davies Pryce in a later section (p. 179), where it will be found that fifteen or sixteen pieces of Arretine ware from the City and Southwark are now identifiable. Of these, five are signed by known potters whose factories were already at work in the time of Augustus. But some at least of these factories were long-lived ; the wares of three of them are found at Sels in the period Augustus-Caligula (up to A.D. 41), and one is represented at Grimmlinghausen after A.D. 40. Moreover, of the unsigned pieces from London, Mr. Pryce writes : "They cannot be assigned to the flourishing period of the Italic industry. Typologically, they belong to the first four decades of the 1st century of our era ; one may perhaps be even a little later." Before drawing any conclusion from this evidence, therefore, it will be well to submit it, with Mr. Pryce's help, to a brief comparative survey.

The two German sites already mentioned carry the provincial distribution of Arretine up to, or even into, the reign of Claudius. To these may be added Hofheim, which was occupied from A.D. 40 to 51 and has produced two or three fragments, and Aislingen, which was occupied probably from the time of Tiberius to that of Domitian and has yielded three more. British sites are less determinate. The Colchester district, in spite of its prime importance in the generation before the Roman conquest, seems to have contributed only one fragment of Arretine ware. An outlying Roman "villa" at Pleshey, in the same county—a site which is scarcely likely to have attracted Italic pottery before the conquest—has produced a stamp of one of the Arretine potters represented in London. The evidence from Silchester is more abundant. Roman Silchester was unquestionably in some sense of native descent. Its name (Calleva Atrebatum) is conjoined with that of its tribe in such a way as to indicate that it was a native cantonal city rather than a purely Roman foundation ; native coins inscribed C A L L E show that it possessed some sort of a mint in pre-Roman times ; and the outer system of defences, though unexplored, is probably pre-Roman and suggests that here the Roman town was actually superimposed upon the native site, which was thus occupied continuously from the later prehistoric into the Roman period. And it has produced no less than thirty-two pieces of Arretine ware. The total is twice that of London. Before instituting a

comparison between the two sites, however, it is well to consider the nature of the evidence. At Silchester, the Roman city was uncovered methodically and almost completely, but no sustained effort was made to clear consistently down to the lowest (and earliest) level of occupation where, if anywhere, pottery of pre-Claudian date would be expected. In London, on the other hand, the excavations from which pottery is obtained are not methodically observed, but they have in modern times been almost invariably carried into the undisturbed gravel; and, though the recovery of potsherds is largely fortuitous, the bright red-glazed ware stands an exceptional chance of being salvaged. In total quantity, there is no doubt that the mass of early Roman pottery found in London and now preserved in the British, London, Guildhall and other Museums and collections, is at least as great as that recovered by the excavators of Silchester. On these general grounds, therefore, it is tempting to compare the two sites. But further investigation reveals several indeterminate factors which may be cited in support of diametrically opposed conclusions. On the one hand, Silchester, as the capital of a Belgic tribe, is likely to have been in touch with continental trade some years before the Samian factories of Gaul had begun to capture the market from the Italic potters. If, therefore, London was not founded until A.D. 43, we might expect to find a greater disparity than actually exists between the amount of Arretine ware found on the two sites. On the other hand, Silchester was hidden away in the wolds of northern Hampshire, whereas London stood at the main gateway of Britain, and admittedly owed its early prosperity to overseas commerce. Moreover, much of the London Arretine is late in type; and these facts combined may suggest that the proportion as between a pre-Claudian Silchester in the depths of the hinterland and a Claudian London at the head of the Thames estuary is not unreasonable. But until Verulam and the habitation-area of pre-Roman Colchester (wherever it may be) have been explored, it is well to base little upon a quantitative analysis.¹

It may, finally, be urged that, on the evidence already cited from Continental sites occupied after A.D. 40, it would be reasonable to expect at least a small proportion of Arretine ware amongst the very large mass of early post-conquest pottery recovered from London. The sudden influx of a large foreign population of soldiers and others accustomed to an Italianate environment might even be expected to induce an exceptional importation of Mediterranean wares through the new or newly-developed port, and the fifteen pieces of Arretine from London may therefore require no further explanation. Mr. Davies Pryce rightly points out (p. 181), that the evidence from this source alone is not inconsistent with a limited pre-Claudian traffic; but, if it is considered in conjunction with that derived from the "coarse" wares, the probability of a pre-Claudian settlement becomes very remote.

In summary, the geographical and archaeological evidence which can be brought to bear upon the possibility, or otherwise, of a pre-Roman London is as follows:—

(i) Occupation on a site such as this, hemmed in on three sides by forest and marsh at the head of a somewhat turbulent estuary, is unlikely to have developed far except under an influential and wealthy administration such as would attract regular overseas trade and could maintain costly communications with the hinterland. These conditions were fulfilled from the outset by the Roman régime, but in pre-Claudian times Cunobelin at Colchester could have found little use for a Thames-side

¹ On the other hand the site of Claudian Colchester almost certainly formed the nucleus of the later city, and the fact that no Arretine ware has, so far, been found within it may be cited in favour of a pre-Claudian settlement at London.

port, and, if Verulam had been the deciding factor, the landing-stage and crossing would have been expected rather at Westminster than at London. Whatever influence Verulam may have had upon the early road-system, it may safely be assumed to have had little to do with the establishment of the Southwark crossing.¹

(ii) A small series of the earlier "coarse" pottery from London is sufficiently reminiscent of distinctively pre-Roman type to demand special consideration. It has been found, however, that two of the fourteen or fifteen pieces in question were actually associated with Roman wares, whilst the remainder tend to suggest a Romanizing tendency rather than a purely native origin. Until our knowledge of these wares becomes more exact, it is undesirable to exclude the possibility that some of the pieces may have been made rather before than after the Claudian invasion, although in every case a post-conquest date may be suspected.

(iii) The Arretine or Italic ware from London is mostly late in type, and in quantity is at least markedly less than that recovered from the almost certainly pre-Roman but comparatively remote site of Silchester. Further, if A.D. 43 still be considered late for the importation of the London Arretine, it must be remembered that soon after the conquest there was a great influx into London of traders, many of whom may be supposed to have come from districts where Arretine was still in common use, and vessels made in the previous decade or earlier would in all probability, have been introduced into this country by them. Although, therefore, the Arretine pottery is at present the most admissible evidence in favour of some sort of occupation of the site of London prior to Claudius, it is far from conclusive.

The evidence as a whole, therefore, has failed to prove the existence of a native London. But, if it has left a margin of doubt, it has at least set a limit to conjecture. It has shown clearly that we have in any case no reason for suspecting the existence of a settlement on the site more than a decade before the conquest. The whole of the "border-line" evidence could be assigned comfortably to the latter part of the reign of Tiberius. Earlier than that the evidence definitely does not warrant our going. If we do indeed go thus far and assume that some of the London Arretine in fact arrived before Claudius, a further inference is perhaps suggested. Pre-Claudian, even more definitely than Claudian, Arretine in London indicates trade. Our hypothesis would therefore involve the possibility that a few prospectors from the Roman world, like those who sometimes settled in Gaul and elsewhere before the Roman conquest,² may have built a wharf and a warehouse somewhere near the site of London Bridge a decade or so before the legions arrived, and so have given

¹ The theory that London may have originated as the seaport of Verulam has been advocated by Professor W. R. Lethaby, Sir Halford Mackinder and others (see Lethaby, *Proc. Soc. Ant.* (2nd Series), XXXI, 212, and *Londinium: Architecture and the Crafts*, 230; H. Ormsby, *London on the Thames*, 65). Mr. William Page (*London: Its Origin and Early Development*, 2) makes the more plausible suggestion that the more easterly crossing superseded that at Westminster when Cunobelin transferred the main seat of government from Verulam to Colchester.

² Caesar, *Bell. Gall.*, VII, 42, refers to the expulsion by the Aedui from their oppidum, Cabillonum, of Romans "who had set up there for purposes of trade." Cicero, *Pro Fonteio*, V, 11, states that as early as 69 B.C. all the commerce of Gaul was controlled by Roman burgesses, and that "not a coin was removed there without an entry in Roman books of account." Tacitus, *Hist.*, IV, 15, states that in the revolt of Civilis the Batavians, who had only partially come under Roman jurisdiction, "fell upon the settlers and Roman traders who had spread themselves over the country, as in security." In Dacia "apparently even before the time of Trajan, Roman traders and farmers had to some extent made their way into the land. One town named Drobeta described itself as a 'Flavian' municipality. That is to say, its municipal rights were bestowed on it by Vespasian or one of his sons. If that be true, it was one of the rare specimens of the Roman town in a foreign land, beyond the bounds of the empire" (J. S. Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, 220).

Roman London a "running start." Romanized traders and craftsmen were certainly not unwelcome in Britain in the days of Cunobelin, whose mint employed moneyers from the Mediterranean and whose people used Roman amphoræ alongside their own native wares. A native noble, whose richly-furnished tomb was recently explored at Lexden near Colchester, had provided himself not only with much bric-à-brac from Roman markets, but even with a portrait of Augustus himself cut from a brand-new silver coin and mounted in an ornamental frame.¹ That an occasional shipload found its way up the Colne estuary, however, does not help us in the matter of London. And there is this final difficulty. On the most liberal interpretation of the very restricted evidence, the hypothetical pre-Claudian London must have been exceedingly small, and therefore presumably concentrated. But a notable feature of the sherds of Arretine and of pedestal-pottery in London is their *wide distribution*. The four or five pieces of Arretine of which the actual find-spot is recorded range from Southwark to N. of Bishopsgate. The pedestal-pottery covers a similarly extensive area, from Fenchurch Street to the General Post Office. This distribution is difficult to reconcile with a small pre-Claudian trading-post; but it exactly corresponds with the distribution of the pottery of the time of Claudius and Nero (see p. 28), and is readily explained therefore in a post-conquest setting. On all grounds it must be admitted that, whilst the possibility of some pre-Claudian occupation of the site of London cannot yet be finally dismissed, there is at present no valid reason for supposing that London existed prior to A.D. 43.

5. LONDON IN A.D. 60.

In the year 60,² the Roman armies were busy forging a frontier in the north-west, and the newly-developed cities of the south-east lay open to native vengeance. Boudicca and her Icenian tribesmen swept out of Norfolk and Suffolk, sacked the Roman colony of Colchester, scattered the 9th Legion which had marched against them, and carried the sword, the gibbet, fire and crucifixion—caedes, patibula, ignes, cruces—into London and Verulam. The three cities are said by Tacitus to have lost 70,000 citizens and "allies" in the slaughter. Be that as it may, it is reasonable to suppose that after the revolt London had substantially to begin afresh, and it is probable that few of the structures described below in the Inventory bear much relation to the earlier London.

Nevertheless, the hackneyed phrase of Tacitus which forms the first document in the written record of the city shows a London already grown and flourishing in the year 60. She was by then "thronged with great numbers of merchants and abundance of merchandize," and doubtless contributed her fair quota to the 70,000. It is sufficiently clear that her growth during the seventeen years following the conquest had possessed something of the dramatic suddenness which in modern times attended the consummation of cities such as Kansas or Nebraska on the opening-up of the Golden West. Regulated trade on an imperial scale, safe seas, adequate internal communications, and above all, the new needs of a relatively large foreign population of soldiers, officials and prospectors, which had scarcely yet settled into the countryside, must have combined to induce an almost instantaneous outburst of activity at the natural port of a Continental Britain. It is worth while to pause, therefore, on the eve of the destructive advance of Boudicca and her rebels to see how far archæology can supplement and localize the bare statement of the Roman historian.

¹ *Arch.*, LXXVI, 241.

² This date is preferable to 61, which is more usually given. (See Henze in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, III, 798, s.v. *Boudicca*; and bibliography there cited.)

The relevant evidence is in kind partly positive and partly negative. Positively, it consists in the first place of the potsherds which, whether accumulated in and around Roman buildings or thrown into adjacent rubbish-pits, indicate at least the proximity of habitation; whilst the negative evidence is that of the cemeteries which lay normally beyond the area of living occupation and so help us to delimit it. As always in dealing with Roman London, however, it is necessary to bear in mind the fortuitousness of our evidence. Thus, it so happens that in recent years far more extensive building-excavations have been carried out to the E. of the Walbrook than to the W. of it; and, had it not been for the exploration of the site of the Old General Post Office in St. Martin's-le-Grand during the years 1913 to 1914, our material would have been almost too one-sided to justify any general inference from its distribution. As it is, a comparative regional analysis may profitably be attempted, with the proviso that its numerical basis should not be over-emphasised.

It has been assumed that the crux of the problem is the Walbrook. The possible claims of the Southwark bank of the Thames are not indeed forgotten, and there is undoubted evidence of an early development of this district. But there is equally undoubted archaeological evidence, and far greater geographical probability, that the rising ground on the northern bank held the nucleus of the settlement, and the primary problem is summed up in the question: was the earliest Roman London on the eastern or on the western of the twin hills which flanked the Walbrook? Both views have found their advocates, and it is not necessary in this context to recount the more or less ill-founded premises from which the older antiquaries argued.¹ Mr. Frank Lambert, however, in 1915, brought modern archaeological methods to bear upon the problem, and sketched the distribution of early coins and certain types of pottery within the Roman enceinte.² His maps showed a wide distribution both of Claudian coins and of 1st-century Samian pottery, but with a preponderance on the eastern side of the Walbrook. The inequality of his sources may be re-affirmed in this connection; nevertheless, his results were suggestive and may, as evidence accumulates throughout the area, prove to be representative. In the meantime, our increasing (though still very imperfect) knowledge of ceramic types may justify an attempt to define the material somewhat more closely and to attempt to isolate the distribution of those groups of pottery which may safely be ascribed to a period prior to A.D. 60. Afterwards, the burials will be discussed from an equivalent standpoint.

A. Pottery (other than that associated with burials) of date prior to A.D. 60.

Until the further excavation of Claudian sites (such as Richborough) has confirmed our dating of the earliest Roman pottery in this country, any detailed discussion of the coarse pottery which might be included under the present heading would be insecurely founded. It may be observed, however, that the distinctively early pedestal-pottery, described above in Section A, is derived partly from the western and partly from the eastern sides of the Walbrook, though the pieces from the eastern side are more than twice as numerous as those from the western. This proportion is in accordance with that of the more general evidence collected by Mr. Lambert, and is, on the whole, supported also by an examination of other published and unpublished pottery from the two regions. Some of the earliest coarse pottery yet found in London comes from the rubbish-pits found in the south-eastern quarter of the General Post Office site in

¹ e.g. *Arch.*, XI, 41 and *Gents. Mag.*, 1842, I, 267.

² *Arch.*, LXVI, 269 ff.

St. Martin's-le-Grand, well to the W. of the Walbrook;¹ but similarly early pottery, although nowhere found in greater quantity at any one spot, has been identified from a larger number of sites E. of the stream. Once again it should be emphasised, however, that an unusual number of eastern sites (notably near King William and Fenchurch Streets) has been excavated in recent years and under partial supervision. The ratio may not, therefore, be representative.

Early pottery from Southwark, now mostly in the Guildhall Museum, is noteworthy, but is receding in importance as increasing quantities of wares at least as early in date are found on the northern bank.

If we turn to Samian pottery or terra sigillata, we are, chronologically, on somewhat surer ground. In a separate section (p. 179) Mr. Davies Pryce has described, and Dr. Felix Oswald has illustrated, a representative series of Samian sherds selected because, on dated Continental sites, their types occur principally in the period of Tiberius and Claudius. Since Claudius died in A.D. 54, a margin of safety is allowed if it be supposed that all these pieces are earlier than the year 60. Care has been taken to exclude any piece which might reasonably be ascribed to a later date.

An analysis of this early Samian pottery yields the following results. About 70 stamps of early potters are distributed widely over the walled area and Southwark; but more than half of the total number occurs E. of the Walbrook and N. of London Bridge. So, also, a reference to the map (Plate 64) shows that of 50 pieces of decorated Samian ware of the same period, 15 occur to the W. of the Walbrook and 31 to the E. of it. Again we have a wide distribution with an eastern predominance; but it is necessary once more to utter the warning that an apparently disproportionate number from recent excavations in King William Street may be due to the fact that there an exceptional effort has been made to salve Roman pottery.

It should be added that the Italic or Arretine ware, all of which may be assumed to be earlier than the year 60, is for the most part described merely as "from London," and therefore does not help in the present context. The four or five fragments of which the find-spot is approximately recorded are widely distributed, but are all either E. of the Walbrook or in Southwark (*see* map, Plate 64).

In summary, it is thus apparent that both "coarse" and Samian pottery, which may be ascribed with probability to a date prior to A.D. 60, tend to converge upon the area E. of the Walbrook and N. of London Bridge; but that there are also important and widely-distributed "outliers" both W. of the Walbrook and in Southwark.

B. Burials.

Although in the earliest times the Romans, like other primitive peoples in various parts of the world, appear to have buried their dead in their own houses or at any rate in the interior of the town, the Etruscan burial-grounds are constantly situated outside the settlement, and Roman laws of the classical period definitely affirm the same principle. The Twelve Tables decreed that it was "unlawful to bury or burn the dead within the city" (*hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito*), and the same injunction recurs more than once, as in the *lex Coloniae Genetivae*: "It is forbidden to bring the dead within the limits of a town or the formal boundary of a colony, or to bury or cremate there, or to set up a funeral monument" (*Nequis intra fines oppidi coloniaeve, qua aratro circumductum erit, hominem mortuom inferto, neve*

¹ A few pieces from this site and ascribed to the period A.D. 50-80 are illustrated by Mr. Lambert, *Arch.*, LXVI, 247 and 249, but many more of as early or earlier date, found subsequently, are stored in the Guildhall Museum.

ibi humato neve urito neve hominis mortui monimentum aedificato). At Rome, the only legal exceptions were those whereby the Vestals and a few specially honoured individuals were allowed burial within the walls.¹

A law so insistent, however, implies contravention, and it is certain that in Ultima Thule its authority was not always respected. In Caerwent, for example, where the defences (in their original form) were contemporary with the founding of the township, at least nine Roman burials—one of them by inhumation—are known to have been found within the enceinte;² and two or three burials are recorded to have been discovered in the midst of Roman Colchester.³ It is not unlikely that London, which grew up to some extent untrammelled by the restrictions of the Roman civic code ("cognomento coloniae non insigne") and must have included an unusually cosmopolitan population, was somewhat casual in matters of this kind. In considering the distribution of isolated burials within the inhabited area, therefore, it is advisable not to overestimate the possible historical significance of such burials in relation to the growth of the city.

This preliminary warning receives emphasis from some of the burials themselves. The region which has, on the whole, yielded more abundant evidence of pre-Flavian occupation than any other in the London district is that which adjoins King William Street, immediately to the N. of London Bridge. Yet, in the midst of this region, in Crooked Lane, has been found either one or two cremated burials associated with coins of the Flavian emperor Vespasian (p. 155). Reference to the catalogue of burials (pp. 153–169) will show that other burials in this district are not earlier than the end of the 1st century, and one of them is by inhumation and therefore probably at least a century later still. It is thus quite certain that in Roman London the dead were sometimes buried amongst the living; and it follows that isolated burials are of comparatively small importance to the historian.

Cemeteries, here defined as groups of three or more burials, are a different matter. Repeated burial in the same spot implies publicity and consequent regulation, and it is only reasonable to assume that in London, as elsewhere, the organized cemeteries were laid out in conformity with the Roman burial-laws—i.e. that they lay outside the main areas of habitation. Before turning to the evidence under this head, however, it is necessary to comment briefly on a point of chronological significance to which reference has already been made—the usage of the alternative rites of cremation and inhumation.

Prior to A.D. 150, cremation seems to have been universal. True, a skeleton found in 1839 in a grave in Bow Lane (p. 155) may have had a coin of Domitian (A.D. 81–96) in its mouth; but, although the possibility of an early date must be left open, the record is not clear, and in any case the survival of single coins is not infrequently erratic. By the 4th century, inhumation appears to have completely supplanted cremation; although here again London may have provided an exception in a cremation-burial from Shoe Lane (p. 165), where the urn has the spreading rim characteristic of the 4th-century type, but may be of somewhat earlier date—certainly the other burials from the same cemetery are very much earlier. Between 150 and 300 the rite of inhumation was introduced and gradually dominated the other, but no definite date can be assigned to the change. Perhaps the earliest inhumation-burials known in Britain were those found in 1912 in the Infirmary Field at Chester.

¹ See Mommsen and Marquardt, *Manuel des antiquités romaines* (trans. Humbert), XIV, 422.

² *Arch.*, LVIII, 151; LIX, 292; LX, 126; LXII, 414, 417, 421; and a cinerary urn, containing bones, now preserved in the parish church.

³ *Phil. Trans.*, 1761, 285–6; Morant, *Colchester*, I, 184; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, V, 86.

Here about thirty graves, some with remains of wooden coffins, most lying N. and S., were discovered outside the Roman fortress, and six coins ranging from A.D. 140 to 189 were found in them. For this and for other reasons the cemetery was thought by Haverfield to have been used during the second half of the 2nd century, and to have been closed by about the year 200.¹

To turn now to the bearing of the London cemeteries upon the early extent of the city, the evidence is briefly this. The extra-mural cemeteries which lie almost continuously about the landward walls of the Roman town seem to have been in use throughout the occupation, but burials earlier than the last quarter of the 1st century are exceedingly rare in them. In Section B of the inventory of burials (p. 157), it will be found that not more than four or five burials from the whole of this series appear to be of pre-Flavian date, though it is clear that by the 2nd century these cemeteries were in full use. They may help, therefore, in dating the erection of the town-walls (*see below*, p. 76), but throw little light upon the limits of the pre-Flavian city.

Of the two cemeteries within the walls (*see below*, p. 153), that near Bishopsgate is known only from an 18th-century record. On the other hand, the large cemetery to the N. of St. Paul's Cathedral is well represented in the British and London Museums, and is almost consistently of early date. One urn contained an early coin of Claudius; of eight others from Warwick Square and St. Martin's-le-Grand, seven are almost certainly pre-Flavian, and the only serious intrusions are two inhumation burials (near St. Paul's and in Paternoster Row) which may not be Roman and cannot in any case be linked chronologically to the main bulk of the cemetery. It is clear that, so far as the present evidence goes, the principal burial-ground of pre-Flavian London lay along the northern side of the hill on which St. Paul's now stands, and the early burials in Shoe Lane, only 200 yards westwards across the Fleet (p. 165), support this inference.

We are now in a position—such position as the elusive records admit—to come to conclusions from our evidence as a whole. It is at once apparent how closely the negative evidence of the cemeteries supports the positive evidence of the occupation-débris previously considered. London in the year 60 was concentrated primarily on the eastern of the two hills, immediately to the northwards of the various adjacent sites which that determining factor, London Bridge, has occupied from early mediaeval and doubtless from Roman times. The summit of the hill, the highest point in London, the place where the great mediaeval market stood and its successor still stands, was the inevitable centre of the young merchant-city; and, as though to symbolize the fact, one of the few London examples of the Italic or Arretine ware, of which the find-spot is known, was found on the site of Leadenhall Market. No burials—not even those isolated burials which generally signify nothing but are always suspect—have been found here or hereabout. To the S. and E., near King William Street and Fenchurch Street, have been unearthed quantities of the pottery which must have been handled by some of the earliest inhabitants of the Roman city. To the N., the dwellings scarcely yet reached the subsequent line of the Roman town-wall, for a cemetery was laid out to the S. of that line near Bishopsgate. Westwards, the builders were already at work across the Walbrook on the slopes now crowned by St. Paul's; the site of the National Safe Deposit, off Queen Victoria Street, has produced some of the earliest Samian pottery found in London, and, farther W., the rubbish pits of the pre-Flavian householders honeycombed the site formerly occupied

¹ R. Newstead, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Liverpool, 1914, VI, 121; F. Haverfield, *Rom. Brit. in 1913*, 14, and *Rom. Brit. in 1914*, 41.

by the General Post Office in St. Martin-le-Grand. But in this direction the city petered out as it approached the hill-top, and the outlying houses must already have been close upon the graves of the cemetery which extended from St. Martin's-le-Grand to the banks of the Fleet and even beyond. Already the potters, who shared with the dead the purlieus of cities, may have been at work in those kilns which Wren found beneath his Cathedral. And, lastly, across the River in Southwark, the approaches to the bridge were flanked by a few houses set perhaps a little promiscuously amongst the graves which were beginning to appear alongside the road to Richborough and Dover.

This seems to have been the extent of the city, with its new and thriving population of Italian and Gaulish traders, money-lenders and prospectors, and its substratum of enterprising or enslaved Britons, to which Boudicca brought fire and crucifixion in the year 60. It is possible that in certain areas, mostly in the vicinity of London Bridge, actual traces of her handiwork have been correctly identified. Thus, in King William Street, Mr. Lambert has recorded that the most striking feature of sections cut there is "the burnt layer that occurs in all of them from 10 ft. to 13 ft. below the modern ground-level, and in nearly all cases resting on the original brick-earth It consists of burnt red clay, for the most part reduced to a coarse powder, containing charred fragments of wood, fragments of burnt roofing tiles, and here and there, a hard-baked piece of clay which still shows the impress of the flue-tile or wattle or laths against which it had once been pressed. Clearly an extensive fire, early in the Roman occupation, swept over this angle between the Walbrook and the Bridge, and reduced the clay-and-timber houses to a red dust." The stratum had already been noted on the top of a rubbish pit found previously near by, on the site of Phoenix House, and it had been "suggested that the conflagration that caused it had occurred at the end of the 1st century," for the burnt material covered 1st-century objects. "At the same time an earlier date is possible. This is not by any means the first time that evidence of fire has been found at a considerable depth here (and indeed elsewhere) in London. As long ago as 1786 wood ashes were notified at a depth of 16 ft. in Lombard Street, overlying a tessellated pavement, and among them a gold coin of Galba. When the London Bridge Approach was built, ashes and burnt glass and Samian were found in Eastcheap, and a wall in which burnt Samian and coins of Claudius were imbedded. Recent observers have noticed the phenomenon of the red layer, and in connexion with it burnt objects of early date have been found. On the site of the Lloyds Bank, for instance, 17 burnt bronze coins of Claudius were found together, at a depth of about 15 ft., and burnt fragments of early Samian. Among burnt Samian discovered in Lombard Street, on a site W. of St. Edmund's church, was part of a bowl with the stamp of the Claudian potter Genialis. Both positive and negative evidence—the distribution of the earliest coins and of the burials—show that this corner was the earliest occupied part of Londinium, and that the town which was destroyed in A.D. 61 stood mainly between Gracechurch Street and the Walbrook. The wide distribution of the red layer over this early area, its occurrence in almost all cases immediately on the primeval surface, and the age of the burnt objects just noted, certainly suggest that we have here the traces of the work of Boadicea."¹

It may be added that near by, on the site flanking Miles Lane, the ground-level immediately to the N. of the main line of timbering found there was first made up with masses of building-débris, together with some of the earliest Samian pottery found in London. This again indicates widespread destruction or demolition within a generation of the conquest, and seems to add substance to the words of Tacitus.

¹ *Arch.*, LXXI, 57.

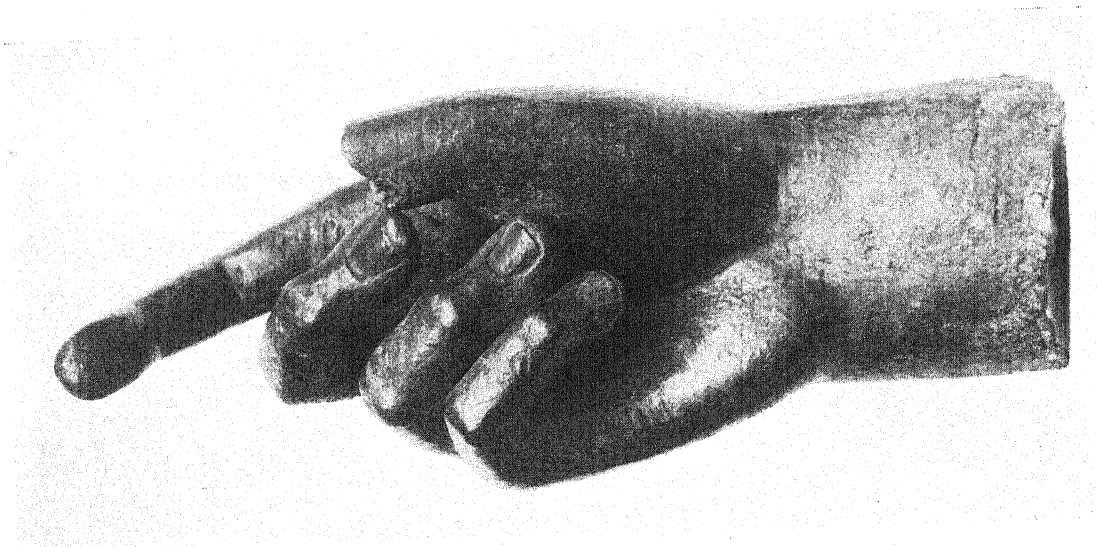


BRONZE HEAD OF HADRIAN, found in the Thames, 1834.
British Museum. (3/8). See p. 44.

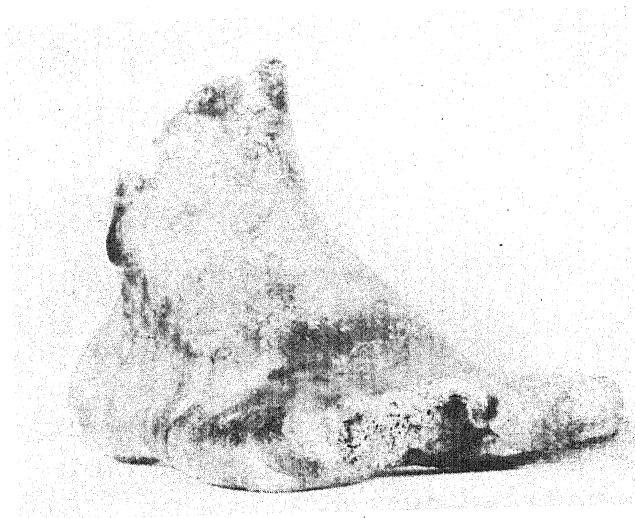
PLATE 2.



BRONZE ARM, found in Seething Lane, 1884, and HAND, found in Gracechurch Street, 1866-8.
Guildhall Museum. (About 3/8). See pp. 44 and 121.

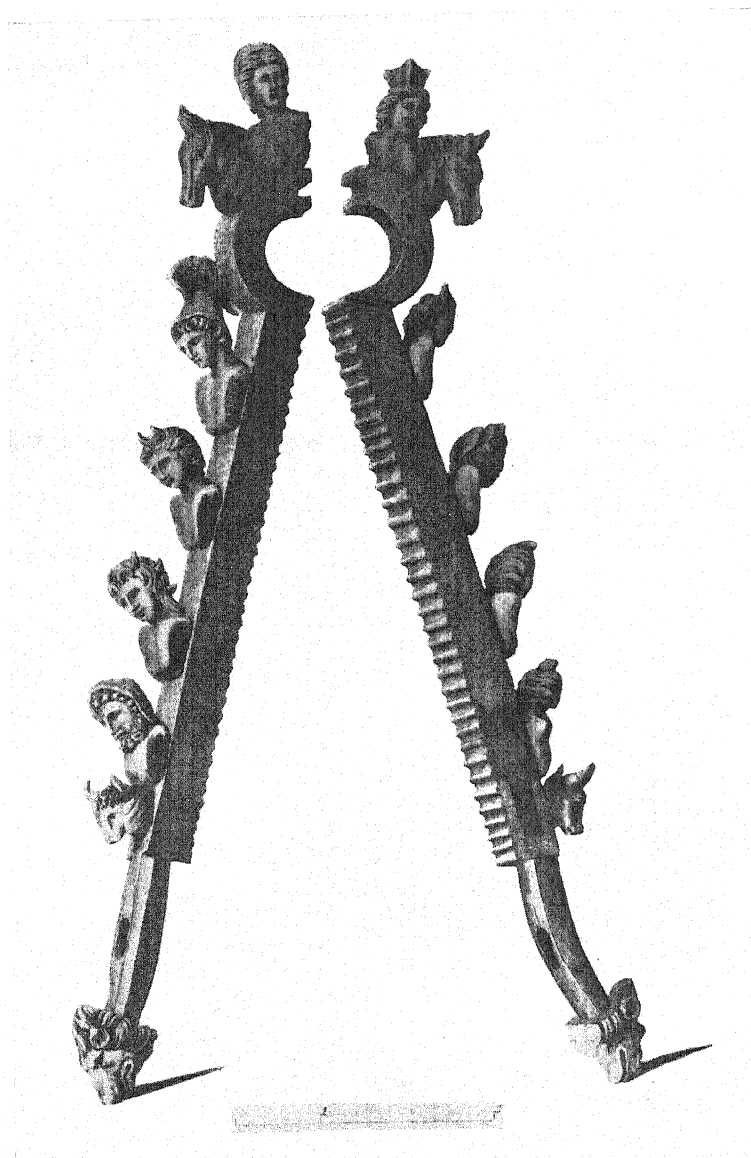


BRONZE HAND, found in Lower Thames Street.
British Museum. (About 3/8). See p. 44.



BRONZE FOOT, found in London.
British Museum. (About 3/8).

PLATE 4.



BRONZE FORCEPS, found in the Thames, 1840.

British Museum. (1/2). See pp. 43 and 194.

From *Guide to Antiquities of Roman Britain*, by permission.

6. ROMAN LONDON AFTER A.D. 60.

After the Boudiccan revolt, London does not appear in written history until the year 296. Ptolemy, the geographer, c. 150, includes it amongst the three cities of Kent (the others being Canterbury and Richborough), and the Antonine Itinerary, compiled perhaps early in the 3rd century, emphasises the geographical dominance of London by pivoting seven of the fifteen Routes upon it. But the only certain fact relative to the life of the city in these two centuries is that the usurping emperor Carausius opened a mint there in or after 286 (see p. 187). This was probably the first of the Romano-British mints, and may even have been the only one, since none of those ascribed to Colchester, Richborough, Bitterne, Cirencester, or Wroxeter, is quite certain. The official status of London at the time is very doubtful and will be discussed in a separate Section (p. 56), but it is apparent from this and the other evidence that the commercial prosperity which had already attracted the notice of Tacitus in the 1st century had, by 286, established the city's position as a centre of financial administration. This position is emphasised by the *Notitia Dignitatum* which, a century or more later, assigns to London, alone of British cities, a high Treasury official. The mint itself, however, seems to have lapsed in the latter part of the reign of Constantine I and to have ceased finally in 388 after a brief revival by Magnus Maximus.

In 296 London became the centre of the campaign whereby the Caesar, Constantius Chlorus, and a military colleague named Asclepiodotus recovered Britain for the legitimate regime from Allectus, the murderer and "successor" of Carausius. The campaign is described by the contemporary writer Eumenius, whose point of view, however, is that of the ex-private secretary and panegyrist of Constantius rather than that of an impartial witness. Indeed, his enthusiasm for his patron is such that he omits to mention Asclepiodotus (who seems, in fact, to have borne the brunt of the business) and it is only with the insecure help of the summaries left by much later historians—Aurelius Victor, Eutropius and Orosius, all of late 4th- or early 5th-century date—that it is possible to reconstruct the general sequence of events. Setting forth from Boulogne, the attacking fleet appears to have sailed in two divisions, the one under Asclepiodotus towards the Solent, the other under Constantius, towards the Kentish coast. Both divisions missed their primary objective in a fog; but Asclepiodotus disembarked, probably in Hampshire, defeated and slew Allectus, and followed the usurper's fugitive mercenaries towards London, which they reached ahead of him and began to pillage. Their work was interrupted by Constantius, whose fleet had in the meantime found its way opportunely up the Thames, and (adds the panegyrist) not merely brought safety to the provincials by the slaughter of the enemy, but roused in them "an active feeling of grateful pleasure at the sight." This seemingly sentiment is commemorated by the well-known gold medallion, found near Arras in 1922, recording the triumphal entry of Constantius into the city and bearing the significant legend REDDITOR LVCIS AETERNAE (p. 188*n* and Plate 67).¹

¹ Reference may here be made to the remains of a ship found in 1910 lying on the natural sand or gravel, beneath 7 ft. of mud and 14 ft. of made earth, on the site of the London County Council Hall on the E. bank of the Thames at Westminster. It is now in the London Museum. Amongst the objects "found in the vessel" were coins of Tetricus, Carausius and Allectus (A.D. 268-296) and a few fragments of Roman pottery, one of which was "tightly wedged and embedded in stiff clay beneath a rib" as though to plug a hole. These relics presumably indicate that the ship, which seems itself to preserve no distinctive features, is of the Roman period, although, since it was flattened out and the surrounding mud contained also objects of prehistoric, early Roman and probably post-Roman date, the associations are not perhaps quite determinate. It is certainly a stretch of imagination to connect the destruction of this ship with the events of 296, as has more than once been done. (See W. E. Riley and L. Gomme, *Ship of the Roman period discovered on the site of the New County Hall* (L.C.C. publication).)

The next mention of London occurs in connection with the Council held at Arles in 314, the year following the formal recognition of Christianity throughout the Empire by the Edict of Milan. To this Council came three British bishops, of whom one was Restitutus of London, presumably the first authorized occupant of the See. The only other recorded Romano-British bishop of London is one Augulus; he is merely a name in the martyrologies, where he is associated with "Augusta," the title given to the city sometime between 326 and 368 (*see* p. 60) and dropped after the Roman era. The association, however, does not help us to assign a date to his martyrdom, since the only anti-Christian movement of the period—that instigated by Julian—was not accompanied by active persecution.¹

For the rest, two or three references by Ammianus Marcellinus complete the history of 4th-century London. In the year 360 serious incursions by the Picts and Scots induced Constans to send reinforcements to Britain under the command of an efficient but not otherwise praiseworthy general named Lupicinus, who landed at Richborough, "whence he proceeded to London, that he might deliberate upon the aspect of affairs and take immediate measures for his campaign." His intervention did not, however, deter the Picts and Scots from still more devastating outbreaks seven years later when they captured the commander of the northern frontier whilst German invaders slew the commander of the coastal defences in the south. Britain was at that time reduced to desperate plight. Valentinian sent one officer after another to report, and finally despatched his famous general Theodosius to the island with strong reinforcements. Like Lupicinus, Theodosius landed at Richborough and marched towards London, which had by then received the name or title Augusta. *En route* he divided his army into detachments, which hunted down the bands of plunderers who were devastating the countryside and in some cases actually driving cattle and chained prisoners before them. To the sufferers he restored the whole of their property "save a small portion" which he found politic to allot to his weary troops. Then "joyful and triumphant he made his entry into the city which had just before been overwhelmed by disasters, but was now suddenly re-established before it could have hoped for deliverance." Thereafter he set the administration in order, marched forth against the barbarians in the north, "entirely restored the cities and the fortresses which through the manifold disasters of the time had been damaged or destroyed" and returned to receive honours from the emperor Valentinian in Gaul. With his departure Augusta vanishes from written history, to appear once more as London in the doubtful pages of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 457.

If we turn now to evidence of the structural development of London after A.D. 60, it is clear at the outset that, from the special circumstances of the case, we can never hope to know very much in detail. The upper Roman levels have, more often than not, been destroyed by mediaeval and later builders, whilst the deepening foundations of modern ferro-concrete structures are driven relentlessly down to, and below, the natural gravel. Evidence relative to the early history of the City is thus daily obliterated at a speed which far outpaces the feeble efforts at present made to record it. As years go by, the residue of archaeological material becomes less and less, and, although much very useful work can still be done if the public conscience is awakened to the need, Roman London must remain at best a broken mosaic.

¹ Stow preserves from a lost work of Jocelin of Furness (*c.* 1200) a list of 14 supposed Archbishops of London prior to the year 587. Whether any sort of authority underlies this list is more than doubtful; it is mixed up with the legend of King Lucius who, as a historical figure, had nothing to do with Britain. (*See* C. L. Kingsford's ed. of Stow, II, 125, 304; and Stubbs, *Reg. Sacrum Anglicanum*, 214.)

From the scraps of information collected in the Inventory (p. 69), it is possible at present to produce a coherent outline only of two or three of the principal features of the town. Most striking of these is the *town-wall* which, if the fragmentary evidence is read aright (p. 74), was erected within half a century of the Boudiccan revolt, perhaps as the fruits of that bitter experience. The wall was some three miles in length and enclosed an area of about 330 acres, an area far in excess of that of any other Romano-British town, for Cirencester was less than 250 acres, Verulam 203 acres, Wroxeter 170 acres, and Silchester and Colchester less than 105 acres in extent. Amongst the Roman towns of Gaul and Germany, only four exceeded London in size—the Augustan cities of Nîmes (790 acres) and Autun (494 acres), and the early (? Flavian) city of Avenches, together with Trier (704 acres) which, as the Imperial capital of the West, cannot fairly be included in the same class. Of the other towns in the same provinces, Lyons (about 318 acres) approaches London very closely, but the next in size—Cologne (239 acres) and Vienne (about 214 acres)—are far exceeded. In a small degree London owed its size to the inclusion of the Walbrook within the defences, but there is ample evidence that the flanks of the stream-valley were early built upon (e.g. No. 130) and the uninhabitable space occupied by the stream must have been quite small. The whole site, with its open bridgehead-settlement in Southwark, resembled in a general way the more rugged site of Vienne, bisected also by its rivulet and facing its unfortified suburb at S. Colombe across the Rhône.

When the town-wall of London was built, it lay well outside the inhabited area, since it is nowhere known to have disturbed any evidence of previous occupation. It is possible indeed—unless later builders have destroyed the evidence in an exceptionally thorough manner—that fairly considerable stretches of land within the wall always remained open; in the N.W., on the General Post Office site, and in the E., in the vicinity of Fenchurch Street, excavations have revealed comparatively few traces of the intensive occupation which is manifest elsewhere. And consistent with this is the scarcity of structural remains outside the line of the wall. Apart from piles found mostly in the valley of the Walbrook, these remains are restricted to two walls outside Bishopsgate, a doubtful wall near Aldersgate, an alleged pavement (found before 1805) in Smithfield, and a mosaic just across the Fleet in Holborn. The density of the cemeteries which crowd upon the walls is proof that this absence of recorded extra-mural structures is not accidental. Save for the suburb in Southwark, Roman London was comfortably contained by its defences; it clung, as it clung for the most part throughout the middle ages, to the river-frontage where its shipping lay.

Next to the wall, the most important structural relic of Roman London is the *Basilica* (Nos. 36–41, 81 and 82; pp. 115, 120, 127) which crowned the eastern hill where the Leadenhall Market stands to-day. The remains were surveyed by Mr. H. Hodge in 1881 and 1883, and his plans, together with a few subsequent observations, are here collated by Mr. A. W. Clapham (Fig. 3). The original plans are drawn to a scale of four feet to the inch and are accompanied by numerous notes, a series of detail-sketches of individual walls, and a general perspective view of the site, showing not only the Roman remains but also the then surviving ruins of the mediaeval Leadenhall with its chapel. In spite of many *lacunae*, the information is considerable in volume and justifies certain tentative conclusions.

It may be premised that the main walls shown on the plan belong to at least two periods which are differentiated by their diverse structure: the first and presumably earlier walls being built of rag-stone alternating with brick bonding-courses carried through the entire thickness, while the second and presumably later walls are, so far as

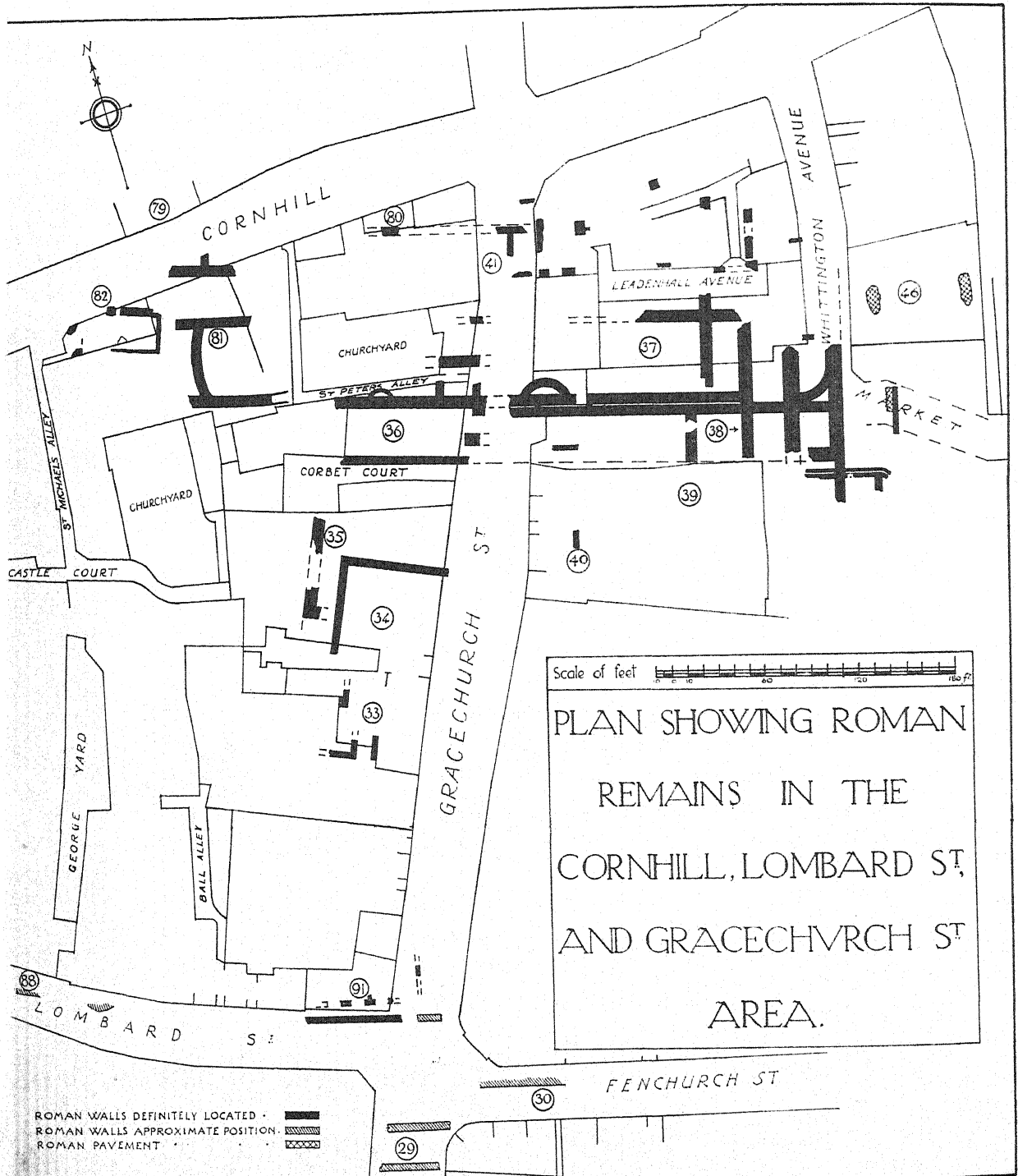


FIG. 3.

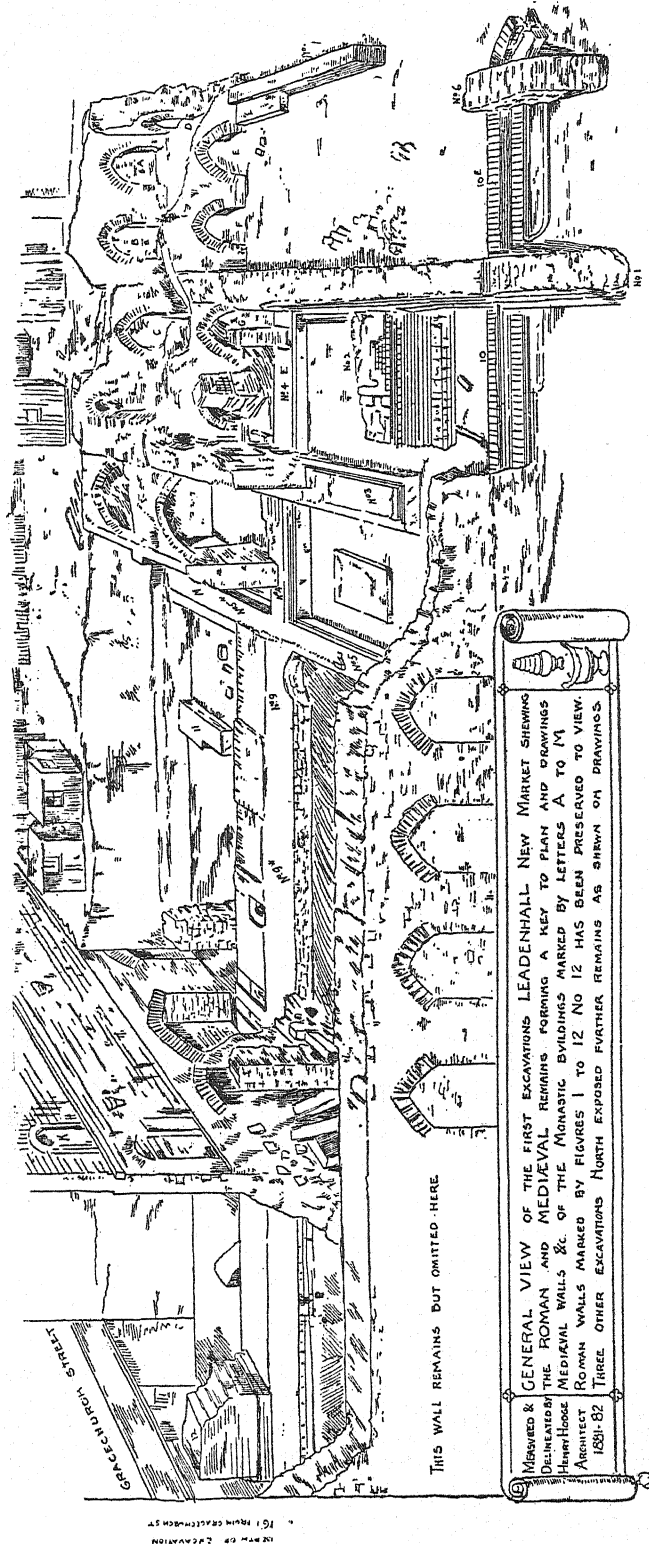
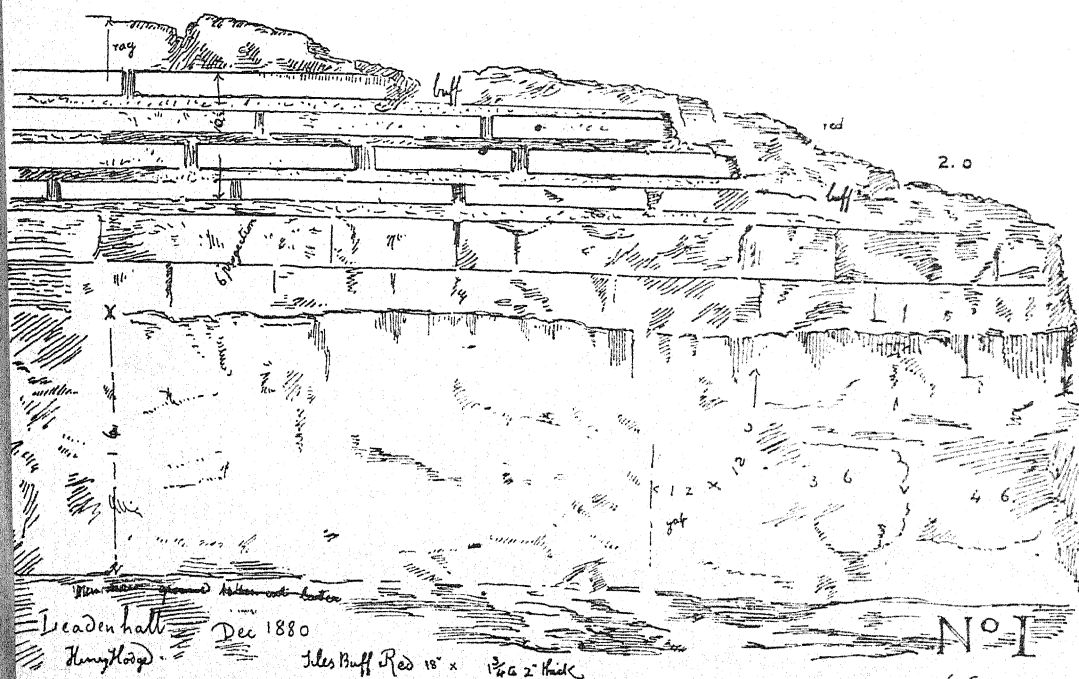
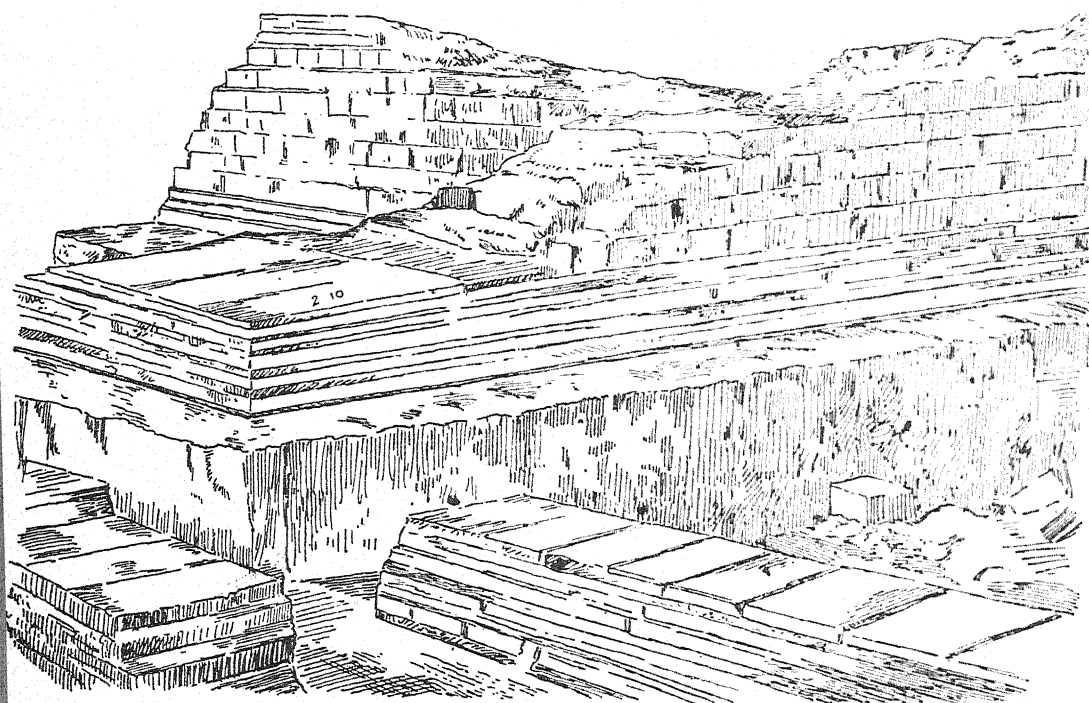


FIG. 4. Leadenhall Market. General View of Excavations.
From *Archæologia*, LXVI, by permission.

Leadenhall No 1 Walls East face with Channel

16B No 1

Running Stones 6' 5" 6' 5" wide



Leadenhall
Henry Hoag

Dec 1880

Isles Buff Red 18" x 18" 2" thick

No 1

(154)

FIG. 5. Leadenhall Market. Wall No. 1.
From *Archæologia*, LXVI, by permission.

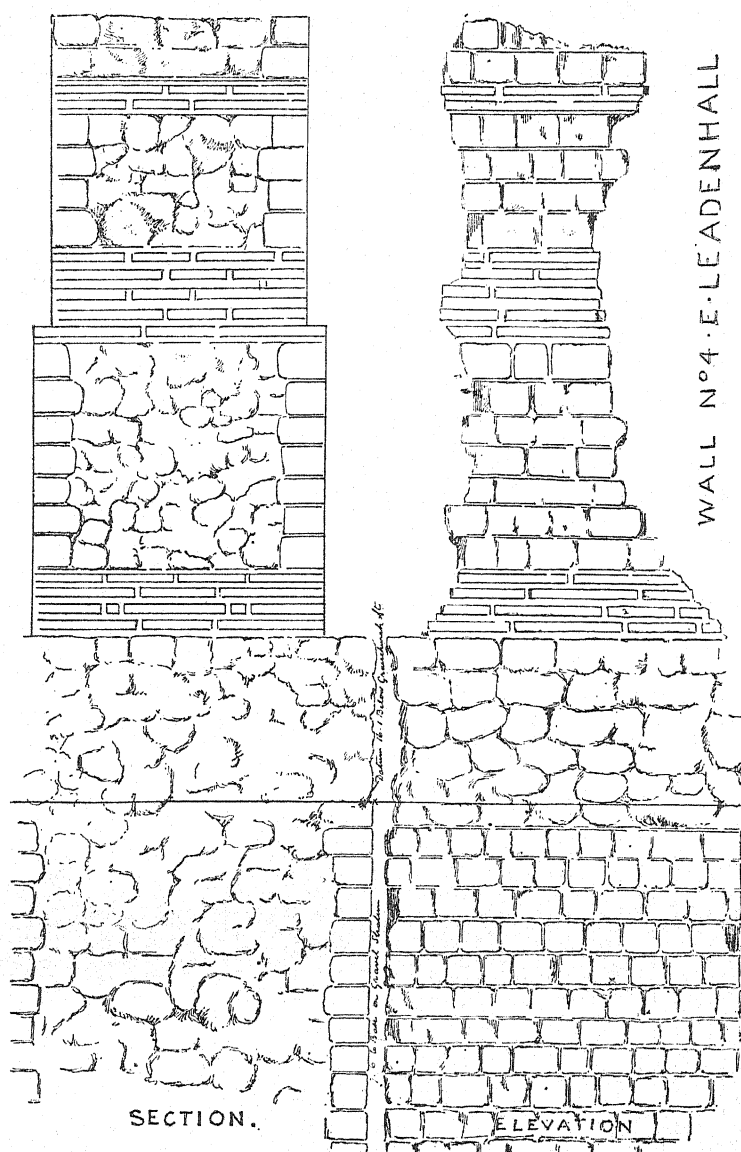


FIG. 6. Leadenhall Market. Wall No. 4.
From *Archæologia*, LXVI, by permission.

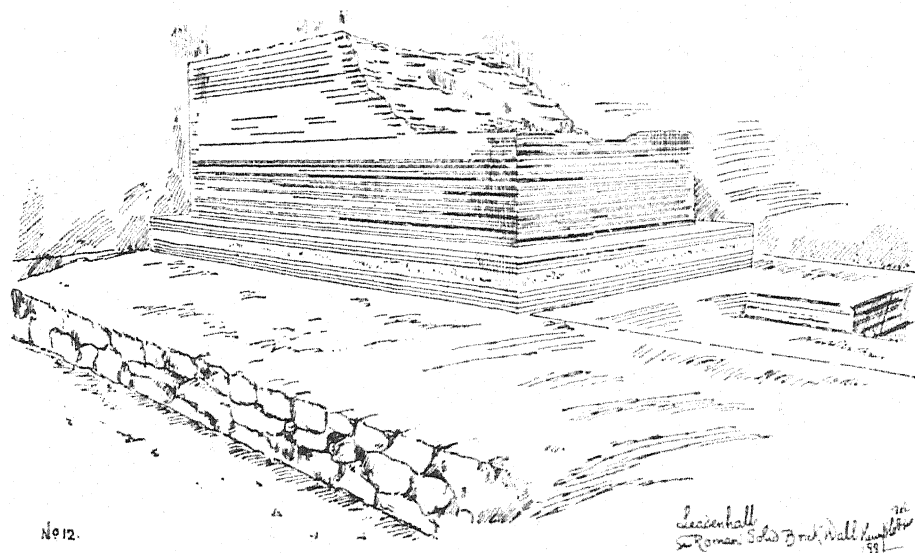


FIG. 7. Leadenhall Market. Wall No. 12.
From *Archæologia*, LXVI, by permission.

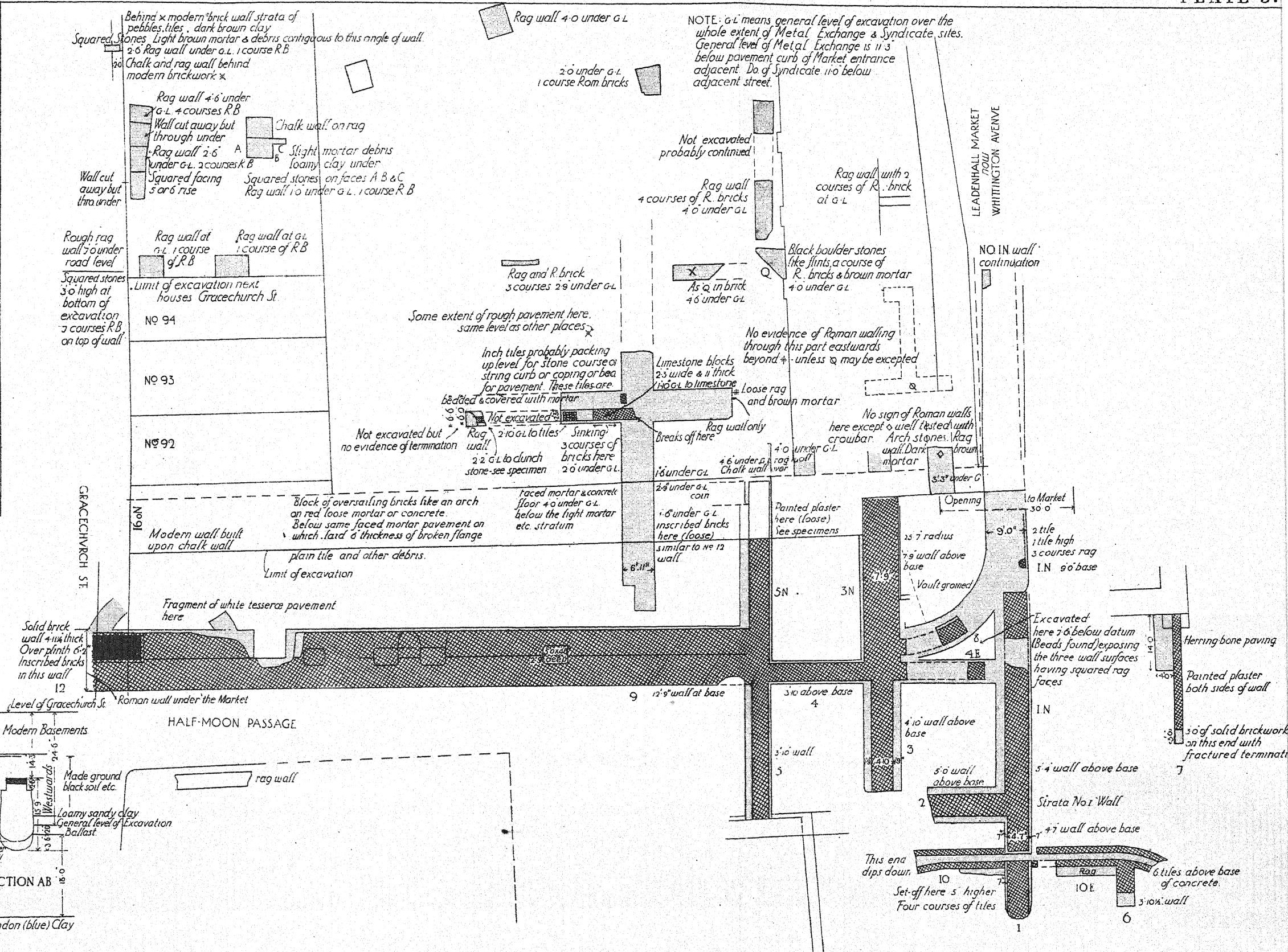
they remain, built entirely of brick. The whole of the complex of walls (1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 8) in connection with the main apse at the E. end are apparently of the same date. They stand on a rubble foundation at a general level of about 14 ft. below the pavement of Gracechurch Street; the walls themselves consist of four courses of bonding-tiles, at the base, followed by seven courses of squared stone and further courses of bonding-tiles. A fragment of wall 4, S. of the apse, was standing over 8 ft. high above the footings. Both this wall and that numbered 2 have offsets on both sides 4 ft. above the footings, but the other walls were not standing to a sufficient height to show whether this feature was common to all. The wall across the chord of the apse and the cross-wall farther W. are nowhere represented in detail, and it is impossible now to say whether they were sleeper-walls, were carried up, or supported steps leading up to a higher level. A hole recently drilled through the southern extension of one of these two walls showed that the foundations went down to a depth of 27 ft. below street-level.

Turning now to the body of the building, it appears probable that the side walls of the original structure are represented by the outer or southern half of the thick wall on the S. and by the fragments of a parallel wall on the N. of the main building. Three facts point in this direction—(a) the footings of the still-existing pier adjoining Gracechurch Street are shown as oversailing this southern half of the thick wall and must consequently be an addition or reconstruction; (b) the suggested early walls are of equal thickness, $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. through the footings; and (c) the centre of the main apse-curve is exactly on the axial line between these two walls. The supposedly early S. wall is carried W. a distance of about 230 ft. from the W. face of the apse, where it terminates in a sloping end, the later northern half of the wall being carried a considerable distance beyond. This would appear to represent the total length of the original building. With regard to (c) it seems inevitable to conclude that the northern part of the apse was destroyed at some subsequent period and the wall continued in a straight line towards the N. An apse with a flattened end is not met with in Roman building.



SECTION AB

London (blue) Clay



That these side walls originally supported an open arcade is rendered likely by one of Hodge's notes on the northern part of the body of the building, which records the finding there of "blocks of oversailing bricks like an arch in red mortar or concrete" which were evidently fallen material, probably from the northern arcade. The evidence in regard to the aisles is somewhat inconclusive, but it may perhaps be assumed that the wall 2 represents the line of the outer wall of the S. aisle, giving an internal width of $24\frac{1}{2}$ ft. The same dimension on the N. side gives almost precisely the inner lines of the wall X.

This wall, and indeed the whole of the N. side of the building, seems to have been very incompletely excavated, and the remains recorded are consequently of a very fragmentary nature. The square blocks near Gracechurch Street may possibly represent the foundations of buttresses to this wall, but this is little more than surmise; and nothing definite can be known until the sites of the houses 92-94 have been examined.

Two distinct floor-levels were observed by Loftus Brock, the lower and perhaps original pavement being of red tesserae and covered by the ashes of a great fire; the concrete only of the upper pavement was observed. A note on Hodge's plan indicates a portion of "faced mortar and concrete floor" 15 ft. below the street-level, in the body of the building. Another note by Hodge relates to paving-stones, 6 ft. 3 in. by 6 ft. 5 in., but with no indication of their precise position or depth from the surface.

The floor-level of the reconstructed building is perhaps preserved in another note of Hodge recording a "fragment of white tesserae pavement" on the sleeper-wall immediately to the E. of the still surviving pier. This would be about $13\frac{1}{2}$ ft. below the modern pavement-level. On the W. side of Gracechurch Street, what appears to have been a third and later floor-level was found; it was of concrete $9\frac{1}{4}$ ft. below the street-level and 8 ft. above the footings of the main S. wall of the building.

The reconstruction and enlargement of the building consisted apparently of (a) the erection of a new S. wall adjoining and immediately to the N. of the old S. wall; (b) perhaps the reconstruction of the old N. wall on its original line; and (c) the extension of the building at least 90 ft. and probably 185 ft. (see general plan Fig. 3) to the W. of its original termination. The S. wall and its extension stand on a rubble base with an ashlar plinth 9 in. high above which the wall, standing in places $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, is constructed entirely of brick. Traces of the stone plinth on the N. wall perhaps imply that this wall also was reconstructed at the same time.

Two features of the S. wall must be noticed:—(a) The surviving fragment near the E. frontage of Gracechurch Street has a fair return-end towards the E. and, 5 ft. farther E., Hodge marks the patch of white tesserae noted above; this implies that there was an arch opening at this point, though a continuous arcade is apparently negatived by the survival of a continuous stretch of the wall itself, W. of the street, as shown on Hodge's plan; (b) projecting N. from the footings of this wall are two curved foundations in the form of flat apses; in the western one Hodge's plan shows the main wall running straight through at the back of the apse implying that the latter feature was not carried up and served only some constructional purpose; the evidence regarding the eastern apse is not so clear but here also there is no evidence that the curved wall was carried up. It would appear then that both these features were inserted with a view to strengthening the foundations, in the manner not uncommonly used in Roman construction. The S. aisle of the building appears to have been extended W. with the main structure; the outer wall 4 ft. thick was found on the W. side of Gracechurch Street.

To summarize these various facts and inferences, it is clear that, at the highest point in the Roman city, stood a great aisled hall with an eastern apse and a total length of at least 350 ft. and probably 420 ft. Its size and its dominant position justify us in regarding it as the principal basilica or town-hall of Londinium. As such, it is appropriately the largest known in Britain, its nearest rival being the Cirencester basilica with a length of 333 ft., whilst the Silchester building is 276 ft., the new basilica found by Mr. D. Atkinson at Wroxeter 250 ft., and that at Caerwent only 180 ft. long. It seems that in an earlier phase the London Basilica was itself some 90 ft. shorter, and that this earlier structure was destroyed by fire, but whether we are there once more confronted with the handiwork of Boudicca it would be vain now to guess.

If the London basilica conformed with the normal provincial type, it opened either to the N. or to the S. on a forum, or open market-place, flanked on its remaining three sides by shops and offices. Of the alternative sites, the northern is rendered improbable (a) because it would place the forum too far from the centre of the city, and (b) because the scanty remains of Roman building found in this district are nearly all on a different alignment from that of the basilica. The southern site is from all points of view a more eligible one, though not without its difficulties. Some distance to the S. of the basilica a series of structures have been found which appear to lie on lines parallel to those of the basilica itself and may thus be suspected to have co-existed with it. Between the two groups of buildings, however, on the W. of Gracechurch Street, a number of remains have been recorded within the area of the suggested forum, which, supposing that it equalled the basilica in length, would have had the northern part of Gracechurch Street very nearly as its axial line. These remains, however, are on a different alignment from the basilica and may thus belong to a previous lay-out. The buildings on the S. of the site include that discovered at the angle of Lombard Street and Gracechurch Street, which possessed an arcade on a rather imposing scale. This arcade may well have opened into a series of apartments facing outwards from the forum in a fashion not unusual in the planning of Roman buildings of this class.

It may perhaps be noted that taking the two longitudinal roads, suggested on p. 48, as bounding the forum enclosure on the E. and W., a central line between the two would strike the river just to the E. of Old London Bridge. Here or hereabouts, as we shall see (p. 51), is the most likely position for the older, and perhaps Roman, timber bridge which was destroyed after the erection of the stone bridge in the 13th century.

It has been suggested that a large column-base (Plate 18) now in the crypt at the Guildhall may have formed a part of the basilica, but there is as little evidence for this as for the alleged tradition that it formed "part of a series of twelve" [*Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, 1925]. The find-spot of the base is unknown, and the fact that the stone, as identified by Dr. H. H. Thomas of the Geological Survey, is an Egyptian granite may throw doubt upon its genuineness as a London antiquity. On the other hand, this material was fairly extensively exported from Egypt to Rome in classical times, and the size (5½ ft. in diameter) and weight (over 5 tons) of the fragment, together with its lack of any individual distinction, render it highly improbable that the relic is a modern collector's importation. Marbles and other architectural materials were regularly transported long distances throughout the Roman empire, and we may provisionally accept the present base as a remnant of some public building of Londinium, or even as part of some memorial-column such

as may possibly have supported the statue of Hadrian (*see below*, p. 44). The diameter of the shaft was about 4 ft. at the base, and the column must therefore have been about 40 ft. high.

Of other Roman public buildings no trace has been identified with any approach to certainty. On several widely scattered sites—Blomfield Street, Cannon Street, Cornhill, London Wall, Lothbury, the General Post Office, and Wood Street:—*Victoria County History, London*, I, 90, 96, 111, 113, 122, 134; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VII, 1235; *Ephem. Epigraph.*, IV, 207; *Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, N.S., V, 189—have been found bricks bearing the stamp P.P. BR. LON or the like, which is interpreted with probability as that of “the *portitores* of the province of Britain at London” (*see* p. 176). These were the collectors of the *portoria*; their stamp presumably implies that the structure for which the bricks were originally intended was the chief Custom House of Britain. None of the stamped bricks, however, is recorded to have been found actually built into a wall, and nothing can therefore be inferred from them as to the distribution of official buildings.

The religions of the city are represented by inscriptions to the Divinity of the Emperor (pp. 59 and 170), to Mithras (Plate 10 and compare Plate 9), to the Mother Goddesses (Plate 6, and compare figure on same plate), and to Isis (Plate 53, from Southwark), by an altar bearing the figure of Diana (Plate 12), by an instrument used probably in the oriental Attis-Cybele cult,¹ and by a few small objects bearing Christian symbols or inscriptions,² but by no recognizable shrine or temple; for Camden’s tradition that St. Paul’s Cathedral occupies the site of a temple to Diana is as lacking in scientific foundation as is the rival theory that Westminster Abbey represents a former temple to Apollo. Nor is there any support for the more modern suggestion that the discovery of a stamped ingot of silver with coins of Arcadius and Honorius at the Tower of London localizes the Roman mint in the neighbourhood of its present representative. Apart from anything else, there is no reason to suppose that the London mint was operative in the time of those emperors. Even less excuse is there for the conjecture that the 16th-century amphitheatre in Southwark known as the Bear Garden was the lineal descendant of a Roman amphitheatre, by token of the discovery of a three-pronged fork and an Early Iron Age knife in the vicinity! On the other hand, remains of some of the public baths which were a feature of every Roman town, may well lurk somewhere in the Inventory, but, since the primary distinction between public and private baths was merely one of size, their identity would normally be obscured in London by the fragmentary nature of the evidence. The largest known portion of a bath-building is that which is still partly visible under

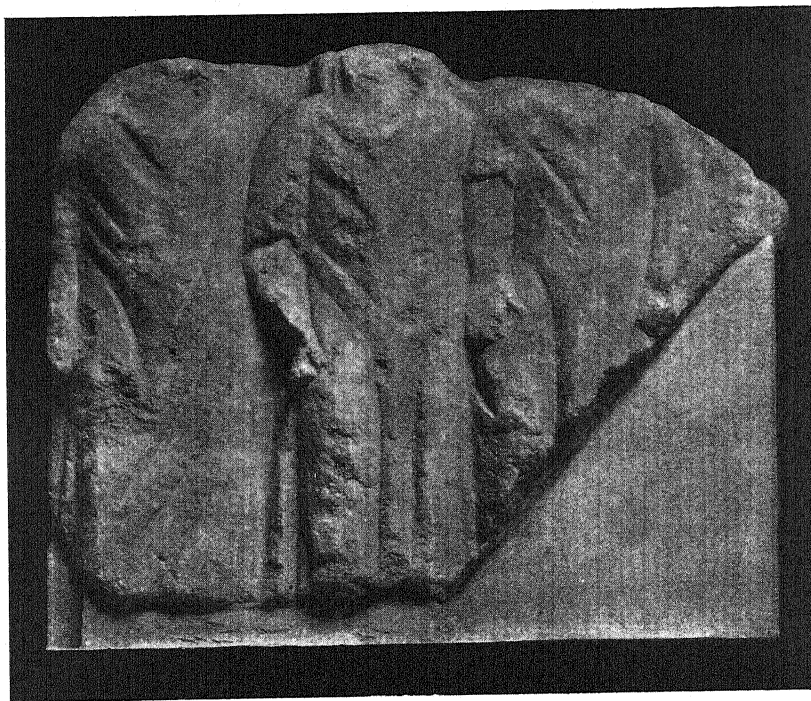
¹ The bronze forceps (Plate 4), elaborately decorated with busts of Attis, Cybele and the planetary deities presiding over the eight days of the Roman week, has been ingeniously and convincingly identified by Mr. A. G. Francis as an instrument used in the castration of the priests of Cybele.—*Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, XIX (1926), 95. It was found in the Thames near London Bridge in 1840, and is now in the British Museum; it may (or may not) have been “thrown into the Thames by an Early Christian iconoclast, perhaps during a raid on the Temple.” It shows signs of much usage, and was carefully repaired in Roman times.

² Two lamps in the Guildhall Museum bear respectively the Chi-Rho Monogram, and a cross with the inscription SPES IN DEO. The origin of the former, illustrated in the *Victoria County History, London*, I, 25, is not quite certain, but is probably London. Eight ingots of pewter found in the Thames near Battersea Bridge bear the stamp SYAGRI with the Chi-Rho Monogram and SPES IN DEO or the Alpha and Omega.—*Brit. Mus. Guide to Rom. Brit.*, 32. A disc-head of a pin, in the Roach Smith Collection at the British Museum, is thought to represent Constantine’s vision of the Cross.—C. Roach Smith, *Cat. Lon. Antiq.*, 63; W. R. Lethaby, *Londinium: Architecture and the Crafts*, 220. The most substantial evidence of Christianity in London is, of course, the literary record (above, pp. 4 and 7).

the Coal Exchange in Lower Thames Street (No. 19, p. 142)—a likely enough spot for a public bathing establishment, in close proximity to the river. Another bath is noted in Threadneedle Street (No. 75, p. 144), and hypocausts in Mincing Lane (No. 10, p. 134) and elsewhere may indicate yet others of which nothing certain is known.

Indeed, apart from the town-wall, the basilica, and the few stones bearing dedicatory inscriptions, only one definite monumental relic of the public life of Roman London remains to us. This is the famous bronze head from a colossal statue of the Emperor Hadrian, found in 1834 in the Thames near the third arch of the new London Bridge opposite Fresh and Botolph Wharfs, and now in the British Museum (Frontispiece and Plate 1). It has been regarded as representing the emperor "at the age of about thirty" [H. B. Walters, *The Art of the Romans*, 173; and *V.C.H., London*, I, 110]; it is not likely, however, to have been made before Hadrian's accession, at the age of forty-one, and the most obvious occasion for its erection is that of the visit of the emperor to Britain in A.D. 122, when he was forty-six years old. The truth of the matter is that the work belongs to the era *par excellence* of academic refinement in art, the era in which smooth and generalized form was correct and it was indecorous to be over thirty. Hence in more than one respect the head, as a portrait, is open to criticism, but it is admittedly a good second-rate example of the courtly Roman school which produced the Antinous Mondragone. For all its polish it has a breadth and dignity that are peculiarly Hadrianic, and, set high up on the pedestal or even the column which once carried it in some public place of Londinium, the statue must have formed an impressive memorial of imperial domination. With Romano-British art in the narrower sense it has nothing to do. Sir George Macdonald appositely quotes Arrian, Hadrian's legate of Cappadocia, who, in a letter to his master from Trapezus, wrote: "Your statue has been set up too. I like its attitude: it is pointing to the sea. Its execution, however, is unsatisfactory; it is poor as a portrait, and poor as a work of art. Do send out a statue worthy to bear your name and modelled in the attitude I have just described, for the spot is most appropriate for a permanent memorial" [see *Journ. Rom. Studies*, XVI, 2]. So doubtless was the London statue "sent out" to Britain from some Roman atelier on the supplication of a tactful provincial official or even of the Provincial Council itself. As the image of one of the most unprovocatively able of Roman emperors, it may well have retained its position among the monuments of the city throughout the Roman period, and may only have found its way into the river during the looting of metal-objects in post-Roman times. If the colossal bronze hands (Plates 2 and 3) found in Lower Thames and Gracechurch Streets, and now in the British and Guildhall Museums respectively, could be shown to be parts of the same statue, the *dissecta membra* would suggest a trail of destruction southwards from the neighbourhood of the basilica to the river and might indicate the forum as the original site of the monument. But this is mere conjecture.

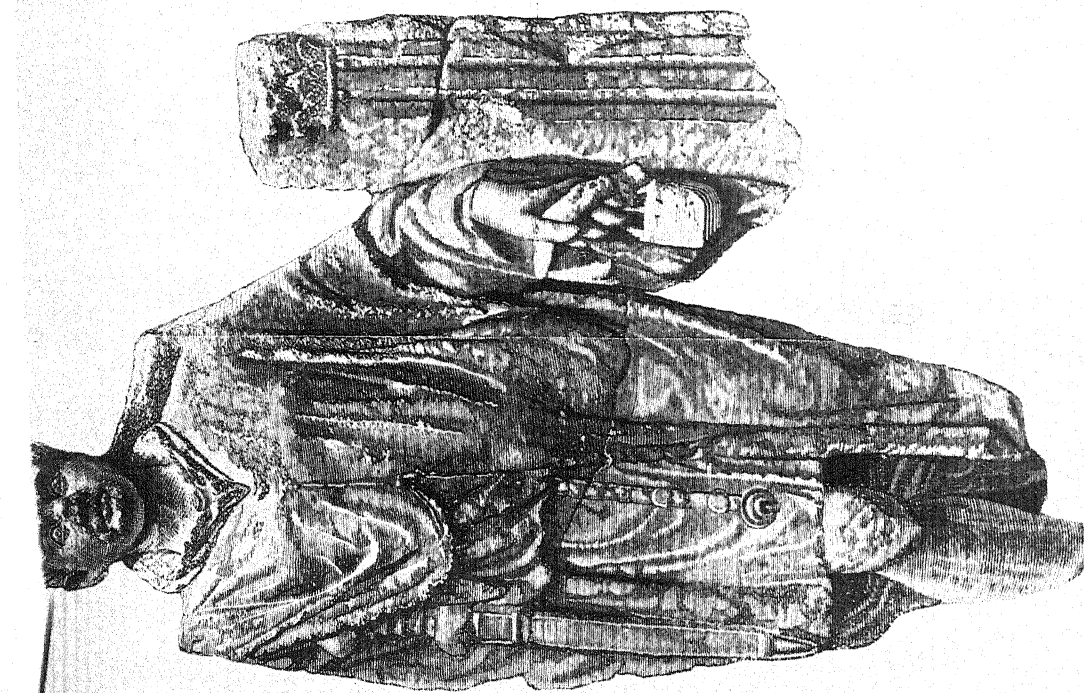
Private buildings—dwelling-houses, shops, stores, workshops—were in some cases of timber and daub, particularly during the earlier phases of the occupation. Traces of buildings of this kind have been observed on the site of the General Post Office in the north-western part of the city, and the houses burnt, possibly by Boudicca, in the neighbourhood of King William Street seem to have been of similar construction (above, p. 32). But for the most part the Roman houses were well built of rubble, usually with bonding-courses of brick, and rarely of brick throughout. Where the subsoil was unstable, as in the rubbish-filled valley of the Walbrook, piles were used plentifully beneath the footings. The buildings may in some cases, in accordance with a common Roman custom, have been rendered externally in cement.



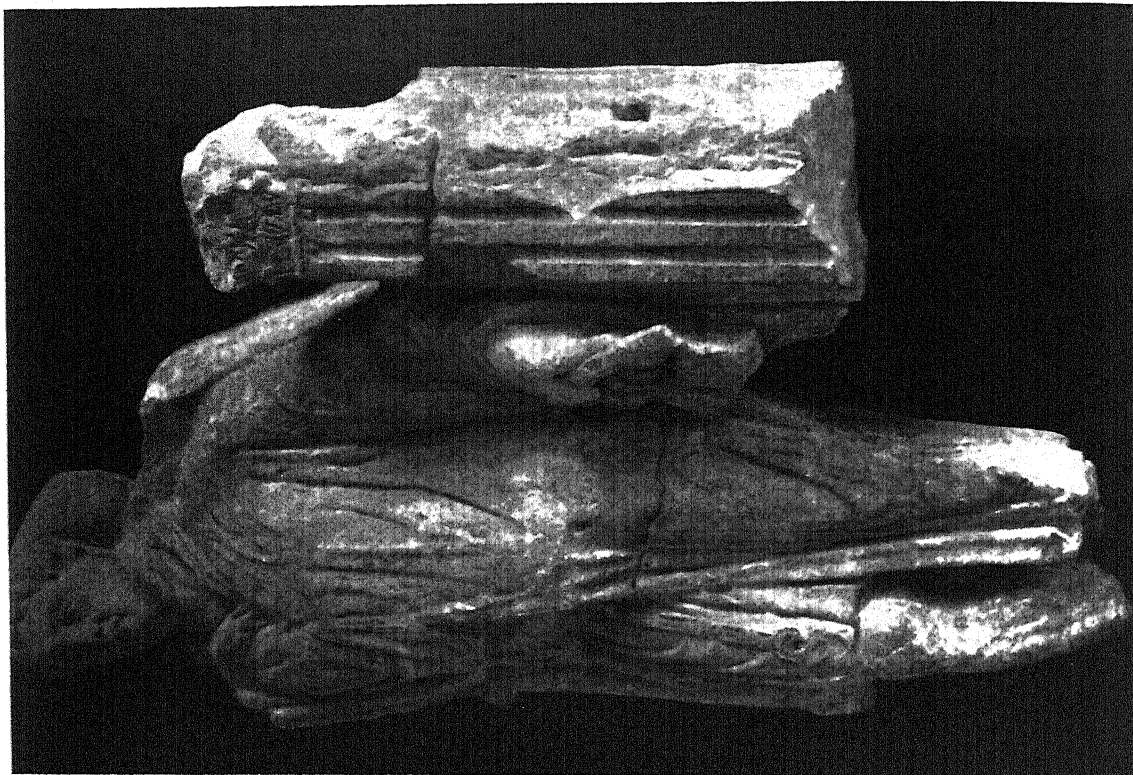
FRAGMENT OF SCULPTURE, found in London before 1859.
British Museum. (About 1/3).



SEETHING LANE. Fragment of Sculpture of Mother Goddesses, found about 1840.
Guildhall Museum. (About 3/16). See pp. 45 and 141.

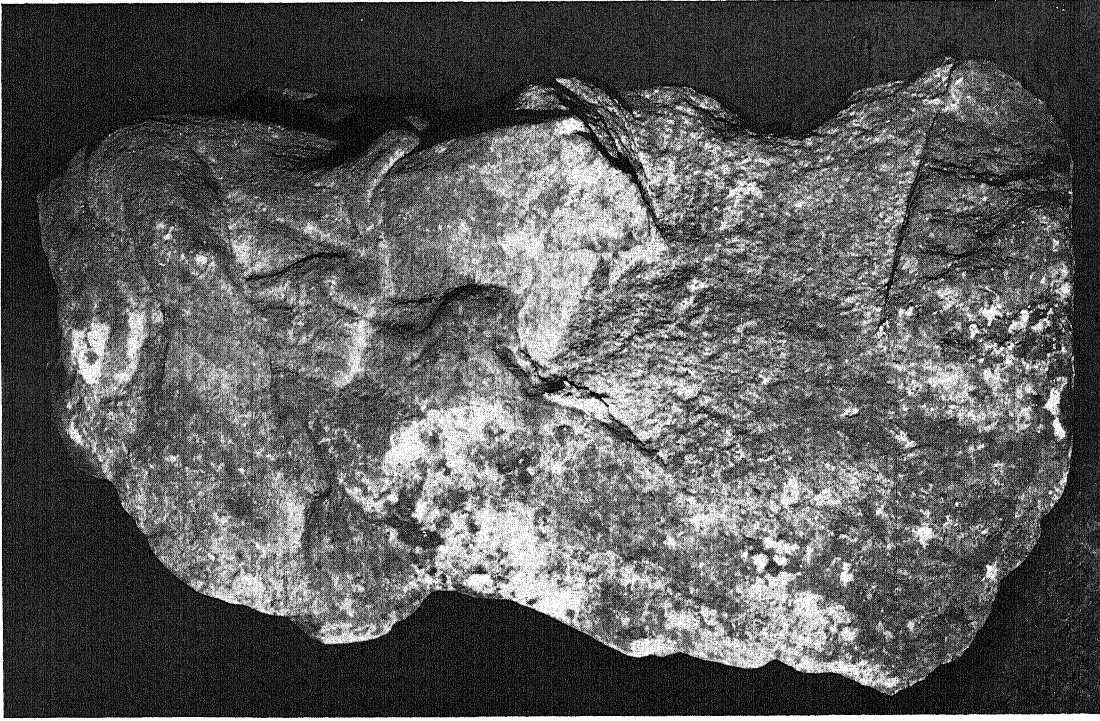


From an engraving in *On a Bastion of London Wall*, Price, published 1880.



As existing.

BASTION (10), CAMOMILE STREET. Figure of a soldier found in 1876. *Guildhall Museum*. (About 1/8). See pp. 45 and 103.



SCULPTURED FRAGMENT (Torso), found in London.
Guildhall Museum. (1/6).



SCULPTURED FRAGMENT (Rape of Sabines?), found in
London. *Guildhall Museum.* (About 1/4). See p. 45.



Putto, etc., forming part of a framed tablet.
(About 1/6).



Torso. (About 1/6).



Probably part of a funeral banquet. (About 3/16). See p. 45.

FRAGMENTS OF SCULPTURES found in London. *Guildhall Museum.*

Certain it is that normally the inner walls were plastered and painted from the earliest period onwards. Numerous fragments preserved in the museums of London show that the designs, though usually crude in form and garish in colour, were often elaborate and included figure-subjects [see W. R. Lethaby, *Londinium: Architecture and the Crafts*, 162-174]. The floors were sometimes merely of rammed earth, clay or chalk, but were frequently paved with cement which was either brought to a smooth surface or was covered with *tesserae*. These were sometimes wholly of red brick but were often variegated to form mosaic patterns, and the number of elaborate pavements of this type recorded from London would alone testify to the wealth of the city in Roman times [Plates 42, 47, 48, 49, 50]. To the E. of the Walbrook upwards of 21 sites N. of the river have each yielded one or more ornamented floors, and W. of the stream at least fifteen sites are similarly distinguished—the proportion as between the two areas coinciding with the general eastward trend of wealth and population noted above in other contexts (p. 28). Several of the pavements are ambitious, and, if regarded as carpets to be walked upon, rather than as the wall-pictures to which they are converted in museums, may claim a certain artistic merit. They were doubtless in many cases the work of the Italian journeymen whose descendants still produce a considerable proportion of our commercial mosaic. One of these journeymen seems to have placed his name, or that of his patron, upon his floor (see p. 176), but the best of them—the Bacchus pavement from Leadenhall Street (No. 42, p. 127) or of the Bacchante from Broad Street (No. 57, p. 108)—are by craftsmen who are only less known to us than they must have been to most of their contemporaries. They were humble enough as artists, and the work was based upon hard-worn alien traditions, but at least they added, not undecoratively, to the colour of Roman London.

The general aspect of the London architecture can only be reconstructed from analogies elsewhere, but carved fragments from houses or from the public buildings which stood amongst them give a fairly adequate impression of the character of their decorative detail. It is not inspired. The dull, heavy work of local craftsmen copying a foreign tradition is rarely relieved by the naïveté that occasionally strikes a spark from barbaric talent elsewhere. Corinthian foliage assumes club-like forms (Plate 20) or becomes unsculptural outline (Plate 15). Figure-carving from pediments, columns or shrines, or from the cemeteries without the walls, is usually hackwork of the poorest order; witness the ridged drapery and weak forms of the stones from Islington and Tottenham Court Road, or of the *putto* which at one time flanked an architectural inscription. The relief, now in the Guildhall Museum (Plate 9), is of greater interest by reason both of its workmanship and its subject. It most probably belongs to the large and well-known group of sepulchral reliefs representing the funeral banquet. In this case the whole of the top part of the sculpture has been removed and with it the reclining figure on a couch; of this part only the edge of the couch survives, with portions of a pelt draped over it. The seated figure at the foot of the couch is much damaged, and the cauldron-like object on tripod legs in the form of leopards is no doubt the table on which rested the funeral meats, etc. Best, perhaps, of the less sophisticated works is the fragment of the Mother Goddesses (Plate 6), whose rigid monumental drapery gives an aspect of Blake-like majesty, an exaggerated severity which might lead a modern eye to overrate the skill of the sculptor. But of all the London stone-carvings for which a Romano-British original can be claimed, three only are of definite artistic merit. The first (Plate 7) is the tombstone of a soldier, found in the Camomile Street bastion—perhaps the best example in Britain of the early Imperial "legionary sculpture," represented by the centurion tombstone at Colchester but not very common in this country. The second (Plate 8), the exact

find-spot of which is not recorded, is also unlikely to be later than the time of Trajan and may be considerably earlier. It is a fragment from a scene representing the rape of the Sabines. The drapery is weak and conventional, but the work still bears the imprint of the Augustan tradition and receives from it a certain academic distinction which partly conceals the inadequacy of the individual sculptor. The third (Plate 11) of the outstanding sculptures is the damaged head (sometimes wrongly described as that of a negro), which is again from the Camomile Street bastion. The form of the close-clipped hair and beard suggests a date not earlier than the second quarter of the 3rd century. The carving is strong and incisive, with a linear emphasis which is due partly to the provincial sculptor and partly to the general fashion of the age in which he worked. In spite, however, of a certain crudeness and gaucheness, manifest for example in the placing of the ear, the work is a strong and expressive portrait, and ranks high in Romano-British art.

In a class apart stand three other Roman sculptures from London. Like the head of Hadrian already discussed, they may with probability be regarded as ancient importations from one or other of the older centres of classical culture. Two of them are of foreign marble, but they were found apparently in the valley of the Walbrook near Bond Court; they were formerly in the Ransom Collection and are now in the London Museum. One of these, the head and shoulders of a river-god (Plate 10) is entirely Hellenistic in feeling, and, in spite of the somewhat turgidly exaggerated forms which characterized the later Greek art, it would, as Haverfield remarked, "take a high place, by whatever standard it were judged" [*Arch.*, LX, 45]. The other marble work is the headless figure of a Genius or a Bonus Eventus (Plate 10), and is an efficient but rather dull example of academic Greco-Roman sculpture [*Ib.*, 45]. The third work (Plate 68) is a bronze statuette of an archer, now in the British Museum, found in Queen Street in 1842 at a depth of between 12 and 13 ft. In the words of the original description, "the bow and arrow were probably of richer metal than the figure itself, but no vestiges of them were discovered. The aperture for the bow is seen in the closed left hand which held it, and the bent fingers of the right appear in the act of drawing the arrow to its full extent. . . . The eyes are of silver, with the pupils open; the hair disposed in graceful curls on the head, as well as on the chin and upper lip. . . . The steadfast look and determined expression of the whole face are much heightened by the silver eyes" [*Arch.*, XX, 543]. The tense, nervous poise of the figure is again the work of an artist versed in the later Greek tradition, but a certain "provincialism" in the execution suggests that a Gallic origin is not in this case impossible. It may, however, be the direct product of a Mediterranean workshop; it has at least nothing of Britain in it.

These works of art have already introduced us to the overseas trade which was the basis of Roman London's prosperity. Of local industries, apart from the normal trades such as that of the shoemakers whose leather clippings are found by thousands in the rubbish-choked valley of the Walbrook at the Bank of England, Founders Court and elsewhere, there is little trace. Pottery-kilns have been recorded at St. Paul's (No. 174, p. 140), and possible traces of glass-working at Clement's Lane (No. 99, p. 113). Otherwise it is from the vast quantities of imported oil- or wine-jars, of which fragments are turned up in almost every excavation in the City, and from the remains of the wharves where they were landed, that we are left to reconstruct the daily business of the town. These wharves seem to have lined the river frontage almost continuously E. of the Walbrook, for it is difficult in any other way to account for the ranges of massive timber-structure which are found from time to time in the neighbourhood of Lower Thames Street, Miles Lane, Billingsgate and the Custom

House (Nos. 21, 22, 103 and 20, pp. 107, 132, 143). W. of the Walbrook the records are less certain, but it will doubtless be found that the structures extended in this direction also.

Somewhere to the E. of the Walbrook must have stood the Roman bridge, of which, however, we have no mention unless it be that of Cassius Dio (*see above*, p. 2). In later Saxon times there was certainly a bridge, for a witch was drowned at "Lundene brige" in King Edgar's reign.¹ It was then of timber, "so broad that wagons could pass each other on it" (*St. Olaf's Saga*, Chap. 11), and it is far more likely than not that this bridge was in fact substantially of Roman origin. In the north the Romans built bridges that were, partly at least, of stone, but in a comparatively rough tidal river like the Thames they may well have preferred timber, which is more resilient than stone and more easily repaired if damaged. Similar reasons determined the retention of timber bridges over other tidal rivers, such as the Monmouthshire Usk, until the beginning of the 19th century. The only hint as to the actual site of the Roman bridge of London is that of the abundant Roman relics found across the river in the vicinity of Old London Bridge at the time of its demolition about 1835. This structure was in process of construction for many years in the latter part of the 12th century and it may be assumed that the Saxon (and Roman?) bridge was allowed to stand until the completion of the new work. The implication is that the older bridge was not on exactly the same site as its mediaeval successor, and it is reasonable to suppose that the two bridges bore much the same relationship to each other as the latter bore to Rennie's (existing) bridge, which is some 200 ft. farther up-stream. The problem is discussed by Mr. Parsloe, who incidentally dismisses Stow's supposed evidence for a bridge as far down-stream as Botolph's Wharf (*see* p. 192).

At the southern bridgehead (wherever its precise site), an area of rather less than 15 acres seems to have been occupied somewhat closely by an unfortified settlement of fairly prosperous houses, the remains of which are known to have included two or three decorated mosaic pavements. A settlement on such a spot was inevitable, but there is no sound archæological basis for the suggestion that it may have formed the original nucleus of London. For this, the hills on the northern bank were the obvious setting, and it is easier to suppose that Southwark came into being (quite early) as a suburb.

Lastly, on the basis of the few fixed points which have been described above, and of such other hints as are offered in the Inventory or elsewhere, an attempt may be made to recover something of the Roman road system, on the one hand as it impinged upon the city, and on the other hand as it was developed within the fortified area. In the following paragraphs, the evidence has been collated afresh by Mr. A. W. Clapham.

A. *The Lay-out and Street Plan of the Walled City.* (*See* p. 68, Fig. 8.)

The available evidence for the street-plan of the later Roman London is unusually scanty and the bases upon which any reconstruction must be founded are so dislocated and attenuated that any result must be in the highest degree hypothetical. The problem is further complicated by the fact that the lay-out of the earlier and no doubt largely timber-built city, destroyed by Boudicca, most probably differed entirely from that of the later city, as being the result of haphazard and uncontrolled growth,

¹ J. M. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus ævi Saxonici*, DXCI.

whereas the later city was presumably laid out anew after the disaster. Thus, it may well happen that some building of the early town, ill-recorded and undatable, may by its presence among buildings and streets of the later age convey a false impression and appear to negative the existence of a street, a forum or a building which had, in fact, concealed its remains from view.

In spite, however, of the insufficiency of the evidence and the uncertainty of its application, a few facts emerge and a few conclusions may reasonably be founded upon them. Any reconstruction of the street-plan of Roman London must be based on three things—(a) the position of the town-gates and bridge, (b) the position of the crossings of the Walbrook, and (c) the actual finds of roadways, more or less certain, which have been made from time to time.

It may be postulated that the Walbrook cut the town in half not only geographically but also from the point of view of town-planning; and there is no reason to suppose that one general scheme embraced the two halves; but with this proviso the safest starting-point for any reconstruction is this stream and its crossings, two of which have been identified with some show of plausibility. The northern of these crossings was opposite the E. end of Bucklersbury, where a macadamized roadway was found on either side the apparent course of the brook; the southern was, at or near the S. side of Cannon Street, where the sill and other portions of a timber bridge are reported to have been found.

To consider first the planning of the city E. of the Walbrook :—

The southern crossing aligns excellently with the section of roadway found in Great Eastcheap in 1831 and the gravel bank found farther W. running approximately parallel to the river and the river-wall. This may therefore be considered a reasonably certain line, particularly as it cuts no known Roman building. Indeed, in Bush Lane the Roman walls continue at frequent intervals until the line of Cannon Street is reached, where they stop abruptly. A few yards farther W. the line is marked by the old position of London Stone, and Roach Smith observed that the usual evidences of Roman buildings were entirely absent in Cannon Street [*Arch.*, XXIX, 154].

If the northern crossing be produced eastward on a line parallel to the line thus established, the suggested road will be found to pass just to the S. of the arcaded building recently discovered in Lombard Street, and again cuts no known Roman building.

So much for the latitudinal lines; the longitudinal lines are governed largely by the position of the basilica. As this building was of very considerable size, it may reasonably be supposed that it was bounded at both ends by a street. The E. end of the building is definitely on record, and a line passing along it and produced at right angles to the latitudinal system already suggested, not only cuts no known building, but strikes approximately the site of Bishopsgate in the town-wall. Immediately S.E. of the basilica this line is cut by a covered-in drain which may well have been so constructed to pass under the street. The completion of the squares formed by the two systems may supply the line of another street to the W., for this line equates very nearly with the two parallel walls found by Mr. Lambert immediately N. of King William's Statue in King William Street. This line would also miss any definitely recorded wall near the W. end of the basilica. Beyond this point it would be inadvisable to pursue the reconstruction; but it may be noted that the lines indicated would produce double, or more strictly quadruple, *insulae* (about 480 ft. square), and there were doubtless in most cases intermediate streets reducing

the actual *insulae* to more normal dimensions.¹ It should also be noted that the suggested arrangement provides a space between the southern road and the river-wall, nearly equal to that between the same road and that to the north.

Turning to the section of the city to the W. of the Walbrook, it will be found that the evidence is even less instructive here than in the part already dealt with. Something, however, may be said of the road from the northern crossing of the Walbrook; that this ran in a north-westerly direction is suggested by the long length of drain found crossing Queen Victoria Street. Its course indicated a debouchment for the road at Newgate, and the straight line connecting these two points would pass immediately under the tower of St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside. This tower is definitely recorded by Wren to have been built on a Roman causeway which he described sufficiently to show that he was not mistaken in his opinion. There are thus on this line three definite points and a general direction which are sufficient to establish its probability (*see also* p. 79). The only other point which need be noticed is the discovery of a roadway in 1869 under the crossing of Queen Victoria Street and Watling Street, and nearly in a line with the latter street. A further portion of roadway was found elsewhere in Watling Street in 1833 but, as there was a difference of nearly 10 ft. between the depths of the two surfaces, they probably had little or no connection with one another.

B. *The Roman Roads Outside the Walls.* (*See large Plan B.*)

That the Roman road-system of south-eastern Britain was based upon a crossing of the Thames at or near London is apparent from the most superficial study of the subject. No less than six main roads, four to the N. and two to the S. of the river, radiated from London and its immediate neighbourhood. The general course of these roads may be traced, with little margin of error, until they reach the immediate environs of the city; up to this point there is a general agreement of archaeological opinion, but beyond it the subject has given rise to a number of theories and to one general scheme, which, since it at present holds the field, must be considered in some detail.

The six undoubted main roads of Roman origin which converge on London are as follows:—(a) *Watling Street* (S.), formerly known as *Casincg Street*, from Dover; (b) *Stane Street*, from Chichester; (c) *Akeman Street*, from Silchester; (d) *Watling Street* (N.), from Wroxeter and Chester, etc.; (e) *Ermine Street*, from York; and (f) the *Colchester Road* from Colchester. All these lose themselves at a greater or less distance from their destination, leaving the final stage to be deduced from archaeological evidence or from general probability. The fact that when last identifiable most of the roads do not point directly to the city has been the primary basis for the various theories which have been elaborated into a single comprehensive road-scheme in the *Victoria County History* and *Archaeologia*, LXVIII. This scheme is briefly as follows:—That the road-system was first laid out without regard to the Roman city, which was not then of sufficient importance to be considered, and that the two main crossings of the Thames were in the neighbourhood of the Custom House on the E. and Westminster on the W. These points are arrived at by producing the last available lines of the Roman roads, noted above, until they strike the river, and supporting the system thus produced by the evidence of burials and other Roman finds, Saxon churches, etc., along the lines

¹ It is worth noting, in this connection, that the suggested divisions are an exact multiple of the Roman *iugerum*. Professor Haverfield states that the "unit of Roman land-surveying, the *iugerum* was a rectangular space of 120 by 240 Roman feet . . . and it seems that *insulae* were often laid out with definite reference to the *iugerum* [F. Haverfield, *Ancient Town Planning*, 79].

marked out. The theory depends largely on two suppositions:—(a) That Roman roads were not diverted from the straight line except by formidable obstacles; and (b) that any isolated Roman burial necessarily implies a road in the immediate vicinity. That both suppositions are either fallacious or unreliable is proved by the known facts relating to Roman roads and burials in the immediate neighbourhood of London itself. Thus the Roman road from Colchester to London makes at least two definite deviations from the straight line between Chelmsford and Stratford, which are not demanded by any very serious obstacle; and the northern Watling Street makes a double bend not 11 miles N. of the Marble Arch. Again, at Cirencester, of the six Roman roads entering the town, only two point directly towards the site [see *Arch.*, LXIX, 165]. Roman burials are scattered somewhat indiscriminately over the E. end of London, and the choice of two or three out of a dozen or so to support a given line is unconvincing. As to the evidence afforded by Saxon churches, it is now generally agreed that a large number of the 120 parish churches of ancient foundation in the city of London and its immediate neighbourhood go back to Saxon times; and the choice of 20 of these which happen to have retained definite evidence of their Saxon antiquity is a very insecure basis for argument. In any case, if Saxon churches had any connection at all with the Roman road-system, they must in the nature of the case be connected with the latest phase of that system; that is to say, with the road-system of the fully developed Roman city. This consideration would seem to vitiate the argument, as the Roman city no doubt ultimately contained a network of roads which would render it impossible to build a church within the walls, at any great distance from two or more of them.¹ The possible connection of Saxon churches with the road-system dating from before the development of the city would appear to be still more remote.

The feature which supplies the strongest support to the theory is the general course of the two portions of Watling Street, N. and S. of the river, which on the face of it seems to point to a crossing at Westminster. An ambiguous note of the 14th-century chronicler, Higden [*Polychronicon*, Rolls Ser., II, 46–7], has been taken [*Arch.*, LXVIII, 232] to imply that such a road was then actually in existence.² Stukeley [*Itin. Curiosum* (1776), 118–9] enunciated or elaborated the theory that this was the Roman line, and connected it with Stangate ferry (Lambeth) and a small portion of road farther E. That this line was the means of communication between Verulamium and the channel ports before the arrival of the Romans is not in itself improbable, but that the Roman bridge mentioned by Cassius Dio may be located “with some degree of certainty” [*Victoria County History, London*, I, 29] on this line is a statement for which no proof can be adduced. That the lay-out of the Roman Watling Street both N. and S. of the river may have been influenced by the

¹ It has been argued that only the main lines of communication would be likely to survive in the plan of Saxon London (*Proc. Soc. Ant.* (2nd Ser.), XXIX, 209). That this supposition is devoid of any sound foundation is shown by the fact that these same main lines of communication were in no instance preserved by the lay-out of the mediaeval city, and there is no intervening event to account for any radical change.

² The exact words used to describe this road are as follows:—“Incipit enim a Dovoriam transiens per medium Cantiae ultra Thamisiā juxta Londoniā ad occidentem Westmonasterii indeque procedit juxta Sanctum Albanum.” This would appear to be best translated as follows:—“It begins at Dover, passing through the middle of Kent, across the Thames at London, to the W. of Westminster, thence it proceeds to St. Albans,” which is a fairly accurate description of the known mediaeval course of Watling Street across London Bridge, along Oxford Street to the Marble Arch (W.N.W. of Westminster Abbey) and up the Edgware Road. The word “juxta” is used a few lines farther on to describe the crossing of the Severn at Wroxeter.

pre-existence of such a native track is, again, not in itself improbable; but that the crossing at Westminster formed part of the Roman system is supported only by the vaguest evidence, and recent excavation has failed to substantiate it. That the chief Roman crossing over the Thames was at or near the site of Old London Bridge is practically proved by the large quantities of Roman antiquities found in the bed of the river at this point or immediately on either side of it (*see p. 194*). The building of other bridges and the extensive dredging operations of modern times have failed to reveal any comparable deposit elsewhere. The date of the objects found on the Bridge site indicates that they were dropped throughout the whole of the Roman period, the coin series beginning with Augustus and Drusus.

It would, furthermore, appear extraordinary if the Romans should have based their road system on two crossings of a broad tidal river, within two miles of one another. The military and commercial importance of the roads concerned would imperatively demand the construction of a bridge, which must have been contemplated, if not erected, from the first. But the construction and maintenance of two bridges, two miles apart and for no apparent reason, is a most unlikely contingency.

If it be granted that the road-system was laid down in the earliest years after the Roman Conquest, it must also be granted that a Roman London of some size sprang up during those same years, to be destroyed by Boudicca twenty years later. Now all the evidence points to the fact, admitted in the *Victoria County History*, that this earliest and most populous part of London was situated in the E. angle between the Walbrook and the Thames; there is indeed some evidence that this was the quarter destroyed by Boudicca (*see p. 32*). It may certainly be argued that the settlement was not of sufficient importance to affect the road-system, though the narrative of Tacitus suggests the contrary; but, while the settlement may not have affected the road-system, it is inconceivable that the road-system did not affect the settlement. What possible reason can have induced the early traders of London to settle not only away from both the main crossings of the Thames but also off the line of nearly all the main roads? It might be suggested that the Walbrook creek was the attraction, were it not for the fact that the larger and more convenient Fleet creek was left outside the city throughout the Roman period. Surely it is more reasonable to suppose that the road-system, if it were indeed the earlier, was the deciding factor in the choice of site of the early settlement, and the known site of that settlement indicates infallibly the position of the main crossing of the Thames.

This view of the single crossing of the river at or near London Bridge and the consequent rise of the Roman settlement has been set forth by Mr. Page [*London: Its origin and early development*, 3], and illustrated by a sketch-plan of the Roman approaches to the city which is approximately the scheme here advocated.

The probable course of each of the six main roads must now be considered individually:—

(a) *Watling Street, South*, formerly *Casincg Street*¹ (Antonine Iter II (?), III, IV). The line of this street is unusually well-preserved by modern roads almost as far W. as Greenwich Park. Romano-British remains have been discovered in its immediate neighbourhood on Shooter's Hill [*Antiq. Journ.*, V, p. 174] and in Greenwich Park. A direct continuation in the same line through Greenwich and Deptford would necessitate the diagonal descent of the steep Greenwich Hill and the crossing of Deptford Creek practically at its mouth. The creek is 50 yards or more wide at its mouth, and for nearly half a mile inland. The mediaeval and later continuation swung in a gentle

¹ Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, I, No. 346.

curve inland by the Old Kent Road and Great Dover Street, striking the main road from the S. at St. George's Church. This may well have been the Roman route also, as it skirts the edge of the alluvium without crossing it until compelled to do so (at Southwark) to enter the city. The burials found in the district, at the Dun Cow, the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, Deverell Street, and Trinity Church are all on one straight line closely approximating to the route suggested, but as they probably formed part of a large Southwark cemetery they can hardly be used as evidence of the direction of a road.

It should be noted that the course of the river negatives the possibility of the Watling Street taking a direct course for London Bridge, without a double crossing of the Greenwich reach, and consequently no evidence can be drawn from its direction as to whether it was designed to enter the city or not.

The Roman surface of Watling Street was uncovered in 1922, S. of Gravesend [*Antiq. Journ.*, II, 261]. It was composed of a cambered metalling of gravel, 2½ ft. thick at its greatest depth and resting on a bed of rammed chalk several inches thick.

The route proposed in the *Victoria County History* as the original course continues the direct line across S. London, striking the Thames at Westminster. The evidence for this route, apart from the remarks of Higden, Stukeley and others, mentioned above, appears to be the name Stangate at its western termination—a name which is thought to suggest a paved ford; the burial recorded, without precise location, in St. George's Fields; and the cemetery already noted in Deverell Street and Old Kent Road. The position of the first of these is too indefinite to form a basis for argument, and a cemetery, as we have said before, is no evidence of the *direction* of a road. The discovery of a supposedly Roman road just N. of Newington Church is recorded by Allen in 1824 [*History of London*, I], but this point is over a furlong S. of the suggested line, and the *Victoria County History* equates it with a later diversion of the original route. We are left, therefore, with the name Stangate, the ambiguous statement of a 14th-century chronicler and the surmise of an imaginative 18th-century antiquary. The main objection to the route, however, is the passage of Deptford Creek, and to meet this it has been suggested that the river may have changed its bed here. The erosion of the base-curve of a bend is likely enough in itself but does not explain the unnecessary crossing of a tidal creek. In any case it is a supposition only.

The conclusion is that there is no substantial evidence for either route.

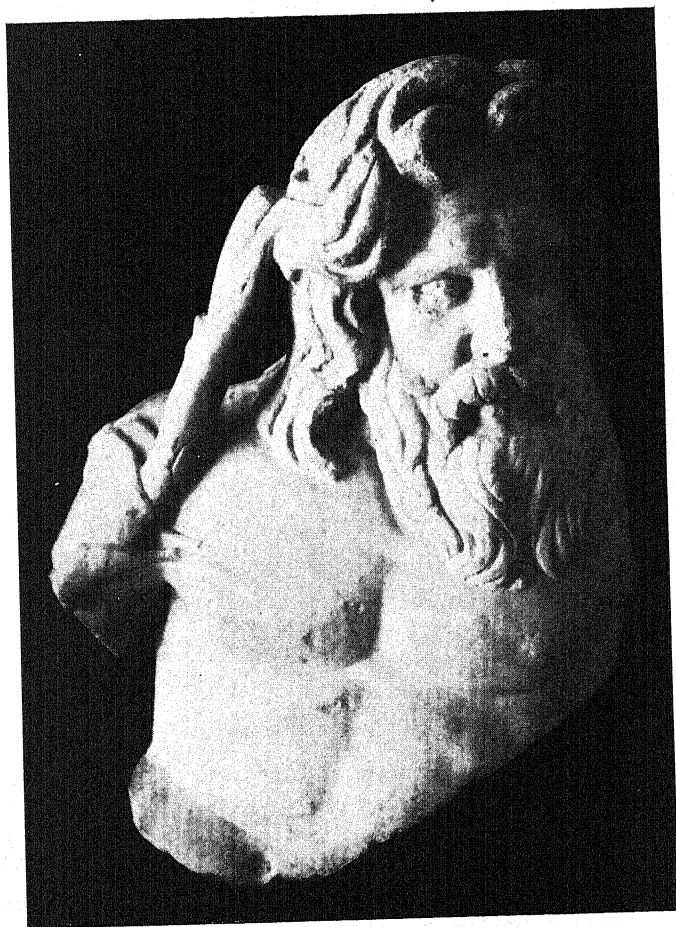
(b) *Stane Street*. The line of this street is only certainly known to the S. of Dorking. Near Dorking it was evidently diverted to pass through the N. Downs by Boxhill. Its northern course has been identified by Mr. Page in the *Victoria County History* [*Surrey*, IV, 352] with the practically straight modern route Ewell–Morden–Tooting–Clapham–Newington Park Road, but no actual remains of the road itself have been discovered. Burials close to the southern prolongation of this line found in 1923 [*Antiq. Journ.*, IV, 275], between Ewell and Epsom, may be taken as evidence in its favour. There is, however, a stretch of some two miles or more of road on Leatherhead Downs, called "Ermine Street" on the Ordnance Survey, which does not fit very well into the scheme and probably implies a bend in the road.

A cutting through the Stane Street at Ockley showed that there it was composed of a bed of flints with some cement resting on a gravel foundation [*Victoria County History*, *Surrey*, IV, 352].

The line proposed by Mr. Page, if produced 1¼ miles northwards would strike almost exactly the southern end of Old London Bridge.



Slab showing Mithras slaying the Bull, etc. (22 in. by 17 in.).
See pp. 43 and 170, Inscription No. 2.



Fragment of Marble Figure of a River-God.
(About 14 in. high). See p. 46.

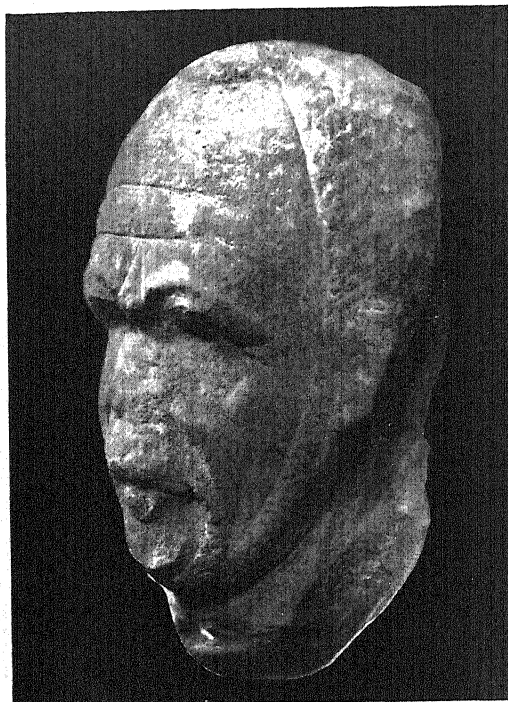


A genius or Bonus Eventus (marble).
(About 23 in. high). See p. 46.

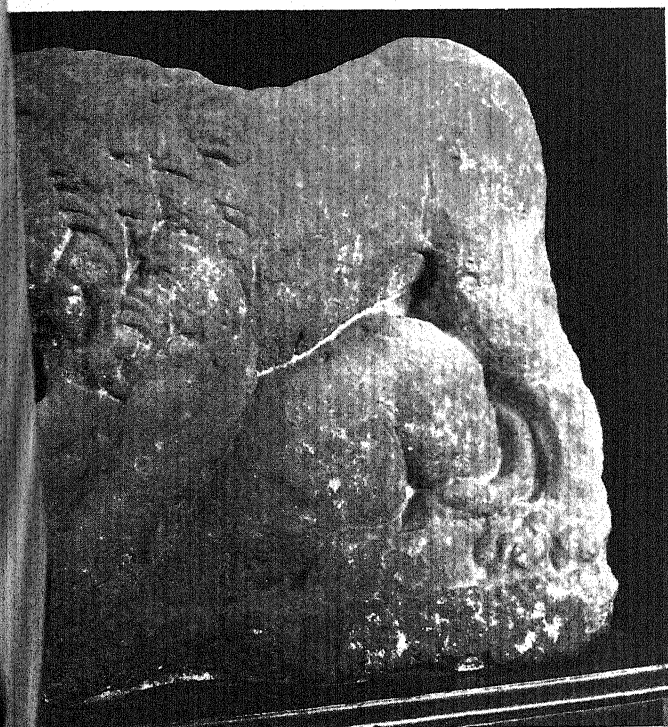
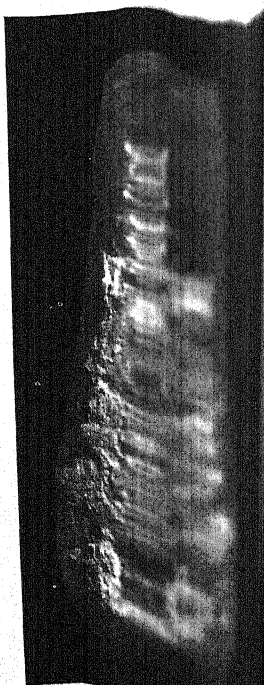
SCULPTURES found on the site of the Walbrook, 1889. *London Museum.*



TOMBSTONE
Guildhall
See p. 103.



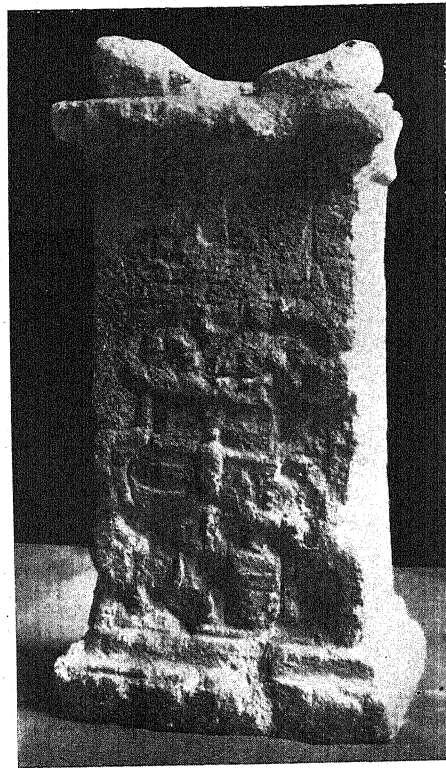
(About 1/4).
See pp. 46, 81, and 103.



(About 1/8). See p. 103.
, CAMOMILE STREET. Re-used sculptures found 1876.
Guildhall Museum.



GOLDSMITHS' HALL. Altar of Diana
found 1830 and preserved at the Hall.
(About 1/6). See pp. 43 and 120.



GOLDSMITHS' HALL. Altar of Diana.
Back. (About 1/6).



TOMBSTONE found at Islington.
British Museum. (About 1/6).
See p. 174, Inscription No. 31.



TOMBSTONE found in London.
Guildhall Museum. (About 1/6).

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STONE found at Islington.
Guildhall Museum. (About 1/6).
p. 174, Inscription No. 30.



TOMBSTONE found in Drury Lane.
London Museum. (About 1/6).
See p. 174, Inscription No. 29.



SCULPTURED STONE found in Duke Street, Aldgate, 1908.
Guildhall Museum. (Face, 20 in. by 11½ in.)

The alternative route proposed in the *Victoria County History, London*, I, 39, is based upon the two-mile stretch on Leatherhead Downs, produced 16 miles across country and striking the Thames W. of the Tower. Considering that there is no more direct evidence of the Roman date of this stretch than for the 11-mile stretch provided by the other route, the entire neglect of the latter seems unwarranted, and in any case the Leatherhead stretch is too small in itself and too far from its objective to determine at what precise point it would strike the river if produced. As any evidence of a crossing of the river near the Tower, it may therefore be neglected.

(c) *Akeman Street*¹ (Antonine Iter VI). The main road from Silchester and the W. can be traced with some certainty as far as the stretch Staines–Brentford. The direct route would carry it on to join the Bayswater Road and Oxford Street, and this was perhaps the original line. The actual Roman road appears to have been uncovered in making Goldhawk Road, Hammersmith. It is described as being about 10 ft. from the surface “very hard and compact and consisted of the usual sort of materials employed in the formation of these roads.” Among the various objects dug up were Roman coins and small square tiles [Faulkner, *Hist. of Hammersmith*, 20]. That there was a second line running from Brentford through Hammersmith, Kensington, Trafalgar Square and the Strand to Ludgate is rendered highly probable for the following reasons:—(a) Akeman Street is mentioned in a charter of Ethelred II to Westminster Abbey, c. 1000 [Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, 167], in such a way as to prove that it was the late Saxon name for the Strand; (b) the burials at Shoe Lane, St. Martin’s in the Fields and Cockspur Street perhaps indicate that this line was Roman; and (c) the discovery, in 1595, of an earlier roadway under the N. side of Fleet Street and thus described by Stow “I observed that when the laborers had broken up the pavement from against Chanceries lane’s end up towards S. Dunstone’s Church and had digged foure foot deepe, they found one other pavement of hard stone, more sufficient than the first and therefore harder to be broken; under the which they found in the made ground, piles of timber driven very thicke and almost close together, the same being as blacke as pitch or coale, and many of them rotten as earth” [Stow, *Survey* (Edit. Kingsford) ii, 43]. It is possible that it was the Roman route to Westminster only, but the Saxon name seems to indicate that it was something more important, though it can have had no connection with the Verulamium–Bath road now called Akeman Street.

(d) *Watling Street, North* (Antonine Iter II, VI, VIII). The course of the northern Watling Street is sufficiently obvious from St. Albans through Edgware to the Marble Arch. Here its line is crossed by the Bayswater Road and Oxford Street, which would seem, as already stated, to have been the main route to Silchester and the west. That what is now Oxford Street is called Watling Street in Ethelred’s charter, cited above, seems to indicate that, at any rate at that period, it was looked upon as the continuation of the St. Albans route and not of the direct route from the W. No trace has yet been found of a direct continuation of Edgware Road, S. of the Marble Arch, though trial holes were sunk some 15 years ago in the N.E. part of Hyde Park for this very purpose [*Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XXIV, 137].

An old road surface has from time to time been uncovered or cut through under the southern part of Edgware Road. It was carefully observed by Mr. J. G. Wood in 1902 [*Home Counties Mag.*, LV, 238 and 259], and he records that it consisted of a bed of flint nodules, 4 to 7 lb. in weight, with a very slight admixture of other stones; this metalling varied from one to three feet thick and was set on lime grouting

¹ Here so called from the Saxon Charter cited below.

with a foundation of rammed gravel varying in thickness. The gravel was confined between concrete walls of the same material over which the metalling of the road was carried. The total width of the road opposite Seymour Street was found to be 24 ft. and the surface at Burwood Place was about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. below the modern pavement. No datable objects were found in the excavations.

This same road surface was again uncovered in 1923 and observed by Col. Karslake [*Antiq. Journ.*, IV, 409]. The chief difference between the two accounts is in the substance of the metalling which the later excavations showed to have a large admixture of rag-stone and small quantities of basalt and granite with the flint. The road surface rose slightly and the metalling, was lost towards the Marble Arch.

Col. Karslake also observed, in the spring of 1924 [*Antiq. Journ.*, V, 166], remains of a similar metalling in a trench on the N. side of Oxford Street, E. of Edgware Road, and opposite the W. end of Hereford Gardens. This road-surface was presumably the same as that mentioned by Mr. Wood in 1902 [*Home Counties Mag.*, IV, 260] and found near Great Cumberland Place. Mr. Wood notes that it lay at a greater depth than the Edgware Road surface and was dissimilar in character.

The main question to be decided is if either of these road-surfaces may be considered Roman. If Mr. Wood's account stood alone, there would be little difficulty in accepting a Roman date for the road, for not only are its materials identical with those observed on the Stane Street at Ockley, but the laying of the foundation within parallel walls is very reminiscent of the Roman roads found under Great Eastcheap and elsewhere. The chief difficulty lies in the mixed material observed by Col. Karslake and in the absence of any intervening road-level between the old surface and the modern. There seems, however, no particular reason for a rise in the ground at this point since Roman times and any subsequent road-surface may well have been removed for the construction of the modern street. On the whole, therefore, we are disposed to accept the probability of a Roman age for this road and to account for the "foreign" substances found by Col. Karslake as a later repair of the surface. The existence of the patch of paving in Oxford Street was thought by Col. Karslake to indicate that the Watling Street turned E. at the Marble Arch as far as this point and then turned southward again. This theory requires far more proof than as yet supports it, for it is obvious that, if the main line of Watling Street turned at all, it turned because of a pre-existing road on the line of Oxford Street, and the survival of metalling at only one point on this line must have been purely accidental. Col. Karslake observed in the same year (1924) a paved roadway, $5\frac{1}{4}$ ft. below the surface, on the N. side of Piccadilly about 200 ft. E. of Down Street. The paving consisted of blocks of Kentish rag and the roadway passed along the right bank of Tyburn Brook, the channel of which was some 80 ft. wide. This road Col. Karslake thought to be the continuation of the supposed turn at Hereford Gardens. That it represented some by-road to Westminster may readily be admitted, but the date of it is no more certain than that of the Edgware Road discovery.¹

The old theory that Roman Watling Street passed straight on through Hyde Park and Park Lane is attractive enough on paper, but, up to the present, the actual evidence, both positive and negative, is uniformly against it.

A few words must be said on the supposed course of the road between Marble Arch and the City. Its line may be supposed to follow the modern route, Oxford

¹ Excavation in 1927 on the site of Grosvenor House, Park Lane, uncovered a portion of a pavement formed of stones pitched upright. In the opinion of the architect, Mr. L. R. Guthrie, it was of comparatively modern date and had perhaps formed the paving of a stable-yard.

Street-Holborn, entering the city at Newgate. This gate has been definitely proved to be Roman, and so must have been approached by a Roman road from the W. Holborn has provided evidence of Roman burials or a cemetery and also of a house on the S. side. Farther W., evidence of the line is only marked by a cemetery at Notting Hill, unless we accept a Roman date for the Ossulston Stone which stood near the Marble Arch.

(e) *Ermine Street* is recognizable as a Roman route down to a short distance N. of Buntingford in Hertfordshire. S. of this point it is no doubt represented in its general course by the Great North Road as far S. as Ware; still farther S. short stretches of the road are recognisable as far as Enfield. A short distance S. of Tottenham the line continues almost due S. along Kingsland Road to Shoreditch. A slight deviation is necessary to enter Bishopsgate, but a Roman building has been found flanking the street 500 yards N. of the gate, and there can be little or no doubt of the Roman age of the gate itself.

The *Victoria County History* suggests that the line of Kingsland Road should be produced *directly* S. to strike the Thames E. of the Custom House. The evidence cited for this line is a burial in Mark Lane, and others at Castle Street and Bishopsgate; the latter no doubt formed part of the Spitalfields cemetery and are, furthermore, nearly a quarter of a mile apart; they are thus inadmissible as evidence.

(f) The *Colchester Road* (Antonine Iter V, IX), is represented by the modern road as far W. as the River Roding. The same line continued will strike the River Lea at a point just S. of the Outfall Sewer, where definite traces of a paved ford have been found [*Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XXIII, 237]. These traces consisted of a large block of herring-bone pavement in the bed of the stream, in all probability of Roman date. In any case Old Ford was the normal crossing-point of the Lea before the building of Bow Bridge in the 12th century; Roman burials have been found immediately to the W. of this spot, which may be taken as contributory evidence of the site of the ford. From this point the *Victoria County History* proposes a direct course onwards which, passing through the extra-mural cemetery at Smithfield, strikes the Fleet near Holborn Bridge. The evidence for this route is a solitary burial at Bethnal Green. A line drawn between Old Ford and Aldgate, on the other hand, which would appear the more reasonable route, is not only marked by the near neighbourhood of the burial in Saxon Street but is, furthermore, indicated by the existing course of Aldgate High Street, immediately outside the gate, bounded on the S. by another extra-mural cemetery. It will thus be seen that there is equally good, or better, evidence for the line Old Ford-Aldgate than for the hypothetical line Old Ford-Holborn. As has been already pointed out, however, the burials in the E. end of London are so scattered over the area that it is highly unsafe to base any theory on their position.

Turning now to the consideration of the road system as a whole, a few general conclusions seem justified by the evidence of the individual roads. Out of the six or seven dealt with above, Stane Street, Akeman Street, Oxford Street, Ermine Street, and the Colchester Road, all seem to point as nearly as could be expected to London Bridge, Ludgate, Newgate, Bishopsgate, and Aldgate respectively. Of the two remaining roads—Watling Street S. and N.—the former could not, owing to the windings of the Thames, point more nearly to the city than it does in fact; the northern Watling Street formed a junction with another Roman road well outside the town, but there is negative evidence that it did not cross this road in Roman times, and one must consequently conclude that as a *Roman* road, as apart from a hypothetical British track, its lay-out must be either later than or coeval with the road it joins.

There is thus every reason to suppose that the road-system of S.E. Britain was laid down in direct connection with the Roman city as we know it, and with the crossing of the Thames at or near the site of Old London Bridge.

There remain to be considered a few subsidiary roads, more or less reliable indications of which have come to light from time to time. These roads are five in number :—

(a) The road from Oxford Street southwards along the bank of Tyburn Brook, suggested by Col. Karslake and already dealt with.

(b) A road on the line of the modern Old Street and running approximately E. and W. Remains of this road were discovered in 1867 during sewer-excavations in Old Street near Goswell Road. Two Roman road-surfaces were found, the earlier 11 ft. from the surface and with Roman coins beneath it ; the second surface 1½ ft. higher and with further Roman coins between the two road-levels. No particulars are given of the metalling, nor do the coins appear to have been identified [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, III, 563].

(c) The line of a Roman Road at Lower Clapton was suggested by Mr. B. Clarke in 1868. It starts from Lower Clapton Road, opposite Clapton Lane, and crosses the Lea at a point formerly occupied by the Lea Bridge Mill Head. On the opposite bank a well-made roadway had been discovered, composed chiefly of gravel and 6 ft. below the present surface. In line with this, farther W., a Roman sarcophagus was discovered (p. 164), and coins of Nero, Gallienus and others [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, III, 191, with plan].

In the 18th century remains of a stone causeway are said to have been discovered farther to the S. It crossed the Lea at Temple Mills and passed by Rockholt House where other Roman structural remains have been discovered [Walpole, *Brit. Traveller*, 1784, 287 ; *A tour through the Island of Great Britain*, 1762, I, 3].

(d) A hypothetical route passing approximately along the line St. George's Street, Shadwell, and East Ham. The only evidence for this road is three burials, two at Shadwell, and one at East Ham, and the possible existence of a Roman gate on the site of the mediaeval Postern Gate [cf. *Essex Arch. Soc. Trans.*, N.S. XVII, 82].

(e) A "causeway" running through the Camberwell marshes in a north-easterly direction from Kent Road to the Thames at Rotherhithe is said to have been found, in 1809, in digging the Grand Surrey Canal and the dock at Rotherhithe. It was 15 ft. broad, formed of a bed of squared chalk secured by oak piles ; a length of about 250 yards was broken up [Bray's *History of Surrey*, 401].

7. THE STATUS OF ROMAN LONDON.

From the time of Augustus, a new or newly-organized Roman province was normally identified in a formal manner with the Imperial Name by the installation of emperor-worship at some appropriate centre within the pacified territory. The practice was initiated at Tarragona, where, in B.C. 25, an altar was dedicated to Augustus in celebration of the recent advancement of that city to the premier position in the largest Spanish province. Shortly afterwards, in B.C. 12, the final consolidation of Gallia Comata was marked by the consecration of the famous altar to Rome and Augustus at Lyon ; and a similar though less celebrated altar was set up in the capital city of Gallia Narbonensis. In the Rhineland another altar to Augustus was established amongst the Ubii as the intended nucleus of a Roman Germany that failed to mature after the defeat of Varus ; and the nodal point of the campaigns

whereby Vespasian annexed the Black Forest in or about A.D. 74 proclaims by its name—*Arae Flaviae*, now Rottweil—that the tradition was later renewed in the same provinces. So also in Britain. The established capital of the pre-Roman “King of the Britons” at Camulodunum (Colchester) was the inevitable goal of the invading legions in the year 43. And there in due course was set up the temple of the emperor Claudius, “quasi arx aeternae dominationis,” together with the image of Victory,¹ which reminds us of the Victories that flanked the altar of the Gauls at Lyon.² Colchester was unquestionably ordained by Claudius to be the Little Rome, as Ausonius might have called it, of the new Britannic province.

How far, by the year 60, the secular administration had been definitely concentrated also at Colchester, it is impossible to say. During the busy seventeen years immediately following the Claudian invasion, conditions were scarcely yet favourable to the upgrowth of any very stabilized administrative headquarters, and the abuses which led to the Boudiccan revolt in East Anglia suggest rather an inadequately supervised local officialdom than a centralized and responsible authority at Colchester. Sooner or later it must have been intended to make Colchester, like Lyon, Narbonne and the rest, the meeting-place for a Council (*concilium provinciae*) of delegates sent periodically by the various cantons and municipalities of the province to discuss secular or religious affairs under the chairmanship of the high priest and in the chastening environment of the Imperial Cult. There is no hint, however, and little probability, that any such gathering was ever actually held beneath the ill-starred temple of Claudius.

It is likely enough therefore that, when the Boudiccan revolt cut across the normal development of the civil area of the province, Colchester had not progressed very far as an effective provincial administrative headquarters. It may indeed be asked whether her metropolitan prestige was then sufficiently secure to survive her signal failure in the time of need, or was it rather London that now emerged from the ashes to assume the dominant role which her geographical position had prescribed for her? The evidence is tenuous almost to vanishing-point, but, such as it is, it is worth a brief discussion.

London in the year 60, as outlined in the preceding section, seems to have occupied at least twice the area ever required by Roman Colchester. She must, moreover, already have been the main focus of the British road-system, for the early equivalents of the Great North and Great West Roads and the Watling Street had clearly been blazed or developed by the threefold army of Claudius. Size and situation must already therefore have begun to point her destiny. Only in rank did she fall short of the conventional requirements of a metropolis, and here it is necessary to pause to consider the status of the city in the hierarchy of Roman urban administration.

A town in Roman Britain might belong to one of four categories. It might in the first place be a *colony* (*colonia*) with a constitution of Italian type, founded either on a virgin site or (as at Colchester) in the midst of a pre-existing population by the process of transplanting to it a body of Roman citizens, normally time-expired soldiers, who would thus form a “bulwark of Roman rule” in a newly subjugated territory. Such, at least, was the original significance of the title, and in frontier-provinces such as Britain the military function of the colonial foundations under the Early Empire remains sufficiently obvious. The colony formed in effect the stationary rear-guard of the army, and the British colonies—Colchester, Lincoln, Gloucester

¹ Tacitus, *Annals*, XIV, 31–2.

² Well illustrated by coins; see A. Steyert, *Histoire de Lyon*, I, 209–10.

and York—were stepping-stones in the progressive conquest of the island. Even as early as the time of Augustus, however, the title “colonia” was sometimes given merely as a mark of imperial favour to long-established cities in the older provinces, and, with the exception of two or three colonies founded by Septimius Severus in Africa and Syria, no Roman colony in the original semi-military sense was established after the time of Hadrian.¹

Secondly, the Roman town might be a municipality (*municipium*), with constitution and privileges—notably, Roman citizenship—similar to those of a colony, but differing in origin. The municipal title was an honour bestowed, not on new and deliberate foundations, but on “pre-existing native towns which had reached by natural progress some size and some civilization of a Roman (or Italian) kind, and which seemed to merit from the central government the grant of a definite charter and of an urban constitution.”² The only known municipality in Britain was the old tribal capital of Verulam, which had received the title before the Boudiccan revolt, perhaps as a counterpart to the colonial rank awarded to (or inflicted upon) Colchester.

A third category consisted of the cantons or “civitates,” a word which originally referred rather to the body politic of a tribe than to an actual township. The development of agriculture and trade, however, had already tended to stabilize the native populations of Gaul and Southern Britain before the Roman conquest, and the process of Romanization and urbanization which followed the campaigns of Caesar and Claudius gradually identified the “civitas” with the principal township in its district. British towns of this type were Caerwent, Wroxeter, and probably Silchester, Winchester and seven or eight others. But by the 4th century the term “civitas” had lost all or most of its original denotation, and was applied in the general sense of the derivative word “city” to towns of various political origin and status.

Into a fourth category may be collected those towns, large and small, which were to be found throughout the provinces as markets, posting-stations, suburbs to frontier-forts and the like—towns which just “grewed,” and possessed no particular political distinction. They claim no special designation, but “urbs,” “pagus,” “vicus,” “forum” and other terms are variously applied to them.

The position of London in regard to these four categories in the year 60 is clear enough. Tacitus states that it was not a “colonia,” and, since he is careful in the same paragraph to give Verulam its title, implies that London was not a “municipium.” “Civitas,” in the sense in which Tacitus would have used the term, it certainly was not; and, if it existed at all before the Roman conquest, its pre-Roman status must have been inconsiderable. (The fact that London, like other cities, was called a “civitas” by writers of the 4th and 5th centuries has, as noted above, no bearing upon the present problem.) There remains the inglorious fourth category. To this must London be consigned; in origin a mere trading-station founded in or shortly before A.D. 43 on the spot determined by geography as the obvious point of disembarkation for the new Continental commerce. Her population was presumably of a cosmopolitan type which lacked the local traditions or the territorial ties requisite for or implied by the “municipium” and the “civitas.” In this respect her position, at least during the earlier phases of her history, must have been somewhat similar to that of Lyon which, although of higher status as a “colonia” and a centre of the imperial cult, also owed her eminence in the first instance to her commanding site on

¹ See Kornemann in Pauly-Wissowa, IV, 566.

² F. Haverfield and G. Macdonald, *The Roman Occupation of Britain*, 188; see also J. S. Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, 7.

the principal trade-route of Gaul. As the commercial clearing-house of the northern Gallic province Lyon flourished with hardly any territory or local responsibilities;¹ and though in the case of London our evidence for a similar detachment is less explicit, we can probably best envisage the economic and, in certain aspects, the political environment of the growing city by reference to the capital of Gallia Comata.

In certain aspects only. To complete the analogy of Boudiccan London with Lyon it is necessary to add to London the rank and imperial prestige of Colchester. Whether in fact London ever received any titular dignity under the early Empire we do not know. By the year 60 she lay far behind the military zone, and her opportunity for receiving a military colony had long gone by. The unqualified phrase of Tacitus perhaps in itself implies that when he wrote (in the time of Trajan) the city was still without rank. It is at least tolerably certain that, if London ever received colonial status, it was merely a title of the honorary type which was occasionally bestowed as late as the 4th century.² Sometime in that century, she received indeed the high-sounding epithet "Augusta" as a mark of imperial gratitude for services rendered during some such crisis as those which drew Constans to Britain in 343 or Theodosius the Elder in 368.³ But that does not help in the present context, and we can only assume that under the Early Empire London boasted only such urban prestige as her outstanding size and wealth naturally gave her.

Nevertheless, the very detachment from local territorial commitments, which has been inferred for her above, may be thought to have strengthened her claim to metropolitan status. The sense of impersonality which such detachment implies must have favoured a position of suzerainty both in religious and in secular affairs. Unfortunately the evidence is meagre. A tantalizing fragment of an important inscription found long ago in the city (*see* p. 170) couples the Divinity of the Emperor with the Province of Britain and, however interpreted, indicates the presence of the imperial cult on a provincial scale in London. The inscription is apparently of 1st or 2nd-century date.⁴ It suggests that London at some fairly early period replaced Colchester as the provincial headquarters of the cult, with the reasonable (though not quite certain) inference that London became the meeting-place of the Provincial Council. Consistent with this is the view that the epithet *provincialis*, which a certain Anencletus seems to apply to himself in a memorial inscription of 1st or early 2nd-century date (p. 173, No. 16), may be equivalent to *servus provinciae* and may be supposed to imply that the dedicator was in the service of the Provincial Council in London. But it would be unwise to place too much weight on documents so slight. Hardly more determinate, perhaps, is the evidence on the purely secular side. The numerous bricks from London (and nowhere else) bearing the stamp

¹ See J. S. Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, 179.

² Kornemann, *op. cit.*, 567.

³ The name "Augusta" seems to occur as the mint-mark of coins struck by Magnus Maximus (383-388) and possibly by, or in the name of, Theodosius I (379-395), and it is mentioned twice by Ammianus Marcellinus, writing in the last quarter of the 4th century, in such a manner as to imply that it was then something of a novelty (*see above*, p. 6, and *below*, p. 188). The *Notitia Dignitatum*, the martyrology ascribed to St. Jerome, and the Ravenna Geographer all employ the term, but ignorance of their date or of that of their sources robs their evidence of some of its value. On the other hand, the coins struck by Constantine I at the London mint use only the old name, Londinium, and thus suggest an upper time-limit for the bestowal of the epithet.

⁴ It was found re-used face-downwards in a wall almost certainly of Roman date at a depth of about 12 ft. in Nicholas Lane. This circumstance in itself implies a relatively early date for the stone in its original position.

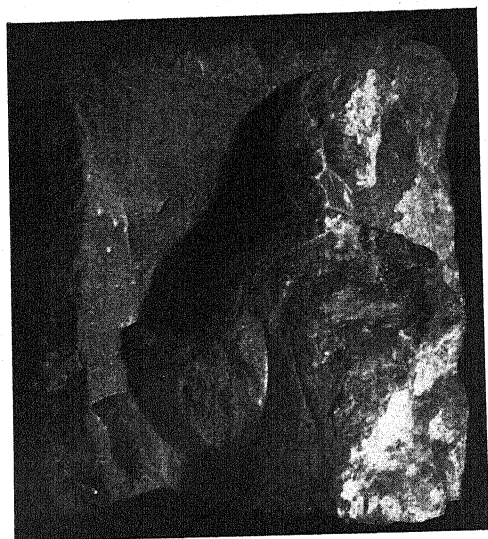
P. PR. BR. or the like (see pp. 43 and 176) are interpreted with probability as referring to the *portitores* of the province, i.e. to the chief Customs officers of Britain. Their presence seems to indicate that London was a headquarters of one branch at least of the financial administration, although it confirms the view of London as the chief port rather than proves it the administrative capital. The date of the bricks is quite unknown, although the general character of the stamps suggests rather the earlier than the later half of the occupation.

In the 4th century, at any rate, the evidence for a financial department in London becomes unimpeachable, for, apart from the uncertain implication of an intermittent mint, to London, alone in Britain, the *Notitia Dignitatum* assigns a *praepositus thesaurorum*, described here as "of Augusta." The bestowal of this title, already noted, and the several possible occasions on which it could have been conferred, combine to show that London loomed large amongst the 4th-century cities of the north-western provinces. Whether Constans used the city in 343 we do not know, for the relevant book of Ammianus is lost; but in 360 Lupicinus, sent over in an emergency by Julian, went straight to London, as appears to have been the natural thing to do, there to "deliberate on the aspect of affairs." This implies that the principal government offices were here accessible, and the inference is confirmed by the fact that, in the further emergency of 368, Theodosius made the city his headquarters throughout the winter. And it is not irrelevant to recall that when, more than two centuries later, Pope Gregory instructed Augustine as to the ecclesiastical partitioning of Britain, it was London that instinctively presented itself to his mind as the proper archiepiscopal see for his missionary. It is pretty clear that Gregory's whole scheme was based upon a memory of the imperial province rather than upon any close knowledge of the state of affairs existing in the 6th century. York, designated as the second archiepiscopal see, was the only possible rival to London, but precedence was assured to London by reason of her relative proximity to the Roman world.

It is not to be inferred, however, that 4th-century London was in any complete sense the equivalent of the metropolitan London of the later Middle Ages. From the end of the 2nd century the province had ceased to exist as a single administrative unit. After his hard-fought victory over the British division at the battle of Lyon in 197, Septimius Severus had broken Britain into two provinces, "Lower" and "Upper," in order to minimize the risk of hostile concentrations of this kind. The exact line of the new internal frontier is in doubt, but the data are just sufficient to suggest certain possibilities to which future evidence may or may not lend support. It has long been known that York and apparently Eborac on Hadrian's Wall were in Lower Britain, whilst Chester and Caerleon were in Upper Britain. On this basis it was conjectured that the dividing line might have run from the Humber to the Solway, or from the Humber to the Lancashire coast.¹ These views are nullified, however, by the recently-discovered Bordeaux inscription,² which shows that Lincoln also was in Lower Britain. Between the two groups thus indicated—York and Lincoln on the one hand, and Chester and Caerleon on the other—there is no natural frontier, and the only obvious line of demarcation on the map of Roman Britain, as we know it, is the Watling Street. The association of a road with a frontier was natural to the Roman mind—indeed a Roman military frontier-line was primarily a road-clearing.

¹ F. Haverfield, *Archaeologia Oxoniensis*, 1892-95, 223.

² *Journ. of Rom. Studies*, XI, 101.



Fragment of a tablet or tombstone.
Guildhall Museum. (About 1/8).



Fragment of a tombstone.
Guildhall Museum. (About 1/8).

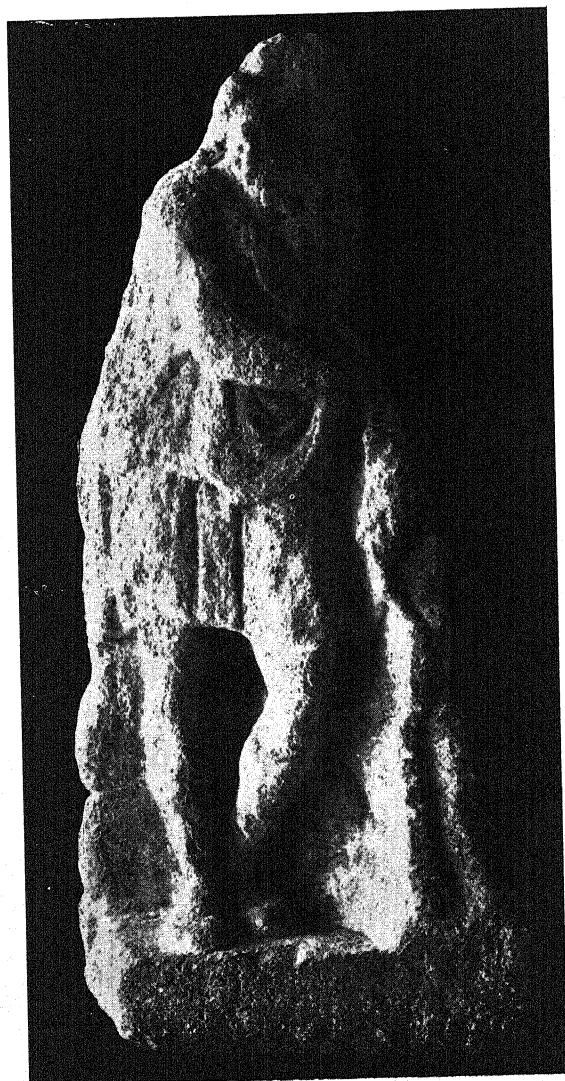


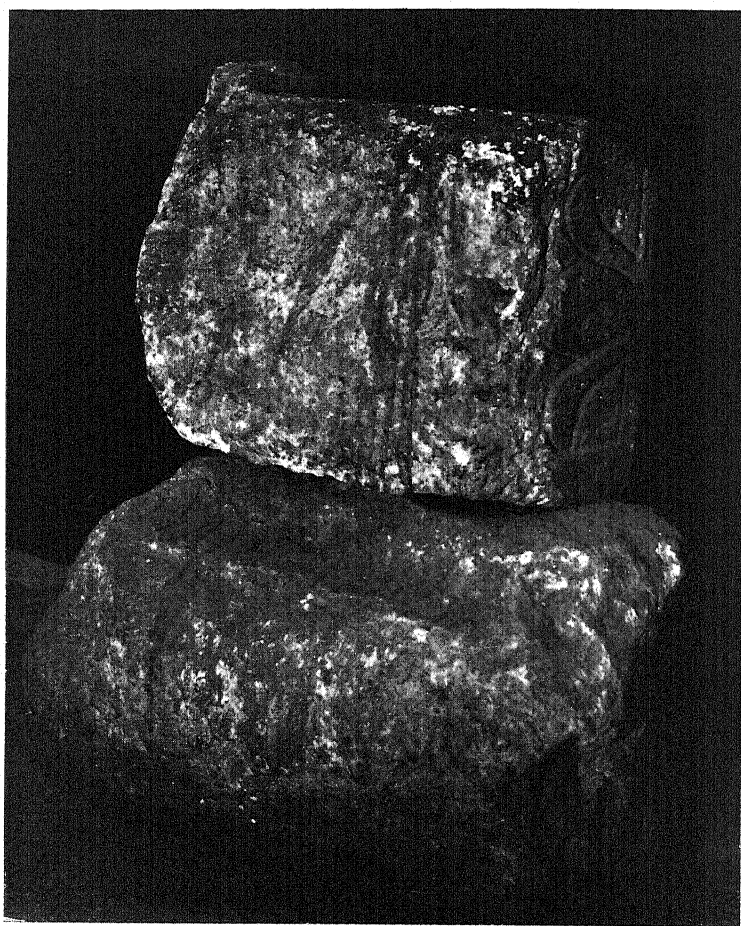
Figure from Mithraic group.
London Museum. (5/24).



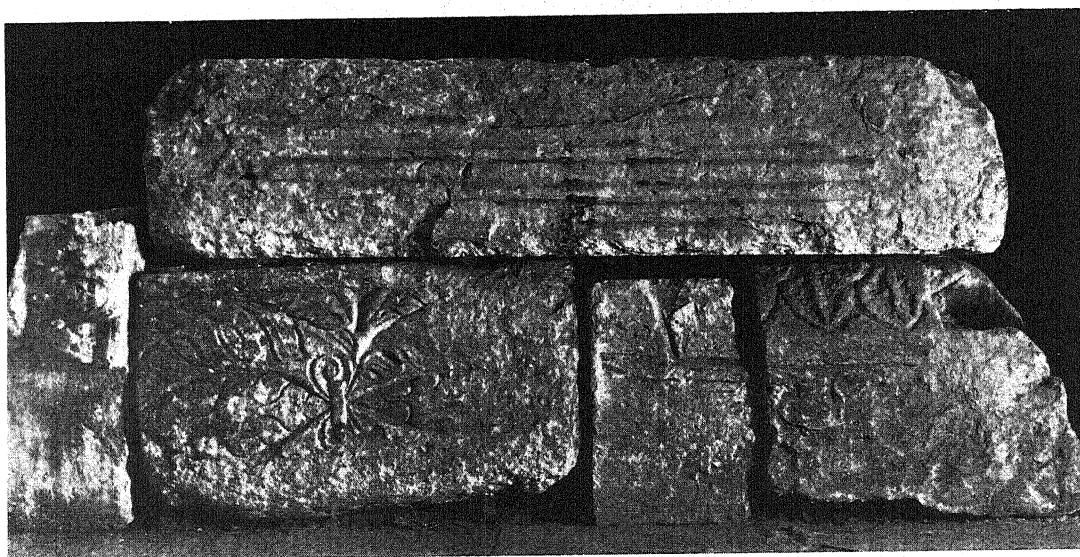
Figure (of Atys?) found in Bevis Marks, 1849.
British Museum. (About 2 ft. high).

SCULPTURED STONES found in London.

PLATE 15.



BASTION (10), CAMOMILE STREET. Re-used carved stones found 1873.
Guildhall Museum. (About 1/8). See p. 103.



(About 1/16).

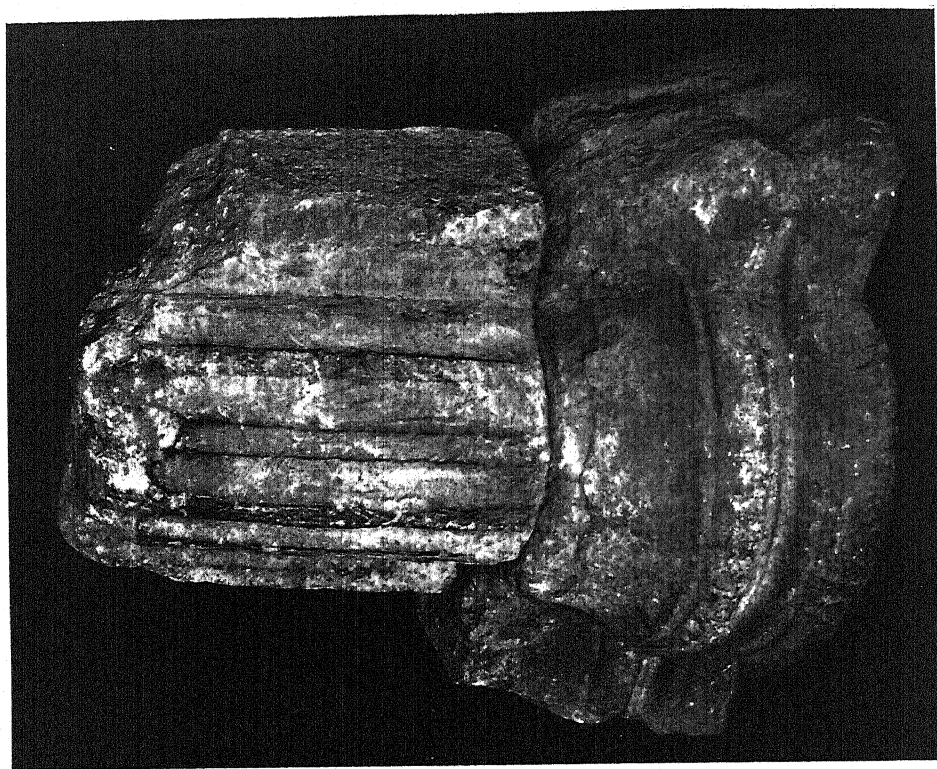


(About 1/12).



(About 1/8).

BASTION (10), CAMOMILE STREET. Re-used stones found in 1876.
Guildhall Museum. See p. 103.



BASTION (10), CAMOMILE STREET. Re-used carved and worked stones, found 1876.
Guildhall Museum. (About 1/8). See p. 103.

Moreover, with Chester allotted to the south-western district, the Watling Street was just such a boundary as was most fully suited to the purpose which Severus had in view—the division of authority in the province; for it not only split the military command in such a way that the legions at Chester and Caerleon with the very few auxiliary troops then in Wales, were counterbalanced by the legion at York with the numerous auxiliary regiments along the Wall, but it also divided the civil area, i.e. the non-mountainous regions south of York, into two approximately equal parts. And, if need be, a wedge could be driven from without, from the Thames port, along the Watling Street between the two administrations. Indeed, the whole scheme is appropriate to the direct, military intelligence of the emperor who was the last and one of the most vigorous exponents of the older imperial school of field-warfare. Under such a scheme the position of London, at the nearer terminus of the new frontier, is not unlikely to have had a political as well as a military significance. Geographically neither in one province nor the other, the city may well have retained something of a metropolitan isolation; and the two provinces, converging upon her along the lines of their lateral and median roads, may still have looked to her as a centralizing authority between their own local ministries and Rome. Much new evidence, however, is required to raise this suggestion from the level of mere speculation.¹

A century later, after the recovery of Britain by Constantius from the usurper Allectus, the two provinces were replaced by a system of four provinces, Prima, Secunda, Flavia Caesariensis and Maxima Caesariensis, whilst in 369 one of these districts was wholly or partly renamed Valentia after its recovery from barbarian invaders by Valentinian's general, Theodosius. The only definite evidence as to the position of these new provinces is the well-known inscription which shows that Cirencester was in Britannia Prima; but Haverfield was inclined provisionally to accept the statement of Giraldus Cambrensis, writing c. 1205, that London was the capital of Flavia Caesariensis; York being the centre of Maxima Caesariensis, and Prima and Secunda situated respectively in the west (as indeed the Cirencester inscription seems to indicate) and in Kent.² Once more, confirmatory evidence is admittedly required.

Whatever may have been the position of London after the first partition, it can only be supposed that in the 4th century she formed rather the gateway to a congeries of territorial "departments" and administrations than the actual working capital of the Britains. Indeed, it is likely enough that at this time the most active administrative centre was, more often than not, the great military headquarters at York. The situation at this time may, perhaps, be summed up best by saying that London was convenient but York was necessary; the difference being that the utility of a naturally convenient London was predestined to outlive the comparatively transient strategic necessity of a war-bitten York.

A general survey of the whole period of the occupation thus yields the following results. From 43 to 60 the position of Colchester as formal capital of the partially-conquered province remained unchallenged. After the failure of Colchester in 60,

¹ cf. J. B. Bury, *Camb. Hist. Journ.*, I, 1.

² *De Invectionibus* (Giraldus Cambrensis, Rolls Series, III, 45 and 170), cited by Haverfield, *op. cit.* "Flavia Caesariensis" was clearly connected with Flavius Constantius Chlorus, and may be a memorial of the rescue of the London district by Constantius from the mercenaries of Allectus in 296 (see pp. 3, 33).

the natural advantages and growing wealth of London gave her increasing prestige, and, though she was apparently without rank, the financial administration seems to have been quartered there, the headquarters of the provincial emperor-cult may have been transferred thither from Colchester, and inferentially the Council of the Province may have held its periodical meetings there. Her commercial origin (in which she resembled the great Gallic capital) and the fact that she was neither a municipality nor a "civitas" suggest a certain detachment from local territorial commitments which may have helped rather than hindered her provincial advancement. The subdivision of the province, first by Septimius Severus and later by Diocletian, may have impaired her formal responsibility in minor provincial administration, but it is clear that in the 4th century, though she shared with military York some of the responsibilities of leadership, she was recognised as the main nerve-centre of the province. Two centuries later, she still remained to the Roman mind the premier British city.

8. LONDON IN THE 5TH CENTURY.

In the year 410, as recorded by the 5th-century historian Zosimus, the emperor Honorius, hard pressed by the Visigoths in Italy, formally delegated to "the cities in Britain" the initiative in home-defence. There is no clear evidence that this responsibility was ever resumed by the imperial administration, and the weight of both the literary and the archaeological material is strongly against the probability of any effective link between the province and the central authority after that date.¹ It is sufficiently clear that Romanized Britain was left to drift, with only such impetus as remained to it from more than three and a half centuries of imperial direction. At first the changed circumstance may scarcely have been perceptible in the normal life of the province, if only because the unrest and bloodshed which had characterized the last half-century of the weakened Roman régime could hardly have been aggravated in the years immediately following its final lapse. There is at least no good reason for ending the story of Roman London with the rescript of Honorius, and it is necessary therefore to include a brief discussion of the problems relating to the city in the uncertain period which heralded the birth of Anglo-Saxon Britain.

Historically, the evidence is of the slightest. The only direct mention of London which need concern us is that of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 457, when the Britons are said to have sought refuge in the city after their defeat by Hengist at Crecganford (possibly Crayford in Kent). This might be regarded as witness for a London still effective after the middle of the 5th century, but that the whole account belongs to a 9th-century compilation which is thus too late to stand by itself. Of more use is the less explicit evidence of the 5th-century life of St. Germanus, who visited Britain twice, in 429 and 447, and at least on the former occasion found municipal governance still in force in the south-eastern part of the island.² The historical record is perhaps just strong enough to suggest that towns such as London and Verulam were able to maintain a real civic status something like half a century after

¹ For the well-known discussion on this point, see J. B. Bury, *Journ. Rom. Studies*, X, 131; R. G. Collingwood, *Ib.* XII, 74; F. S. Salisbury, *Antiq. Journ.*, VII, 268, and *Num. Chron.*, 1927, 108; also C. Oman, *England before the Norman Conquest* (1927), 174.

² Germanus and Lupus refuted the Pelagian heresy in a synod held at Verulam. Mention is made of "a man of tribunician rank," and of wealthy magnates [see C. Oman, *England before the Norman Conquest* (1927), 195].

the rupture with Rome.¹ The Picts, Scots and Saxons, however, were an ever-present peril. The Scots or Irish had been raiding and settling upon the western coasts of Britain before the end of the 3rd century, and in the same period the imperial authorities had found it necessary to fortify a "Saxon Shore" against Teutonic invaders on both sides of the English Channel. By the second half of the 4th century, Roman Britain was struggling between the scissor-blades of simultaneous Irish and German attack. Thus in a single year (367) both the officer in command of the defences of the Saxon Shore and his colleague in command of the northern British frontier were captured or slain in onslaughts from the two directions. Small wonder that the contemporary historian, Prosper of Aquitaine, was able to write that in 409, on the eve of the break, "the strength of Britain was desperately attenuated by the weakness of the Romans." By building or rebuilding forts along the eastern and western coasts of the island, the Roman authorities had made a last despairing effort to hold the province against its double foe. Under the chaotic conditions of the time, the effort was foredoomed to failure. And twenty years afterwards, when Germanus came to denounce the Pelagian heresy, the saint went from the synod at Verulam to lead the British forces to victory against a joint invasion of Picts and Saxons at some unknown spot in the midlands or the north.

Prosper, writing in Gaul and therefore presumably with some real if fragmentary knowledge of contemporary events across the channel, states that in 442 "Britain up to this time, harassed by various disasters and vicissitudes, was brought under the domination of the Saxons."² Four years later, according to the less substantial authority of the 6th-century Jeremiads of Gildas, the famous letter bore the "groans of the Britons" in vain to Rome. Nevertheless, in the year following this appeal Germanus was able to repeat his visit to this country and seems to have found some part of it still sufficiently Romanized and free from military distraction to listen once more to his denunciations of Pelagianism. Nor is there on this occasion any hint of a martial interlude such as that which had made him the hero of the "Hallelujah Victory" in 429.

These familiar passages from the earlier historians suggest that in the 5th century, as in the 4th, the island was swept from the north-west and the south-east by waves of invasion which were sometimes beaten back (as in 429) and sometimes carried all before them (as in 367 and 442). Every now and then, like rocks amongst the breakers, the old Romanized cities of the south-east seem to rear their heads above the flood with something of the obstinacy of the contemporary cities of invaded Gaul. How long they survived complete submersion, if such was ever their fate, the historical evidence does not tell us. Gildas, writing in the middle of the 6th century, says that "even our cities are not now inhabited as they were of yore"; but he clearly knows little of Britain east of the Severn, and in any case his statements are fraught with an

¹ It is scarcely necessary to refer here to Geoffrey of Monmouth's Lot, a member of the royal house, who was established by King Uther and again by his son King Arthur in "the consulship of Londonesia and the other provinces belonging to him," and led the British army against the Saxons at the end of the 5th century, with indifferent success [*Historia Britonum*, VIII, 21, and IX, 9]. According to the same romancer, London, Winchester and other places remained more or less intact throughout the 5th and 6th centuries. Unfortunately the *Historia* is not evidence, although its general testimony happens to coincide with the view taken in the present section.

² The precise significance of this statement is impossible to estimate. It may reflect some unusually violent but comparatively local wave of conquest such as that which then or shortly afterwards established the Jutes in Kent.

almost hysterical exaggeration and more often than not suggest vague and violent generalizations based merely on particular instances. His evidence scarcely affects the problem of south-eastern Britain. Historically, there is no valid obstacle to the postulation of an enduring if attenuated London throughout the 5th and 6th centuries.

If we turn now to the archæological evidence, the problem may be approached from two sides—the Roman and the Saxon. It is unfortunate that the numismatic material ascribed to London is generally too uncertain in origin to justify discussion¹ and we must look elsewhere for help from this type of evidence. The only excavated Roman site of possible significance in this context is Richborough in Kent, where excavations carried out over a period of six years within the area of the Saxon-Shore Fortress have yielded many thousands of Roman coins. Amongst them, attention has already been drawn to the very large preponderance of late types.² That these were rarely minted later than c. 395 is of little moment, since the issue of copper coinage in Gaul virtually ceased about that date. As Mr. Salisbury remarks, "the fact of the cessation of bronze coinage in the west would act like a dam behind which the money would accumulate at the geographical limit of circulation." How long and in what area did this late coinage thus accumulate?

The first question is difficult or impossible to answer. From the figures prepared by Mr. Hayter and Mr. Salisbury, the late coins found at Richborough between 1922 and 1926 are as follows:—

Coins minted between 320 and 364 : 3,495.

Coins minted between 364 and 398 : 12,569.

It cannot be assumed that the relative value of the coinage or the density of the population at Richborough remained anything like constant from the beginning to the end of the 4th century, and it is therefore unprofitable to attempt to calculate from these figures the exact chronological implication of the great accumulation of coins during the latter part of the century. But, as Mr. A. W. Clapham points out, the fact that the coins minted during the last 35 years of the century outnumber the total minted during the preceding 45 years by some 320 per cent. at least suggests the possibility that the former represent an occupation carried well on into the 5th century.

The second question is less difficult. Mr. Salisbury and others³ have collected evidence to show that late silver coins (of Honorius and Arcadius) occur in hoards in Suffolk, Essex, Middlesex, Berkshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorset and Somerset, i.e. in the immediate hinterland of the Saxon Shore.⁴ The copper coins of the same emperors are much more widely spread, although none occurs on Hadrian's Wall and only three or four scattered in Wales outside Monmouthshire. But apart from some twenty copper hoards, extending from Northumberland to the Severn (though mostly in the southern counties),⁵ very few of these late coins are found on any single Romano-British site, and the complete contrast with the thousands found in the soil of some

¹ Not only are many of the coins, ascribed to London, of uncertain origin, but the upper deposits which should have contained evidence relating to the latest Roman occupation have long ago been removed in the course of building operations.

² F. S. Salisbury, *Antiq. Journ.*, VII, 268; and *Num. Chron.*, 5th Ser., VII (1927).

³ Notably, Sir Arthur Evans, in *Num. Chron.*, Ser. 4, XV, 498.

⁴ A remote hoard such as that which included coins of Honorius and Arcadius near Coleraine, Co. Derry, was obviously plunder and thus helps, if anything, to emphasise the restricted distribution noted above.

⁵ See lists collected by R. G. Collingwood, *Journ. of Rom. Studies*, XII, 90.

two acres of Richborough is striking in the last degree. It is clear that, as Mr. Salisbury infers, we may visualize the submergence of Roman Britain as proceeding from north-west to south-east, i.e. as being due primarily to the Picts and Scots rather than to the Saxons. Some part of south-eastern Britain survived, at least for a while; but how far the numismatic evidence so liberally furnished by Richborough will be matched by other sites in this region remains to be seen. Verulam, which received Germanus in 429, may be expected to provide an analogy; and, if so, London may, on this ground alone, march securely between Kent and Hertfordshire into the 5th century.

The relative evidence from Saxon sites is slight but suggestive. The earliest Saxon remains in England are probably two burials found many years ago at Dorchester in Oxfordshire.¹ These were ascribed to a period as early as the 3rd century by Sir Arthur Evans and to the 4th century by Dr. Salin, but have more recently been assigned to "the early half of the 5th century at the latest" by Mr. Thurlow Leeds. In Berkshire, at Frilford, a Saxon cemetery immediately adjoined a late Roman one in such a way as to suggest something approaching continuity of use. The neighbourhood of the Lower Thames has produced early Saxon cemeteries (burnt burials) at Croydon, Mitcham, Beddington and elsewhere. There is certainly sufficient evidence to indicate that the Saxons were penetrating far into the Thames Valley within a very few decades of the rescript of Honorius, if indeed they had not already formed occasional settlements there actually before that date. It is permissible to imagine their small fleets passing up-river beneath the closed gates of a London which may have regarded them with the same wary indifference wherewith, four centuries later, Saxon London often enough regarded the roving long-ships of the Vikings.²

To complete this picture, it may be recalled that by the end of the 4th century, whatever the state of the towns of Roman Britain, the countryside had to a large extent been shorn of the best of its Roman elements. No Romano-British country-house seems to have yielded any evidence of occupation after the third quarter of the 4th century, and the anarchy which accompanied and followed disasters such as those of the year 367 appears to have put an end to Romano-British country-life on any significant scale. Roman Britain was driven into its walled towns and its fortresses, and the open country with its half-civilized peasantry and bands of brigands was now easy prey to the groups of Saxon yeomen who came as settlers in the van of the main Teutonic immigrations. The newcomers were thus not, of necessity, brought into close contact with the remnants of Romano-British civilization, and under favourable conditions, particularly where (as in London) the commercial rather than the territorial factor was paramount, the urban life which was foreign to the German tradition may well have continued to exist amidst an increasingly Teutonized countryside. Without pressing too closely analogies from Merovingian Gaul, it may be pertinent to remark that there the Germanic "invasions" were "often far less subversive of the old social order than we might at first suppose," and, apart from intermittent outbursts of robbery and violence, "ordinary Gallo-Roman life probably went on as it had done for generations before the Visigoths appeared at Toulouse or the Franks at Cambrai."³

¹ E. Thurlow Leeds, *The Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, 55.

² As Mr. Leeds remarks, "The whole results of archaeological research . . . prove conclusively that the Saxon immigrants made full use of the Thames route, unhampered by London or its inhabitants." *Op. cit.*, 54.

³ S. Dill, *Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age*, 12, 25, 38, etc.

In summary, the evidence from all sources lends itself to the following interpretation. On historical grounds it may be affirmed that London existed until after the first visit of St. Germanus in 429, and probably until after the second visit in 447. With less assurance, the period may be extended to 457, the date ascribed by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to the rout of Crecganford. Generally consistent with this evidence—though not at present susceptible to certain interpretation—is that of the abundant late coinage recovered in recent years from Richborough, the only important fortified site yet excavated scientifically in south-eastern Britain. It is clear, therefore, that on certain sites in this part of the country—London amongst them—occupation was continued until well after the year 410.

This is the less surprising when it is remembered that the Saxon immigrants, though savage enough on occasion, were primarily not (like the Picts and Scots) destroyers, but armed yeomen in search of comfortable patches of riverside-land where they could resume their comparatively settled rural existence.¹ Upon them the rescript of Honorius in 410 conferred, in a sense, the freedom of south-eastern Britain. True, the older histories have usually exaggerated the importance of the rescript, and so have tended to obscure the essential continuity of the events of the half-centuries preceding and following it. But it did at least imply that such co-ordinating authority as then remained to the Imperial Command was withdrawn. "The cities" of Roman Britain were now left to fend for themselves—a situation which was probably not so much created as aggravated by the formal severance. Often enough during the 4th century the central power had been lacking in times of crisis; but there was now, after 410, even less guarantee of concerted action, and no Imperial reserve from which a Theodosius or a Stilicho could be drawn at need. The fenced cities remained, but the defensive screen between and around them was now of little substance. Through its gaps, up the Thames and Medway valleys, small groups of Saxon settlers were thus able to find their way, with little hindrance or none, into an open countryside which for a generation had lain almost desolate. Relics of them dating from the early years of the 5th century, have been found as far up-river as Oxfordshire.

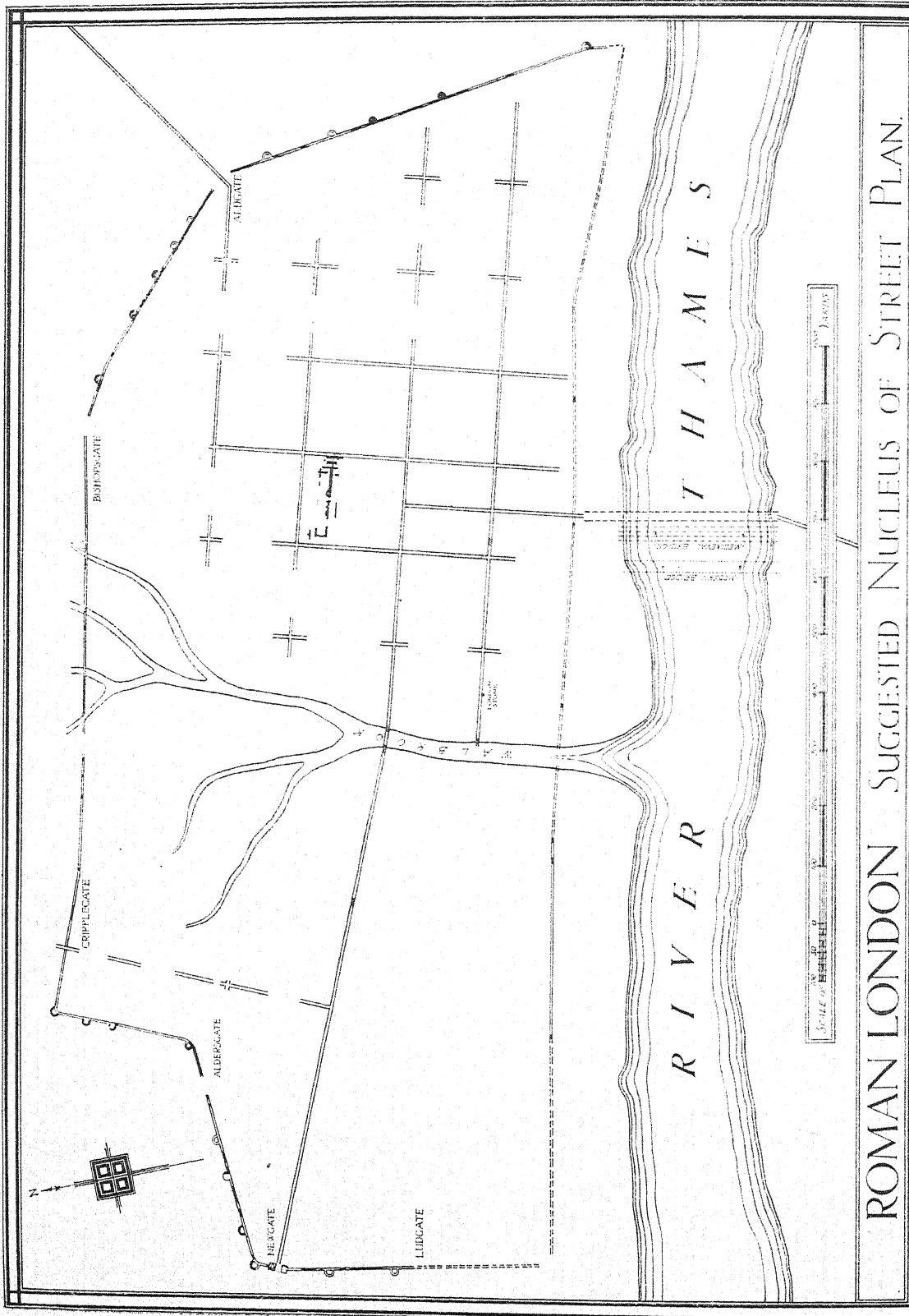
The immediate result of the lapse of centralized control in Roman Britain may thus for a time have been actually to diminish conflict with the Saxon immigrants. The Imperial defence, by damming the tide of invasion, had doubtless augmented its violence, and the partial breaking of the dam after 410 may be supposed to have reduced the pressure, at the expense merely of the flooding of a countryside that was already abandoned by the more civilized elements in the population. There is no substantial reason why the few surviving walled cities should not have remained as islands in the flood. To the Saxon farmer of the 5th century they must have counted even for less than did their successors to the Danish Vikings who in the 9th century sometimes took toll of them and sometimes passed them by. There is a danger, in approaching the problem of the Romano-British towns in the 5th century, of exaggerating their importance and of regarding the contemporary Britain from their standpoint. In reality, save as occasional links with the Latin world, their importance had almost vanished. The centre of interest was already shifting to the new population which had begun to dominate the country districts. In rural Gaul,

¹ So also, as noted above, the warrior-farmers of Frankish Gaul. "Their early kings were men of war. But when they came to settle on the fertile lands of the Scheldt and Moselle, their chief object must have been to secure a tranquil, prosperous life beside their Gallo-Roman neighbours. They were a keen and greedy race, fully appreciating the possession of lands and flocks, and herds, and eager for such wealth as these could yield" [S. Dill, discussing the evidence of the Salic Code, *op. cit.*, 60; cf. 12, 25, 38, etc.].

the Frankish invaders found a Roman villa-system in full working order; they insinuated themselves into it, and it in turn gradually Romanized and even urbanized them. In Britain, as we have seen, the corresponding villa-system, in so far as it had developed at all, had been wiped out, largely by the Picts and Scots, during the last half-century of Roman rule. Here, therefore, there was no link between the essentially rural German and the essentially urban Roman civilizations.¹ The walled towns of the south-east, out of reach of the Picts and out of mind of the Saxons, may thus be thought to have lingered on almost as "reservations" for the secondary Romano-British population. The silence of history in regard to them is probably just; London in the year 500 can have mattered little to anyone save to a few decivilized sub-Roman Londoners. Only when, in the course of the 6th century, a settled and wealthy Germanic aristocracy (particularly amongst the comparatively civilized Jutes) began to emerge and to renew contact with the Latin world, did the cities begin once more to come into their own. The process was sealed by the reintroduction of the centralizing ministration of Roman Christianity, and it is no accident that the history of London is resumed with the advent of St. Augustine and the revival of the ancient bishopric in 604.

One further aspect of the problem may be noted. The view here taken that, in spite of occasional outbreaks of violence, the Saxon settlers of the 5th century probably continued—as they certainly began—to settle in the country districts of south-eastern Britain without completely obliterating the walled towns, has perhaps a secondary implication. The most consistently destructive enemies of Roman Britain had been the Picts and the Scots. With them the Saxon immigrants, or some of them, occasionally joined forces, as on the occasion of the victory of Germanus in 429. But more often, as their fundamentally different traditions and intentions rendered inevitable, the two groups of invaders were hostile to each other; and it may not be altogether unreasonable to suggest that, paradoxically enough, it was the early penetration of Saxon settlers into the south-eastern part of the island that incidentally saved some of the remaining Romano-British cities there from destruction. Having plundered their way as far south as the midlands, the mountaineers from the north found in front of them not merely some of the strongest Roman towns in the land, but, between them, a countryside that was already filling up with determined Saxon settlers who had as little desire for disturbance as the towns themselves. Regarded in this light, the Saxons of the early 5th century may actually have done more to preserve than to destroy the surviving elements of Romano-British civilization. It is not necessary to suppose that they went so far as their Frankish kinsmen in Gaul, who even found it politic to shoulder the defence of Gallo-Roman life against their more subversive rivals, the Huns and Visigoths. But it is easy to imagine that the contemporary circumstances in south-eastern Britain were not wholly dissimilar, and that the infiltration of the German warrior-farmers may there also have done something to grout the broken fabric of Romano-British civilization, and so have enabled it in its walled towns to escape that complete destruction which seems to have overwhelmed the more remote and exposed cities known to Gildas.

¹ See R. G. Collingwood in *Antiquity*, I, 117.



INVENTORY.

(A) THE DEFENCES.

The Roman town-wall was laid out in such a manner as to enclose the two hills of London, and at the same time to take advantage of the natural contours of the ground (*see above*, p. 14). From the Tower northwards and westwards as far as Ludgate it remained the nucleus of the City's defences throughout the Middle Ages, but between Ludgate and the Thames it was destroyed in 1282 in order to enable the Dominicans to establish their convent across its line. The salient shown here on the old maps dates therefore from that period, and the original course of the wall can only be recovered by excavation. The evidence recorded from this source has been disputed. It will be seen below (p. 92), however, that it indicates with fair certainty a course proceeding directly southwards from the gate to the Thames. The alternative view, that the wall turned south-eastwards from Ludgate and struck the river-wall in Upper Thames Street at the foot of Lambeth Hill, is without substantial foundation.¹

The line of the river-wall is in part less certain. Stow notes that Fitzstephen, as early as the 12th century, could only say that "on the Southside also the Citie was walled and towred, but the fishfull river of Thames with his ebbing and flowing, hath long since subverted them." Whether indeed a river-wall formed a part of the original scheme of defence is uncertain, for the fragments hitherto observed—particularly the long stretch recorded by Roach Smith in Upper Thames Street—differ in structure from the Roman land-wall and may safely be ascribed to a later date (*see below*). For a considerable distance W. of London Bridge no town-wall has been identified, although recent excavations there have been specially watched in this connection. To the E. of the Bridge, the wall has been recognized near the Monument and possibly in front of the Coal Exchange, and there is much probability in the conjecture that the inner curtain of the Tower of London from the Bell to the Lanthorn Tower represents its eastern portion [*see A. W. Clapham in Clapham and Godfrey, Some Famous Buildings and their Story*, 32].

The landward-wall was fronted by at least one ditch, and may have been backed by a bank. At two later dates both it and the river-wall were armed with projecting towers or bastions, of which 17 are known from structural remains. To these may be added four others recorded on the maps of Agas, Ogilby and Morgan, etc., whilst Mr. Clapham, noting that the surviving fragment of Roman town-wall at the Wardrobe Tower in the Tower of London points straight towards the Lanthorn Tower, has suggested that this may stand on the site of the corner-bastion of the Roman defences; with the further inference that the Wakefield, Bell and Middle Towers, extending westwards at almost equal intervals, may well represent former Roman bastions along the river-wall. If this be so, the total number of Roman bastions known or inferred is 25.

¹ It rests upon the discovery of a wall running diagonally across the site of No. 56 Carter Lane, and the vague statement of Roach Smith that at the foot of Lambeth Hill the river-wall "formed an angle with the Hill and Thames Street." The wall in Carter Lane was not definitely recorded or seen by any competent observer and its precise angle is entirely uncertain. The wall of a Roman building discovered near the bottom of St. Peter's Hill would in any case lie outside the suggested line, and the argument [*Arch.*, LXIII, 306] that no Roman building has been discovered in this angle of the city, thus falls to the ground.

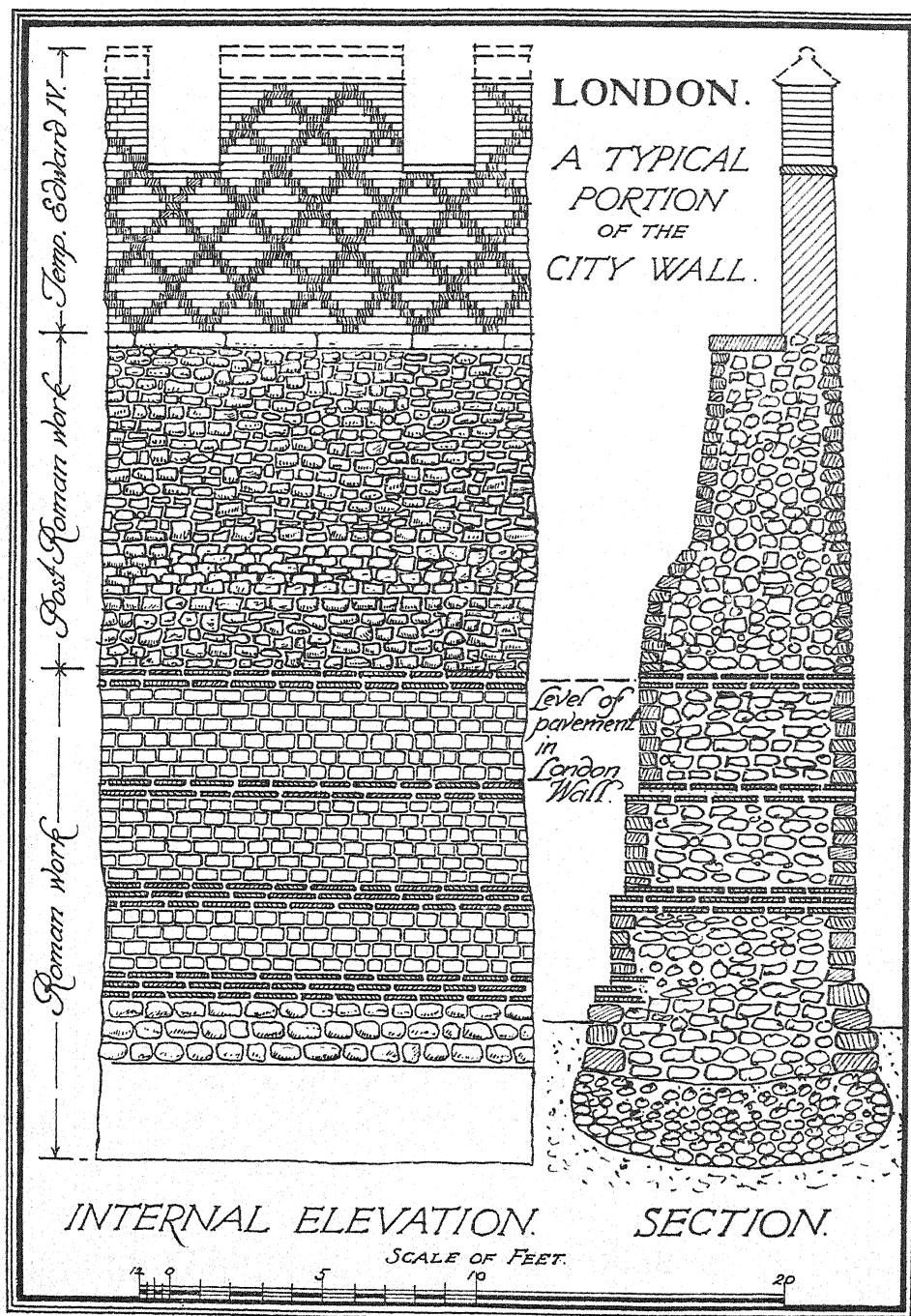


FIG. 9

Before describing the recorded remains in detail, it will be convenient to summarize and discuss the various features of the Roman defensive system *seriatim*, with special reference to the problem of their chronology.

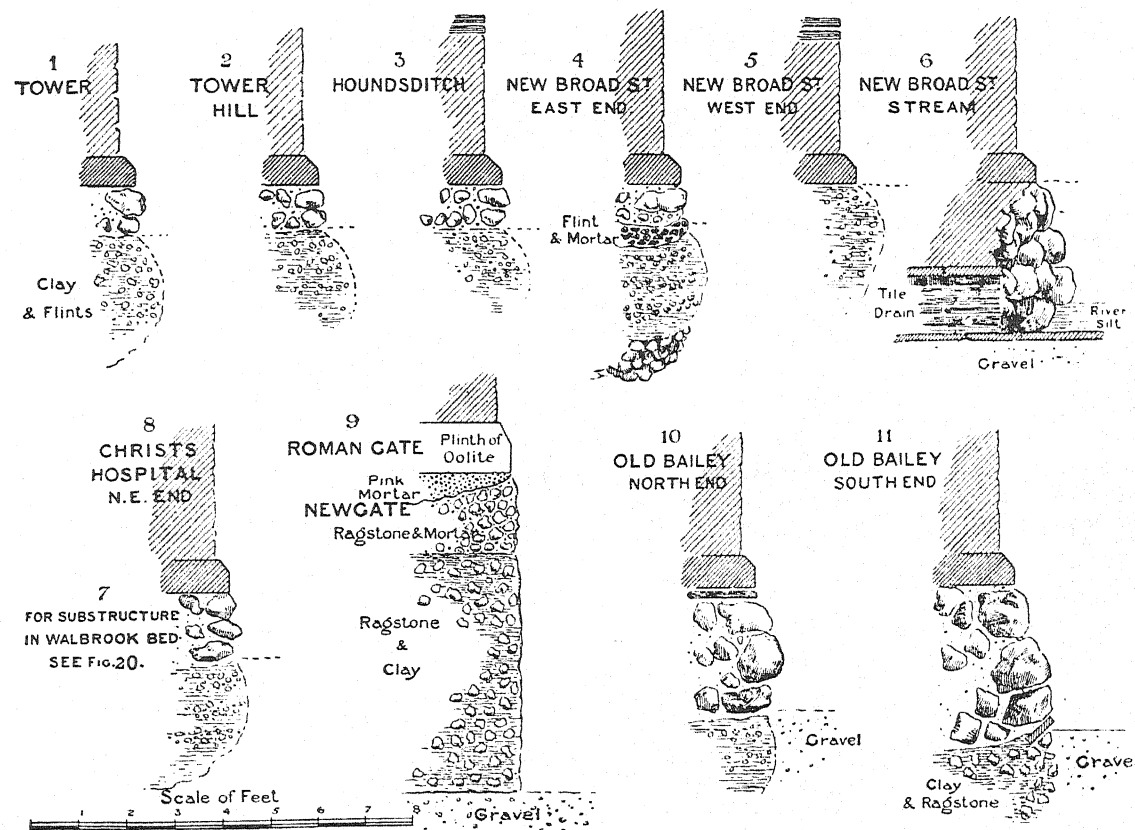


FIG. 10. Sections showing foundations of City-wall.
From the *Victoria County History of London*, I, by permission.

(i) *The landward-wall, with its bank (?) and ditch.* The materials of the town-wall are uniform throughout its entire length on the landward side. The main structure (Fig. 9) is built of Kentish rag-stone, roughly squared and coursed on the external and internal faces, but laid in its rough state in the core and occasionally set herring-bone fashion. Occasional flints also occur in the core, but no chalk or septaria has been observed. The chamfered external plinth, which is also a constant feature, is of red ferruginous sandstone, apparently also of Kentish origin, employed in varying lengths from 1 ft. to 2½ ft., 9 in. high, and 1 ft. to 1½ ft. deep. Lining with the plinth on the internal face is a triple facing-course of brick, generally, but not always, with an offset between the top and the second brick. This facing-course together with the bonding courses which are carried completely through the wall at higher levels, is composed of the ordinary Roman bricks about 17½ in. by 12 in. by 1½ in. or 2 in., generally red in colour, but occasionally yellow. These materials are set in a white mortar of extreme hardness which was perhaps run into the core in a fluid state as the interstices are not completely filled. The face at the N.W. angle of the city, by Newgate, was found to have been pointed in pink mortar, and the same feature is said to have been observed at the back of the bastion on Tower

Hill. The wall stands upon a foundation (Fig. 10) of flints and puddled clay, laid in a trench, 3 to 4 ft. deep, cut in the original surface of the ground ; occasionally fragments of rag-stone are used in the place of flint.

So much of the structure of the wall has now been examined that it may be stated with confidence that in its original state it contained no re-used material of any sort, the rag-stone, sandstone and brick having all the appearance of new material accumulated for the express purpose to which they were put.

That the wall was built in lengths, according to the usual Roman fashion, is indicated by the fact that there are numerous breaks in the levels of the bonding courses which are themselves not of uniform thickness or spacing ; such breaks occurred between sections 9 and 13, 13 and 20, 22 and 26, 31 and 33, 33 and 35, and no doubt elsewhere, but there is no record of the observation of any one of the junctions between them, which, no doubt, sometimes occurred at the gates.

The thickness of the wall above the plinth varies between 7 and 9 ft., the thinnest sector being that by the Wardrobe Tower (1) and the thickest near Castle (Goring) Street (15). Normally the wall is reduced in thickness at each bonding-course by an internal set-back of some 3 in. At one point, however, under the Southend Railway (7), these set-backs occurred on both faces of the wall, as is attested by three independent observers. The reason for this variation from the normal, which can only have continued for a short distance, is not apparent, but the wall at this point passed over a channel or water-course of some description.

The original height of the wall is not now ascertainable, the highest definitely recorded piece (16) standing $14\frac{1}{2}$ ft. above the plinth and containing one triple and three double bonding-courses. This would appear, however, to have been exceeded by the portion in Trinity Place (as recorded in Fairholt's engraving) which was perhaps a foot or two higher.

Whether the town-wall was originally backed by an earthen *bank* is uncertain. The better preservation of the internal face has been remarked more than once, but may well be ascribed to the protection afforded by the inevitable accumulation of soil and débris within the walls of an ancient city. On the other hand, the actual traces of a constructional bank were suspected in one of the cuttings on the site of Christ's Hospital (*below* p. 91, Fig. 16), and the presence of banks in conjunction with the thick stone walls of Colchester, Caerwent, Silchester, and other Romano-British sites strengthens the suspicion. The fact that such a bank has not otherwise been detected in London is of little weight, since not only must a bank in this position have suffered drastically from post-Roman builders, but, even when it has survived to modern times, none but a specially trained observer could be expected to detect it.

Traces of a single V-shaped Roman *ditch*, cut in the gravel, have been observed at two points to the E. and two points to the W. of the Walbrook. This ditch lay at a distance of $10\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 ft. from the base of the city-wall, was 10 to 16 ft. wide and $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep. Any outer ditch or ditches which may have existed were presumably removed in the cutting of the large mediaeval ditch, which had indeed at two points almost obliterated the Roman ditch above mentioned. At Aldersgate Street a ditch $74\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide and 14 ft. deep, at one place with a broad flat bottom and at another with a slight median mound (thought to be for a bridge) has been regarded as Roman. It may represent a local re-cutting at the time when the bastions were added here, but it is perhaps more probable that the Aldersgate ditch was post-Roman.

The question of the *date* of the landward wall of London has given rise to much discussion, often of a highly theoretical character. It is not necessary to consider the various views in detail, but in order to indicate the present position in the matter three representative theories are here summarized.

One of the contributors to the Victoria County History argues that the construction of the Ermine Street was subsequent to the first decade of the 3rd century, since it is not included in the Antonine Itinerary, which was possibly the work of Caracalla. But the Ermine Street now bends slightly westwards as it approaches Bishopsgate, and therefore "if Bishopsgate was a Roman entrance into the city, the London portion of the Ermine Street must have been shifted a little to the west when the City was fortified, and the date of the Wall is thus given within certain limits. As coffins both of lead and stone are only found beyond the fortifications, and, on numismatic and epigraphic grounds, are referable as a class to the 4th century, the Wall would seem to have been erected in the Constantine period. . . . It is to this conclusion also that the comparison with walled towns on the Continent and an examination of the structure itself inevitably lead, and there can be no better reason assigned for the bestowal of the name Augusta than this transformation of a trading town into a fortress" [*V.C.H. London*, I, 37].

Another contributor to the same work holds a different view: "Many of the remains . . . show by their position on the original surface, and by the coins and objects associated with them, that London had extended over a large area at a very early period. In this way the City had spread itself out, probably as an open town, its streets not disposed in any regular plan, and its buildings interspersed among trees and streams. . . . After a period, it was found necessary to provide the rapidly growing town with more adequate defences, and the wall was then built. Its irregular course indicates its adaptation to a state of things already existing, but it was evidently carried well beyond the more densely inhabited parts, as everywhere it has been found to rest on the natural surface." Then the soil of the City began to rise, and the passages prepared to carry the Walbrook through the wall became choked. "Striking evidence of the great rise in the soil after the building of the City wall, but in Roman times, is afforded by the gate at Newgate," which rests on made soil some 4½ ft. above the base of the adjacent wall. "The projection of the gate from the wall also betokens its late age, as does the employment of oolite for the plinth. . . . All these considerations lead to the conclusion that the City wall was built at a far earlier period than has generally been conjectured, and an approximation to its date may perhaps be furnished by the coins found in the bed of the Walbrook. Many of these have been found, which all fell into one group ending with Marcus Aurelius and the Faustinae, and may fairly be taken to indicate the period when its bed and the vicinity ceased to be occupied after the choking up of the stream. From this it would appear that the wall was built at the latest by the middle of the 2nd century" [*Op. cit.* 77-9].

Lastly, Professor Haverfield's summary of the problem may be cited: "The material facts appear to be the following. First, the wall itself, as I have stated, stood entirely on the clean gravel subsoil; no sign has been noted that it anywhere crosses earlier buildings or even graves. This would suit an early date, though perhaps our records are too imperfect to give us certainty, at least in the matter of such small remains as burials. Secondly, the line of the wall was seemingly laid out so as to include almost all the buildings of the town which were in existence when it was

constructed. The area thus enclosed is very large, and this suggests considerable growth and a late date. Thirdly, the absence of buildings, other than graves, close outside the wall suggests that it was built late in the life of the town ; there was no subsequent period during which more suburbs could develop. Fourthly, the structure of the wall, with its courses of small stones and its bonding-tiles, is generally ascribed to the later empire. This, however, is not quite so certain as is generally alleged. Bonding-tiles were certainly used very freely in the later empire. We have datable instances in the forts of the Saxon Shore, and in the city of Trier and on other Gaulish sites. But, at any rate south of the Alps, they were known and used in the 1st century A.D. They may favour, but they certainly do not prove, a late date for the London wall. Lastly, we have the general probability that wall-building would be carried out in Britain, as in Gaul and elsewhere in the empire, under the pressure of some evil, such as the attack of the barbarians. It is plain that these considerations permit of no definite conclusion. We must wait and see. But some of the facts appear to have rather more weight than others. In particular, the large area included by the wall, and the scarcity of dwellings outside it, and the need of some historical cause for wall-building, combine to make me think that perhaps the end rather than the beginning of the 3rd century is the more probable date. The bastions might easily have been added in the course of the 4th century, when the dangers from Saxon pirates became even more acute" [*Journ. Roman Studies*, I, 158].

Many of the premises or inferences which have been quoted above are open to dispute, and it is now desirable to review the whole of the evidence independently of them. It may be approached from three different aspects :—

- (a) The actual evidence provided by the remains.
- (b) The general evidence provided by the form and compass of the wall, with special reference to burials within and without its circuit.
- (c) The general evidence of analogous sites in Britain and Gaul.

(a) No fragment of re-used material has been recorded from any part of the landward-wall. One observer (Dr. Philip Norman), who has seen at various times something like 400 yards of the wall and has particularly looked for such evidence, declares that he has seen none, and this testimony combined with that of all other records enables us to assume that the structure was built throughout of new materials.

The character of the construction, particularly the use of the lacing-courses, suggests comparison with late Roman fort-walls, such as those at Richborough, Lymne and Bradwell. On the other hand, this construction occurs freely in early walls, e.g., at Pompeii and Herculaneum before A.D. 79, and at Colchester, the walls of which seem to belong to the latter part of the 1st century [*Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* (N.S.), XV, 179 ; *Journ. Roman Studies*, IX, 144 ; and cf. Haverfield, as quoted above]. The use of bonding or levelling courses would obviously be convenient in a district such as London, where freestone is not available and the material is naturally rough and irregular. It is not, therefore, a feature of chronological value.

The wall is built uniformly on the original surface of the ground, and in no recorded instance disturbed a pre-existing deposit or building.¹ This in itself, of course, only proves that, whenever it was built, it was erected outside the inhabited region², presumably with a view to expansion within its limits rather than with a view to the defence of the most vulnerable area.

More striking is the accumulation of 6 to 7 ft. of deposit, containing only Roman remains, against the wall and over the ditch in America Square. That this accumulation was deposited in the Roman period and after the building of the wall seems certain, but the length of time implied thereby is quite uncertain, for, while normal conditions might imply the passage of centuries, there is no evidence that normal conditions obtained in this particular case.

The rise in the Roman ground-level after the building of the wall is also indicated at Newgate, where the plinth of the Roman gateway, as found, was $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. above that of the adjacent town-wall, and evidently represents a Roman rebuilding.

The bastions, which are all or mostly Roman, are also additions, since they are not bonded into the wall and either oversail or cut through the Roman ditch; but here again there is little or nothing to show the lapse of time between the building of the wall and that of the bastions.

The most significant piece of evidence is provided by the silting-up of the Walbrook. As noted above (p. 16) the deposits in or close to the stream-bed have been observed by competent archaeologists at two adjacent sites, one within and one without the line of the N. wall. On the S. side the lowest deposit consisted entirely of black occupation-earth, whereas on the N. side the lowest deposit consisted entirely of clean sand and silt. The boundary between the two types of deposit was apparently the city-wall, and the building of the wall would seem to provide the only explanation for the essential difference in the nature of the two deposits. The earliest deposit of black occupation-earth, on the S. side of the wall, is dated by its contents to the first century of the Roman occupation. A shaft sunk by the Society of Antiquaries against the outer face of the Wall, was undertaken with the express purpose of ascertaining the conditions of the deposit in the Walbrook bed at this point. The section obtained proved that the 4 ft. of sand and silt lying above the natural gravel had been deposited against the face of the Wall after its erection, there being no trace of a cutting through this deposit for the building of the Wall. This point is of capital importance, as the observations of Mr. F. W. Reader (*see* p. 147) made on the site 150 ft. away on the same side of the Walbrook channel, enable us to date the lowest deposit of silt with a considerable degree of certainty and to state that the lowest 18 inches of it were deposited before the construction of the pile-structures, *c.* A.D. 100–130. It is obvious,

¹ Only in two instances have structural remains been recorded in immediate proximity to the wall, and in neither case is there clear evidence that the wall was subsequent to them. The first of these is the long tessellated corridor recorded in 1707 by Woodward as stopping within $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. of the wall in Camomile Street (p. 111, No. 51); the other is the flooring of large tiles which extended inwards for 10 ft. from the face of the wall on the site of Christ's Hospital (p. 91). The latter was thought to have preceded the wall and may have done so; but no trace of it was observed on the other side of the wall, and it is conceivable that the pavement—the lateral extent of which was not ascertained—may have been the floor of a tower or staircase built in conjunction with the defences.

² This point is emphasised by the long straight stretches of wall between the gates. Habitation on the outskirts of an *unwalled* town tends to straggle along the main approaches; thus, a subsequent enclosing wall, built from point to point to include the extreme limits of occupation, would necessarily embrace large intervening areas of thinly occupied land.

therefore, that the Wall must have been built an uncertain time before the pile-structures, the duration of which is represented by the deposit of 18 in. of silt which underlay them. Any other conclusion can be based only on the invalidity of the recorded evidence of the Antiquaries' shaft and Mr. Reader's observations.

(b) The fact that the wall, whenever built, amply enclosed the then occupied area has emerged above (p. 75*n.*). It is a fair assumption from Tacitus that London, like Colchester, was without defences at the time of the Boudiccan revolt.¹ But by that time, as we have seen in a previous Section (p. 31), the eastern and part of the western hills were already occupied. It was, therefore, clearly necessary that any comprehensive scheme of defences subsequent to that date should enclose the two hills. This the wall in effect does, and its main lines were suggested by the natural contours of the ground (*see above*, p. 14). The waste ground implied by the Walbrook valley, together with the re-entrant at Smithfield, thus helped to stretch the London wall to a length which was at the time clearly greater than was required by the actual size of the town. Other factors which may have contributed to this result will be discussed below.

The relation of the line of the wall to the Roman cemeteries is of obvious importance in view of the Roman law (not always closely observed) that the dead should be buried without the precincts of a town. With the exception of a group of burnt burials, of which no details are known, found at the beginning of the 18th century just within Bishopsgate, and a large and almost exclusively early (pre-Flavian) cemetery in the area N. and N.W. of St. Paul's Cathedral, all the cemeteries of Roman London appear to have lain just outside the line of the walls. The distribution of inhumation-burials is especially significant. The rite of inhumation began to come into vogue in the latter half of the 2nd century (*see above*, p. 30), and only four scattered inhumation-burials which can with any probability be regarded as Roman (and one or two of these may be Saxon) have been recorded within the walled area. Equally striking is the manner in which, at the Minories on the E. and at Newgate on the W., cemeteries used extensively from the end of the 1st century onwards crowd up to the town-wall as though that were their natural limit. The evidence in the N. at Moorfields and Bishopsgate is less clear, because the date of the cemetery found within Bishopsgate is quite unknown, and the exact location (whether within or without the wall) of several burials near by is uncertain. But here too the greater portion of a cemetery used from the 1st century onwards lay outside the wall. The general implication of the cemeteries as a whole is that the line of the wall was their inner boundary by the 2nd century (*see also above*, p. 31), but the evidence is, in detail, too vague to justify any very definite conclusions.

(c) The closest British analogies to the original wall of London are the Roman walls of Verulam and Colchester. The date of the former is unknown; the latter, which, though differing in detail, bears a close general resemblance in character and dimensions, has been noted as probably of late 1st-century date. Haverfield suggested that the diamond broaching on the wall of Aldborough in Yorkshire might indicate a 2nd-century date for the structure²; and an extensive examination

¹ Tacitus states that the rebels deliberately avoided fortifications and sought plunder where it was unguarded. Moreover, the withdrawal of Suetonius from London suggests that the site was unfortified [*Annals*, XIV, 33].

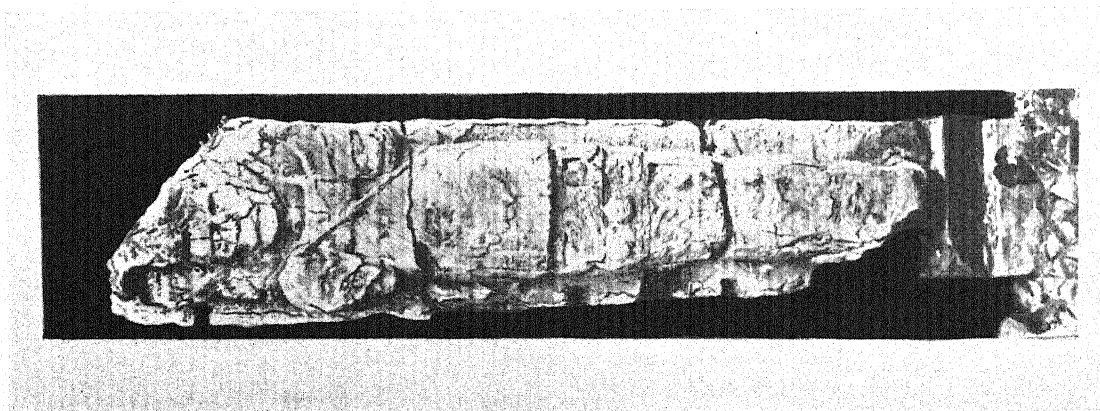
² This inference is far from certain since a somewhat similar tooling occurs on fort-walls and gates in Northumberland which may well be of 3rd-century date.



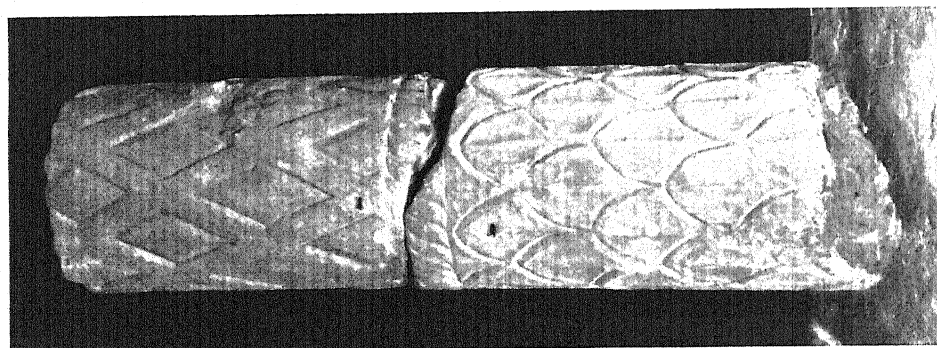
COPED TOP OF A MARBLE TOMB found at Great St. Helens, Bishopsgate, 1877.
Guildhall Museum. (About 1/8 at gable end).



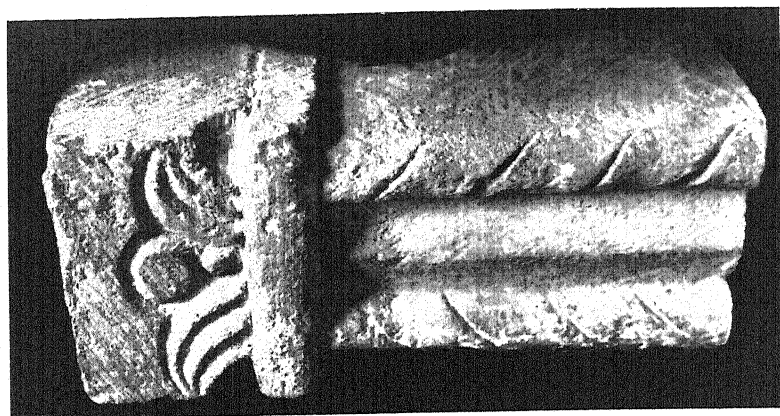
GRANITE BASE OF A LARGE COLUMN. *Guildhall Museum.*
(About 1/12). See p. 42.
By permission of the London and Middlesex Arch. Soc.



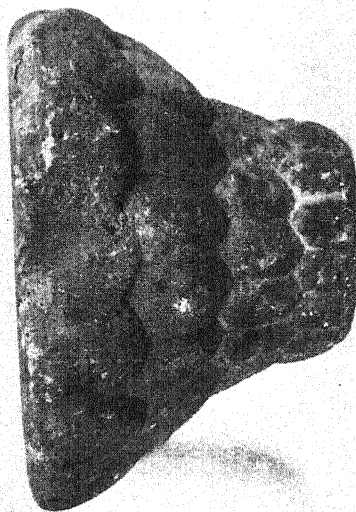
TERMINAL FIGURE found in
St. Mary Axe, 1849.
(About 3 ft. high).
From *V.C.H., London, I.*



BASTION (8), BEVIS MARKS.
Fragments of column found 1880.
Guildhall Museum. (About 1/8).
See p. 100.



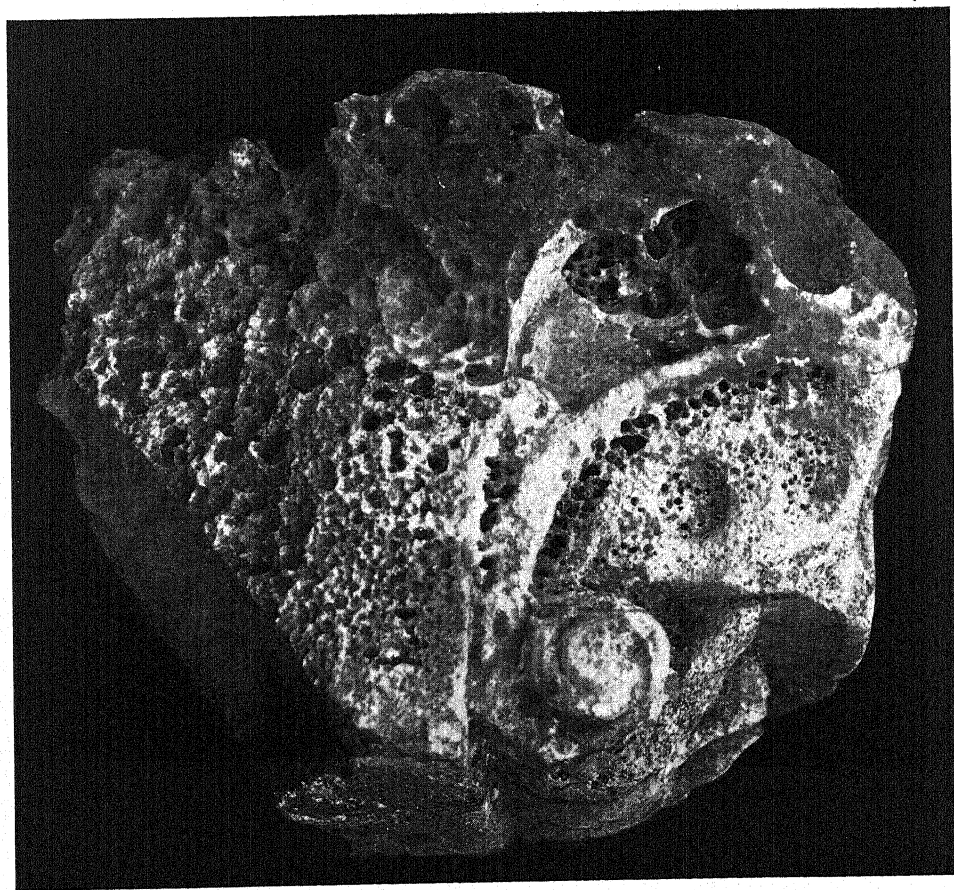
TOWN WALL (41), QUEEN STREET.
Purbeck marble capital and shaft
found 1841. *British Museum.*
(About 1/4). See p. 93.



CAPITAL found re-used in a wall in London.
British Museum. (1/4).



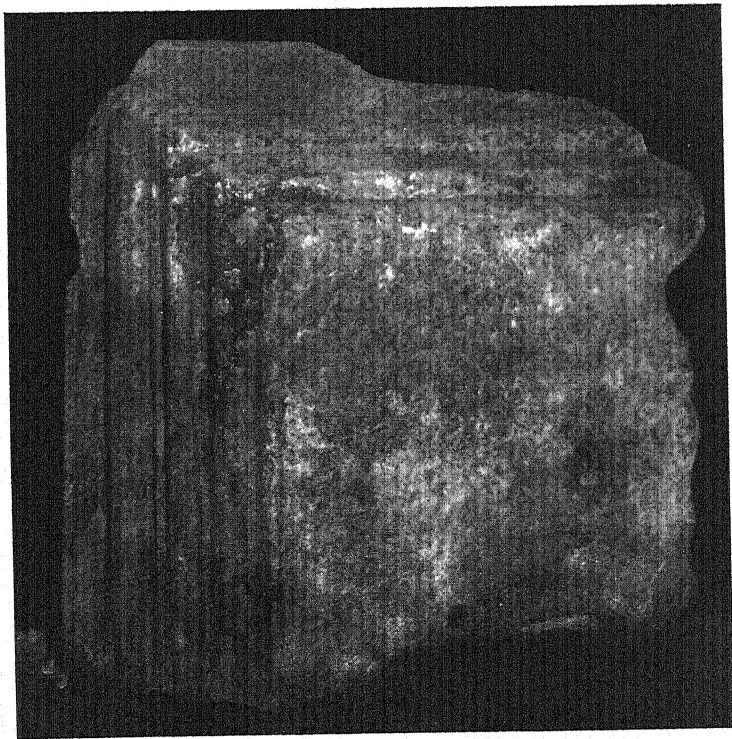
SMALL CAPITAL part of a larger stone from the Camomile Street
Bastion. *Guildhall Museum.* (1/4).
See p. 45 and Plate 16.



CANNON STREET. Carved base-stone of a gable found 1926.
Guildhall Museum. (1/4). See p. 111.



(About 1/8).



(About 1/12).

BASTION (9), CASTLE STREET. Re-used stones found 1884.
Guildhall Museum. See p. 100.

of the S. wall of Caerwent in Monmouthshire has merely shown that it is not likely to have been erected before the Antonine period or after the reign of Constantine the Great.

In our present ignorance of our own antiquities it is necessary to look to France for further information. There, fortunately, the evidence is fairly abundant, and in outline it is as follows. The town-walls built at the time of the development of Gaul in the Augustan period are of ambitious extent, built throughout of new and carefully prepared material, and designed perhaps with a view as much to future expansion as to present need. Of this kind are the walls of Nîmes (built in 16 B.C.), Fréjus, Arles, Autun, Avenches—all with an original perimeter of 4,000 to 6,000 metres. In the case of Autun (and possibly in other cases also) ambition seems to have overstepped its mark, for there is reason to suppose that the town never grew to the full limits of the enclosed area. In sharp contrast to these expansive early fortifications are those of the later Empire, built mostly, as M. Blanchet thinks, after the great German invasion of A.D. 276. The late walls are of small extent, rarely with a perimeter of over 1,500 metres, and they are invariably built largely of material re-used from earlier buildings. The general period of this series is indicated by building-inscriptions of Diocletian and Maximian (c. A.D. 300) at Grenoble; by the presence of a coin of Tetricus (268–273) in the masonry of a tower at Auxerre; by a well-preserved coin of Claudius Gothicus (268–270) in the masonry of the wall of Bordeaux; and so forth. The period is roughly that of our Saxon-Shore forts such as Richborough, the construction of which (again including re-used material) is closely similar. These late walls enclose only a small part of the inhabited area of the town—either the part which contained the principal buildings or (usually the same thing) the part which was most easily defended. The restricted circuit of these walls was due in some degree presumably to the military emergency which occasioned their construction—to act as a refuge for the population in case of attack and to be defensible by the diminished man-power available; but it also owed something to the political and social conditions of the time. Under the early empire a corporate sense of civic responsibility had made the city in every sense co-extensive with its population, and though scattered buildings would naturally be found outside the defences, the walling of the city had implied the walling of the greater part of the populated area. Under the middle and later empire, on the other hand, this corporate civic sense had gradually given place to an increasingly bureaucratic and exacting administration with, as its counterpart, an increasingly impoverished and servile population. The city was no longer really co-extensive with its citizens; it would not be a serious exaggeration to say that it was now co-extensive with little more than its executive core. The walling of the city was now, therefore, primarily the walling of its administrative nucleus; and into the new walls were built the remains of outlying temples and other structures, now left desolate by changing faith, by hostile raid, or merely by the decay of that public spirit to which in earlier centuries they had owed their existence.

Whatever the underlying motive, however, the evidence of the Gallo-Roman cities is consistent, and it enables us to propound the generalisation that in Gaul the Roman town-walls built of new material and enclosing a large area are early (1st centuries B.C.—A.D.), whereas walls built of re-used material enclose a relatively

small area and are late (3rd century or later). There seems to be no exception to this rule [see A. Blanchet, *Les enceintes romaines de la Gaule*, 304, etc.; and *Journ. Roman Studies*, XVI, 191].¹

This rule may not be altogether without bearing upon the corresponding problem in Britain. It is not to be assumed that the historical circumstances of the two provinces were identical in detail; nevertheless, on the one hand, it is reasonable to compare in a general way the political and military situation in Britain under the Flavian Emperors with that in Gaul under Augustus, whilst on the other hand, the environment of beleaguered Britain in the 3rd and 4th centuries certainly did not differ materially in its military aspects from that of contemporary Gaul. If it be permissible, therefore, to apply our generalisation tentatively to the London wall, it is clear that the exclusive use of new material, founded on the natural gravel of the site, together with the ample extent of the defences, enclosing rather more space than was required at the time for close building, includes it in the earlier group, with Autun, Nîmes and the rest.

¹ In this connection the following table, giving the approximate areas of the two groups of Gallic towns is instructive:—

(i) Early Imperial towns:—

Nîmes	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	area 790 acres
Autun	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	494 "
Lyon	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	318 " (approx.)
Vienne	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	214 " "
Fréjus	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	120 " "

To these should perhaps be added Cologne, area 239 acres. The walls of Toulouse, enclosing an area of about 237 acres, and thus belonging to the same class, are of uncertain date, but Blanchet [*op. cit.* 202*n*] quotes the opinion of M. Joulin that they were Trajanic. The walls of Avenches enclosing an area of (very roughly) 350 acres are assigned to the 1st century by Blanchet [*op. cit.* 141] and to the period Vespasian–Titus by Bursian [*Mittheilungen der Antiq. Gesellschaft in Zürich* XVI]. Trier, area 704 acres, can scarcely be cited as an analogy since its maximum expansion probably dates from the period in which it became the Imperial capital of the West.

(ii) Late Imperial towns:—

Strasbourg	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	area 49½ acres
Sens	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	47 " (approx.)
Nantes	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	39½ "
Troyes	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	39½ "
Dijon	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	27 "
Beauvais	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	25½ "
Tours	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22¾ "
Rennes	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22¼ "
Le Mans	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19 " (approx.)
Senlis	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15¾ "
Perigueux	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13½ "

This second list might easily be extended, but all the known examples seem to fall within the same limits of area.

It is clear that London, with an area of 330 acres, belongs essentially to the first rather than to the second group. Whether to the second list should be added the contracted defences of Autun and Arles, where later walls enclosed a section only of the original area, depends upon the date assigned to the restricted enceinte. At neither Autun nor Arles has this been determined definitely, although in both cases there is a probability of a late Roman date. In none other of the large Gaulish cities—Nîmes, Lyon, Vienne, Fréjus, Cologne, Avenches, Toulouse—is there any evidence for a restricted enceinte of late Roman date. It may be presumed that the original defences proved sufficient to prevent the devastation and depopulation which overtook the *open* towns in the 3rd century. The analogy, therefore, between the large walled cities in Gaul and in Britain is complete without the postulation of any systematic reduction of the fortified area under the later Empire.

It is certainly against all analogy to suppose, with Haverfield, that the large area enclosed by the wall suggests a later date; it points on the contrary in the opposite direction. The later phase is approximately represented by the added bastions, built in part of re-used material. To these we shall turn in a moment.¹ It may be added that any theory which postulates a late 3rd or 4th-century date for the walls of London crowds into a single century, besides the construction of the wall itself, the addition of two different sets of bastions, the erection or re-erection of the river-wall and the rebuilding of Newgate, 4½ ft. above its first level. Moreover, the building of a wall *without* bastions and the addition of bastions to the same wall represent two radically different principles in defensive tactics, and we know that the change from the former to the latter system took place before the erection of the Saxon-Shore defences at the end of the 3rd century.

In summary, it may now be observed that all the evidence, direct and indirect, points to or is consistent with a relatively early date for the landward wall of London. So far as observed, it never overlies any relics of previous occupation; its material is new throughout; it is prior to two sets of Roman bastions, and to a Roman gate built after a considerable mass of material had been deposited round its base; at one point 6 to 7 ft. of Roman rubbish had found time to accumulate against the wall and over the ditch; the silt which the Walbrook began to deposit in Finsbury presumably as the result of the partial obstruction caused by the wall was covered by debris of 1st or early 2nd-century date; the principal cemeteries used from the end of the 1st century onwards seem to be bounded by the line of the wall; and the large area enclosed by it, apparently in excess of the immediate requirements of the existing town, suggests comparison with the Augustan series in Gaul—a series which, on general historical grounds, might be expected to correspond to a Flavian series in Britain. If we add the probability that the destruction of Colchester, London and Verulam by Boudicca in the year 60 awakened the authorities to the weakness of the undefended cities of south eastern Britain, and the practical certainty that Colchester at least was fortified soon after the disaster, it is unnecessary to look further for an appropriate historical setting for the walling of London. It is here inferred, therefore, that the original London wall was built during the half-century following the Boudiccan rebellion.

One further point may be noticed here. The curious planning of the landward wall on the N.W. side, with its deep re-entrant angle between Cripplegate and Newgate, has never been satisfactorily explained and no definite explanation will be here attempted. It may, however, be noted that the two walls of the right-angled salient, W. of Cripplegate, are parallel or at right angles to the fairly well authenticated road between Newgate and the Walbrook-crossing at Bucklersbury (*see* plan, Fig. 8 and p. 48). It is possible, therefore, that this salient represents a skirting, by the wall, of a quarter already definitely laid out before the wall was built.

(ii) The *river-wall*, so far as it has been observed, was built or rebuilt upon a foundation enclosed between two rows of piles set close together, the rows being 7 ft. apart. The wall both within this enclosure and above, where it was 8 ft. thick, was composed of rag-stone with single bonding-courses of brick at regular intervals of 2 ft.

¹ It may be added that the indication of town-walls on the medallion of Constantius (p. 188) has been cited as evidence for the existence of fortifications at London by the end of the 3rd century. This evidence is in itself of doubtful value, since the representation of the city on the medal is obviously conventional.

The long stretch, observed by Roach Smith, contained also at the base, chalk and a course of stone set in pink mortar; the stone included many fragments of re-used architectural and sculptured stones and marble, all of Roman date.

The unstable character of the river-bank or foreshore on which this part of the town-wall was built¹ would be enough to account for any differences which occur in method of construction, as contrasted with the wall on the landward side. The employment, however, of re-used material and pink mortar shows conclusively that the two structures were of different date. The presence, on the other hand, in the river-wall of this same re-used architectural material at the base, the use of pink mortar also at the base and finally the use of brick bonding courses above, all seem to point to an equation in date between the river-wall and the eastern group of bastions where the same choice of materials and method of employing them is exemplified (*see below*). The date of this wall will therefore be considered in conjunction with that of the eastern group of bastions.

(iii) Structural remains of external *bastions* have been recorded from the line of the landward wall and others are shown on 16th and 17th-century maps. On the river-side also the city is recorded by Fitzstephen to have been "walled and towered," but these defences had collapsed before the end of the 12th century.

That the bastions were an addition to the town-wall is obvious from the fact that in every case which has been examined they are built up against the pre-existing town-wall, the plinth and facing of which is carried through behind them. In one instance, at Camomile Street (10), traces were found of an attempt to tooth or bond the bastion into the wall, but this does not seem to have been generally done. The bastions display a considerable variety of structure and materials, which indicates that they were not all added at the same time. With the exception of the Wardrobe Tower (1) all the bastions examined on the E. side of the city as far as Moorgate were solid at the base and contained Roman architectural or sculptured stones re-used as building material. These bastions number seven (2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10 and 11), and may be held to form one group, though the most westerly of them (All Hallows Vestry (11)) is the only one that stands on a rectangular platform. Certain further details appear in several of these bastions which may have been common to the whole group, though the evidence for the rest has been destroyed. The most striking of these details is the use of bonding or surface courses of bricks in the two bastions in Duke Street (6 and 7) as attested by Woodward and Maitland, and by an 18th-century drawing of one of these bastions showing four triple courses still in position (Plate 28). A single course is also shown on the drawing of the very fragmentary Castle Street bastion (9); in this case the course occurs 8 ft. above the footing of the bastion, a height which would account for the non-survival of the feature in bastions 3, 10 and 11. Patches of pink mortar were noticed as occurring sporadically in the core of bastions 3, 8, and 11. The size of the four properly recorded bastions (3, 9, 10 and 11) varied between 19 ft. and 26 ft. in diameter and 14½ ft. to 15½ ft. in projection.

The remainder of the bastions examined in recent years differ from the group above described in two particulars inasmuch as (a) they contain no re-used architectural or sculptured stone-work of the Roman period, and (b) with the exception of one bastion (17) on the Christ's Hospital site, they are built hollow from the base. Two of the bastions at Christ's Hospital were perhaps standing to a sufficient height to show

¹ It had fallen before the end of the 12th century, but part of it was standing at Queenhithe in 899 [Kemble, *Cod., Dipl.* V, 141; W. Page, *London, its Origin*, 131].

that the brick courses of the first group were not present there, at any rate to a rather higher level ; but a drawing of the bastion destroyed in 1865 in Windsor Court (14) seems to show one double course in its upper part.

As to the date or dates of the bastions, definite evidence apart from their construction has been provided in only two instances. At All Hallows Vestry (11) the soil just above the platform of the bastion did not appear to have been disturbed and yielded nothing but Roman sherds, etc. The Roman ditch had apparently remained open after the building of the bastion, save beneath the actual structure. The filling of the angle-bastion at Christ's Hospital below a level of 10 ft. from the surface yielded nothing but Roman objects. (The lower part had apparently not been disturbed by the building of the bastion, and contained Roman sherds antedating it.) It would thus appear that there is evidence of a Roman date for one example, in each group of bastions, and the question arises as to which of the two series is the earlier, for it may be assumed that they are not contemporary ; the use of the débris of ruined buildings and the spoil of cemeteries argues a different political and material situation from that indicated by the use of ordinary building material. Unfortunately none of the inscriptions known from the structure of the eastern bastions can be closely dated ; they are in most cases probably of the 1st or 2nd century, but a sculptured head from the Camomile Street bastion is probably not earlier than the 3rd century (*see* p. 46). At Chester a neighbouring cemetery was robbed of its tombstones to rebuild the wall of the fortress about the year 200 ; and it has been remarked above that the use of material from previous buildings is normal in the basis of the towers and walls erected in Gaul in the latter part of the 3rd and in the 4th century, and it may be noted that the general character of their superstructure is also similar to that of the eastern group of bastions. The fortress built over part of the Roman town at Richborough, *c.* 300, also contains re-used material. Further than that the materials do not help us.

The use of external bastions and towers of semi-circular or horseshoe form is characteristic of the great urban defences of the Augustan period (as at Nîmes, Arles, Fréjus, etc.).¹ By the time, however, that Britain was sufficiently settled for extensive town-building, i.e. by the Flavian period, the age of active urban fortification in Gaul and the neighbouring provinces had already passed, and it was the military tradition, with its earthwork ramparts and internal towers, that dominated the designing of our town-defences even when stone was actually used for them. Thus it is that in no Romano-British walled town does a projecting tower or bastion, elsewhere than at a gateway, appear to have been an original feature of defences which are likely to have been built before the 3rd century. Only in that or the succeeding century, when the era of the camp had given place to the era of the castle, did the development of fortification in stone revive the old urban tradition, and with it the use of the projecting bastion, as in our Saxon-Shore fortresses. At this period a few places such as Horncastle and Caistor in Lincolnshire and perhaps Caistor-by-Norwich—all in the immediate hinterland of the Saxon Shore, and possibly used then as fortresses rather than as towns—received walls and bastions of one build and of normal Saxon-Shore character. Apart from these, in one or two cases, though rarely,

¹ These early towers were invariably hollow. Solid towers do not seem to occur in Roman architecture until the 3rd century, and are not common until the 4th. This might seem to suggest that the solid (eastern) series of towers or bastions at London was the later of the two ; but the introduction of solid towers did not involve the abandonment of hollow construction, and hollow towers of the 4th century are not uncommon, as at Caerwent.

projecting towers were added to existing town-walls in this country; but the only examples approximately dated are the six polygonal towers added to the S. wall of Caerwent in Monmouthshire at a period which recent excavation has shown to be not earlier than A.D. 330¹.

From this comparative evidence it is thus possible only to affirm that neither series of bastions in London is likely to be prior to the 3rd century. Which series is the earlier, it is impossible to say. On constructional grounds it might be supposed that the free use of architectural and other second-hand material in the eastern group indicates the later date for this series, since we have not merely the late analogies already cited from Gaul, but the culminating edict of Arcadius and Honorius, issued in 396 and re-affirmed in 408, authorizing urban authorities to build or repair their fortifications with materials drawn, if necessary, from disused temples and other buildings [Blanchet, *op. cit.*, 311; and *Codex Theod.*, XV, I, 34, 40, etc.].² On the other hand, the eastern half of the town seems to have been the more important of the two (*see above*, p. 31), and it was the nearer to attack from the sea. The presence of danger from this source is emphasised by the apparently contemporary building or rebuilding of the river-wall (*see above*, p. 80). Perhaps, therefore, on tactical grounds it is easier to imagine that the eastern series, with the river-wall, is the earlier of the two, dating possibly from the latter part of the 3rd century, when the piracy which led to the fortification of the Saxon Shore was becoming acute. This, however, is mere conjecture, and the problem of the dates of the bastions and river-wall, within the general chronological limit indicated, must await further evidence.

A word may be added about the plan of the Roman *Newgate*—the only London gate of which any definite indication of the Roman plan has been recovered. The fact that this gate was built of different materials and that its plinth lay at a height of 4½ ft. above that of the town-wall indicated its relatively later date, but there is otherwise no direct evidence of the period to which it belongs. The fragmentary remains suggest a double carriage-way flanked by square towers which projected from 7 to 14 ft. in front of the town-wall. A gateway of this type might be of almost any Roman date; it is certainly not (as stated by one of the writers in the *Victoria County History*) specifically a late type. The square projecting towers occur at Aosta as early as the Augustan period and at Cologne probably in the Flavian period, and many examples could be cited from the end of the 1st century A.D. onwards [*see* R. Schultze, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CXVIII, 293, etc., and Wheeler, *The Roman Fort near Brecon*, 20]. The plan therefore does not help.

¹ Mr. V. E. Nash-Williams has recently found an "Urbs Roma" coin (A.D. 330–335) beneath the floor of one of them. The coin was definitely sealed by the structure.

² The bastion destroyed in 1865 on the site of Bastion House, Windsor Court, Aldersgate (p. 104, No. 14) appears to have had no levelling courses below a height of some 30 ft. above the ground. The drawing (Plate 33) shows, however, one levelling course above this height. It is a possible inference that the upper part of the bastion was an addition or reconstruction of the period when the eastern group of bastions (with their regular levelling courses) was built—an inference which of course also implies the priority of the western group.

STRUCTURAL REMAINS.

THE TOWN WALL.

N.B.—The positions of the various items, numbered consecutively in this section, are shown by the same numbers prefixed by the letter W on the large map A at the end of the volume. The structural remains now visible are scheduled on p. xii. All other remains are either buried or destroyed.

(1). *Wardrobe Tower, Tower of London.* A length of about 10½ ft. of wall (Fig. 11) remains standing to a height of 4½ ft. at the back of the Wardrobe Tower. The thickness above the plinth is 6 ft. 11 in., and the external facing above the sandstone plinth consists of four courses of squared rag, three courses of brick carried through the wall and two more courses of rag. On the internal face of the wall an offset of three courses of brick corresponds in level to the plinth. The line of this fragment, which is still exposed, if produced southwards would strike the modern Lanthorn Tower which stands some feet to the N. of its predecessor. The known line of the wall to the N. of the Wardrobe Tower indicates that at this point there was a slight angle in the wall itself [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXXVII, 280; XXXVIII, 130]. Excavations made in 1904 to trace the course of the wall to the S. of this point showed that all remains of the Roman structure had been removed [*Arch.*, LX, 239].

(2). *Bowyer Tower, Tower of London.* Early in 1911 a small excavation in the floor of the Bowyer Tower revealed the inner face of the Roman wall. Only a small portion was uncovered, but included brick bonding-courses. It was carefully preserved and can be inspected by raising one of the stones of the modern floor [*Arch.*, LXIII, 259].

(3). *Trinity Place, S.* A length of about 50 ft. of the town-wall is still standing here to a height of about 15 ft. The internal face is open to view and appears to be entirely of mediaeval construction with the possible exception of the lowest visible courses of squared rag-stone which may be of Roman date. An engraving (Plate 22) in Roach Smith's *Illustrations* shows the Roman work still surviving on the external face to a considerable height. It consists above the plinth of four courses of squared rag-stone, a triple bonding-course of brick, six courses of rag, a double bonding-course, five courses of rag, a second double bonding-course and seven courses of rag; above this point the face has gone and the wall is perhaps mediaeval. Between this point and Tower Hill a considerable stretch of the wall is incorporated in a warehouse and other buildings. The external face is visible in places and appears to be of mediaeval date. Projecting on to Tower Hill is a narrow tenement which, no doubt, stands on the Roman wall.

(4). *Trinity Place, N.* A length of 73 ft. of the Roman wall (Plate 25), immediately adjoining (3) was destroyed for the construction of the Inner Circle Railway in 1882. Drawings and photographs of the wall from the Gardiner Collection are now in the possession of Dr. P. Norman. The drawing of the wall by H. Hodge shows the external face with four courses of squared rag above the plinth followed by three brick courses, six courses of rag, two of brick, four of rag and two of brick.

(5). *Cooper's Row.* A length of 110 ft. of the wall (Plate 23) was uncovered in 1864 on the rebuilding of Messrs. Barber and Co.'s warehouses. It was standing to a height of 35 ft. above the ancient ground-level; the upper part of the construction was of later date and included two round-headed embrasures, perhaps of the 12th century. This section of wall was retained in the new building and can still be inspected. The triple course of bricks on the internal face, corresponding to the external plinth, is 6 in. below the existing basement floor-level. A portion of the outside face of the wall is visible in the garden of No. 8 the Crescent, Minories [*Arch.*, XL, 297; LXIII, 259].

(6). *Southend (formerly Blackwall) Railway, S.* In the course of demolitions for the Blackwall Railway in 1841, a portion of the Roman wall was uncovered 7½ ft. thick and standing to a height of 6 or 7 ft. It had a double course of bricks surmounted by five courses of squared stone, and a double bonding-course carried through the wall. The wood-cut shows also two courses of squared stone below the lower courses of brick and three above the higher [*Knight, London*, I, 163].

(7). *Southend (formerly Blackwall) Railway, N.* In 1881 a further stretch of the wall immediately adjoining (6) together with bastion No. 3, was destroyed in a widening of the railway on the N. side. The stretch was 40 ft. long and 8½ ft. thick above the plinth. The best record of it (Plate 24) is a drawing by H. Hodge (Guildhall Library Add. Prints, p. 98), which shows on the external face three courses of squared rag-stone below the plinth and four courses above followed by a triple bonding-course with a set-back above the second brick; then six courses of squared rag-stone and a double bonding-course with a further set-back immediately above it; finally three courses of squared rag-stone.

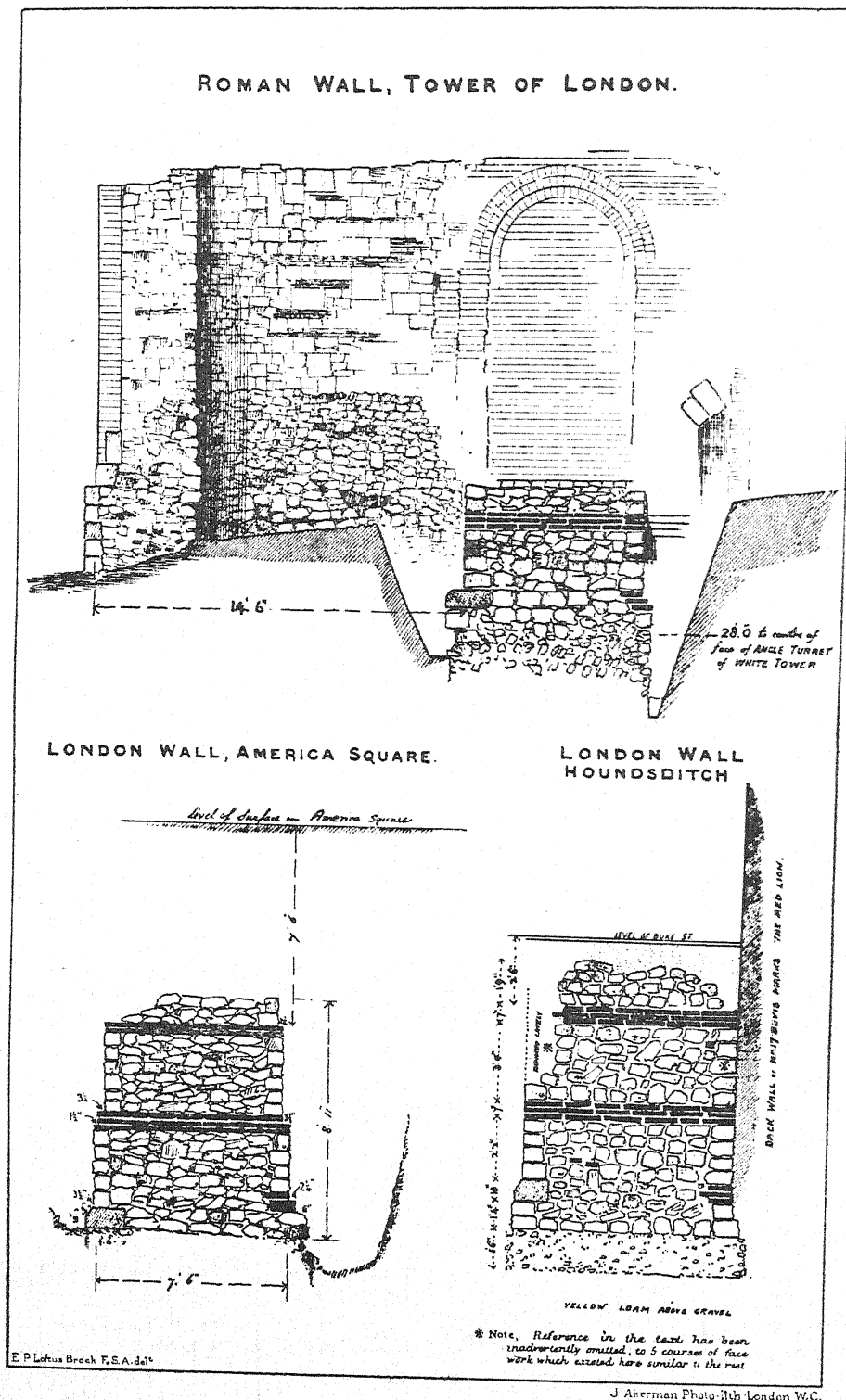
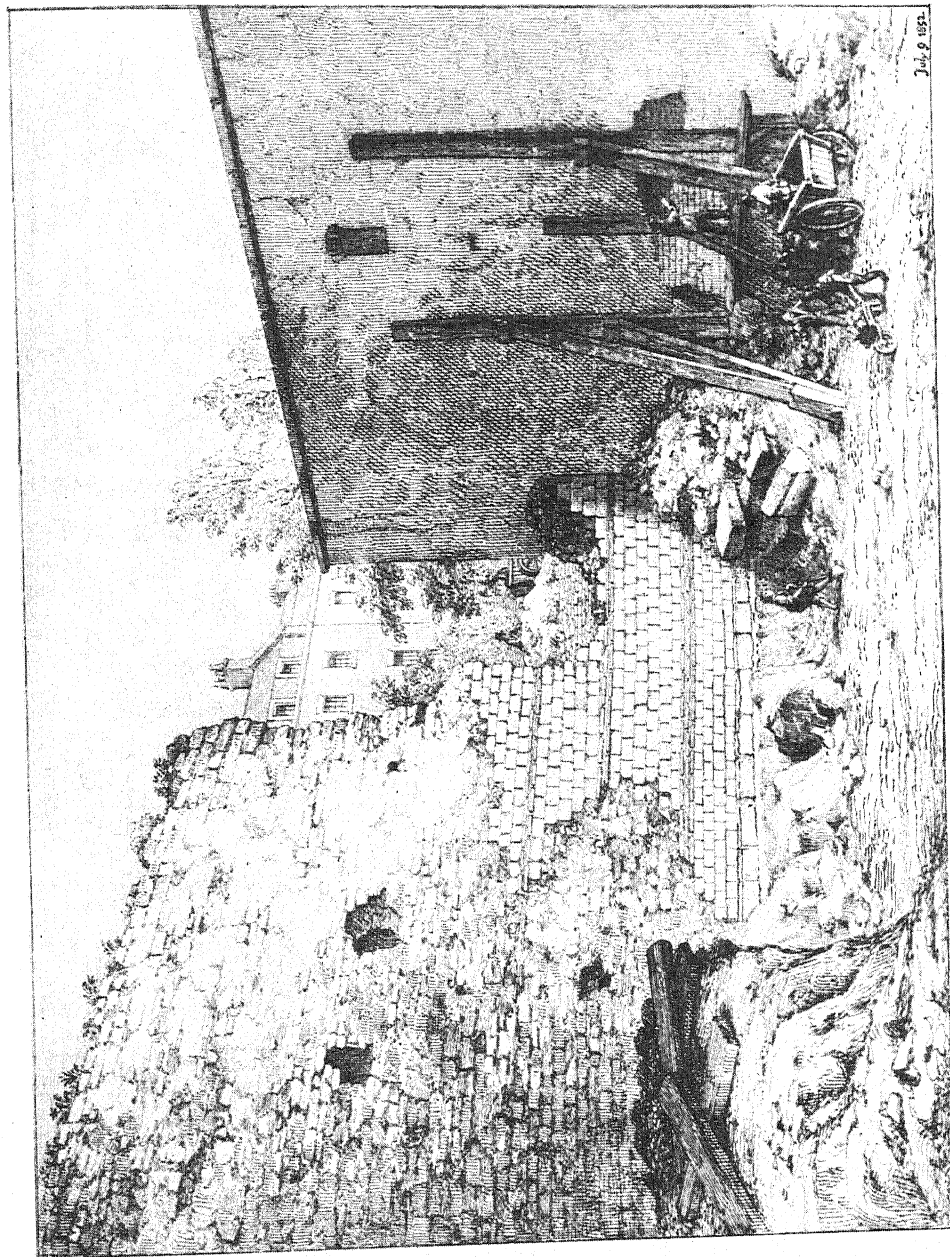


FIG. 11.

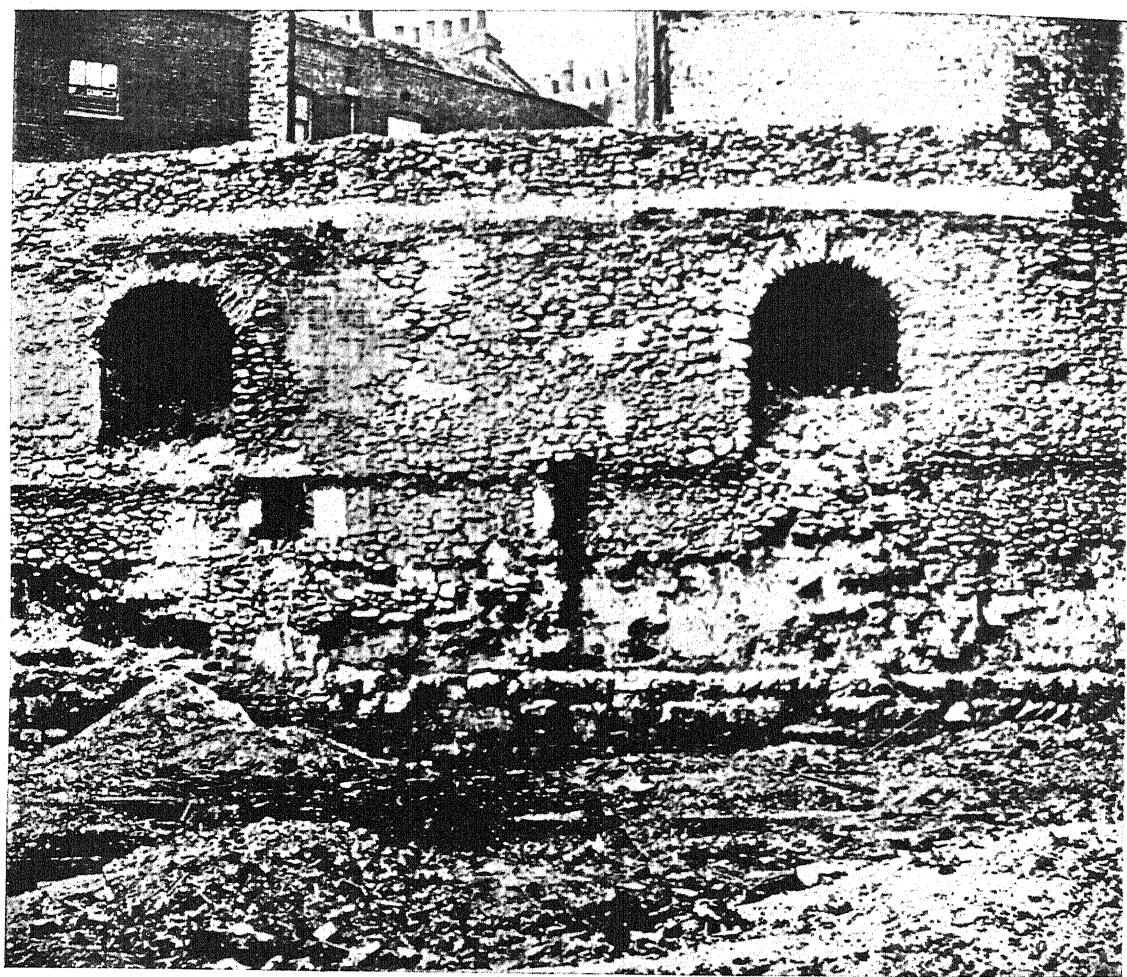
From *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXXVIII, by permission.



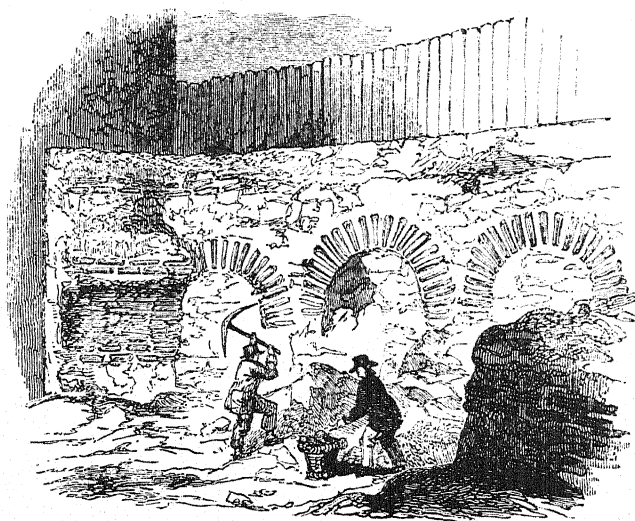
TOWN WALL (3) AND BASTION (2), TRINITY PLACE, from a sketch of 1852.

See pp. 83 and 99.

From *Illustrations of Roman London*, C. Roach Smith.



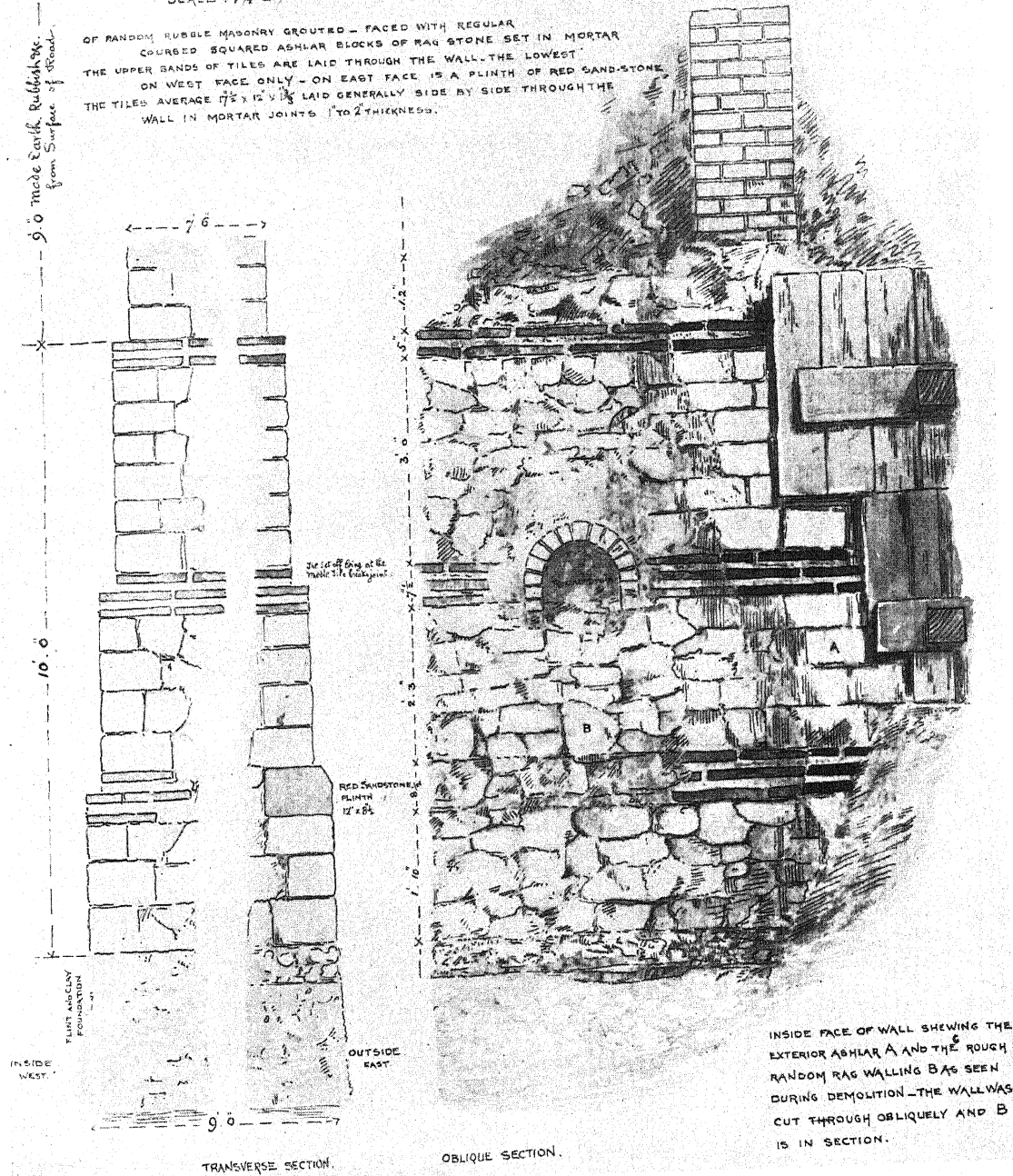
TOWN WALL (5), MESSRS. BARBER AND CO.'S WAREHOUSE, COOPERS ROW,
as exposed 1864. See p. 83.
From *Archæologia*, LXIII, by permission.



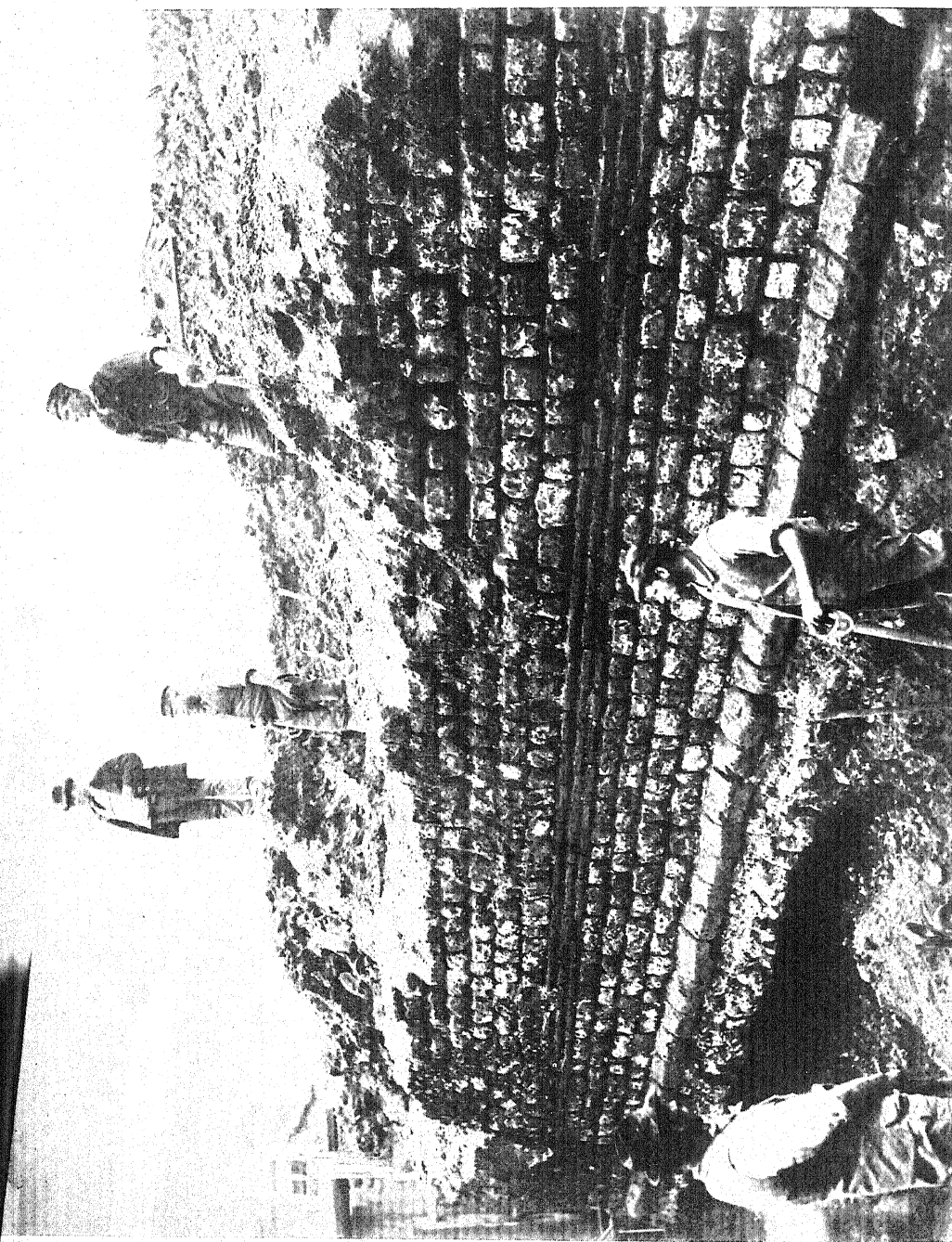
TOWN WALL (27), ALDERMANBURY POSTERN.
Sketch showing blind arches exposed 1857. See p. 90.
From *Illustrations of Roman London*, C. Roach Smith.

LONDON WALL MINORIES · JOHN STREET.

SCALE $\frac{1}{4}$ = 1 FOOT



TOWN WALL (7). Part destroyed 1881 for the Blackwall Railway. See p. 83.
From a drawing by H. Hodge, Guildhall Library.



TOWN WALL (4), TRINITY PLACE Part destroyed 1882.

See p. 83.

From a photograph in possession of Dr. P. P. Norman, by permission.

On the internal face the offsets are reproduced with the usual triple levelling-course opposite to the plinth. The top section of the wall is shown $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick, and the footings are 9 ft. in width.

Loftus Brock records the composition of the wall (Fig. 11) at this point somewhat differently. He states that the width at the base was $8\frac{1}{2}$ ft., and his section shows no faced masonry below the level of the plinth. Above the latter the wall was $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick and stood to a maximum height of about 8 ft. His section, like that of H. Hodge, shows offsets on both faces of the wall [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXXVI, 463; and section in XXXVIII, 132]. A. A. Langley who was in charge of the work confirms Hodge's section, particularly in regard to the exceptional offsets on the external face, and to the fact that faced masonry was carried below the plinth-level. He shows also that the foot of the faced walling was 18 ft. below the modern surface and at about this level there was a roughly rectangular drain of Roman brick carried through the wall [*Antiq.*, III, 62].

(8). *America Square*. In 1908 the demolition of Nos. 15 and 16 America Square, a short distance N. of the piece last described, revealed a stretch of about 65 ft. of the wall (Fig. 19), and a further special excavation was made to determine its character. Above the plinth it stood to a height of 7 ft. and was $8\frac{1}{4}$ ft. thick. The base was 16 ft. below the street-level of America Square. The external face showed four courses of squared rag-stone above the plinth, followed by a triple bonding-course, six courses of squared rag-stone and a double bonding-course. The internal face showed the usual offsets [*Arch.*, LXIII, 261].

(9). *Roman Wall House*. In 1905, on clearing the site of Nos. 18-20 Jewry Street and No. 1 Crutched Friars, a length of about 40 ft. of the inner face of the wall (Plate 26) was uncovered. Its maximum height was 8-9 ft., the base being $8\frac{1}{2}$ ft. below the present ground-level. The usual triple levelling-course of brick was surmounted by four courses of squared rag-stone and a triple bonding-course, six courses of squared rag-stone and a double bonding-course with the usual offsets. A large portion of this fragment is preserved in the basement of the modern building [*Arch.*, LX, 191].

(10). *The Cass School*. About 1900, on rebuilding the Cass School at the corner of Jewry Street and George Street, the foundations of the wall were uncovered in the lower part of the site. The wall itself had been previously destroyed [*Arch.*, LX, 193].

(11). *Jewry Street, N. end*. In 1861 a considerable stretch of the wall on the E. side of Jewry Street, immediately S. of Aldgate, was uncovered in the rebuilding of the premises of Messrs. Moses. It lay immediately beneath the frontage of Jewry

Street, and according to Loftus Brock, the foundations rested on massive piles. A drawing of this stretch of wall is preserved at the Society of Antiquaries, *Red Portfolio*, London, I, but contains obvious inaccuracies [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 163; *Gent. Mag.*, 1861, I, 646].

(12). *Duke Street*. In 1887 the widening of Duke Street on the N.E. side exposed a long stretch of the Roman wall. It lay partly beneath the footway of the old street and partly beneath the frontage of the demolished houses. Loftus Brock described the wall as being similar to the normal type of the structure as in Camomile Street, but no exact particulars are given [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XLIII, 203].

(13). *Bevis Marks, E. end*. In 1880 a stretch of about 70 ft. of the wall was exposed and removed in the rebuilding at the back of No. 31 Houndsditch. It formed the boundary at the back of the houses in Bevis Marks, and was standing to a height of $11\frac{3}{4}$ ft. Loftus Brock gives a section of this piece of the wall (Fig. 11) from which it appears that it was nearly 8 ft. thick and differed slightly from the normal section already described. On the outside face there were two courses of squared rag below the plinth and four courses above it followed by a triple bonding-course and one course of rag, above which the face had been destroyed. On the inside face, above the triple levelling-course of bricks were four courses of rag, the triple bonding-course without a set-back, five courses of rag and a second triple bonding-course [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXXVII, 86; XXXVIII, 132-5, with section].

(14). *Bevis Marks, E. of Goring Street*. In 1923 a stretch of the wall about 120 ft. long and $8\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick immediately S.E. of Goring Street was uncovered and destroyed. The external face was of the normal type with sandstone plinth and triple bonding-course. The base of the plinth was $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. below the modern ground-level. The wall stood on 5 ft. of brick-earth lying above the gravel. [*Journ. Rom. Studies*, XII, 258 and P.N.].

(15). *Bevis Marks, W. of Goring Street*. A drawing, probably by H. Hodge, in the possession of Dr. P. Norman shows a plan and section (Plates 31, 32) of the wall at this point discovered together with the adjoining bastion in 1884. Though there is no title to the drawing the mention of Castle Street (now Goring Street) in the levels is sufficient to fix its position. The wall rested on a foundation of flint and puddled clay and consisted on the external face of two courses of rag-stone, the red sandstone plinth, four courses of squared rag; a triple bonding-course of tiles and five courses of squared rag. On the inside face the usual three courses of brick lined with the external plinth. The base of the plinth was about $7\frac{1}{4}$ ft. below the modern pavement-level and the wall was 8 ft. 10 in. thick [*Antiq. Journ.*, VII, 518; *Antiq.*, X, 134].

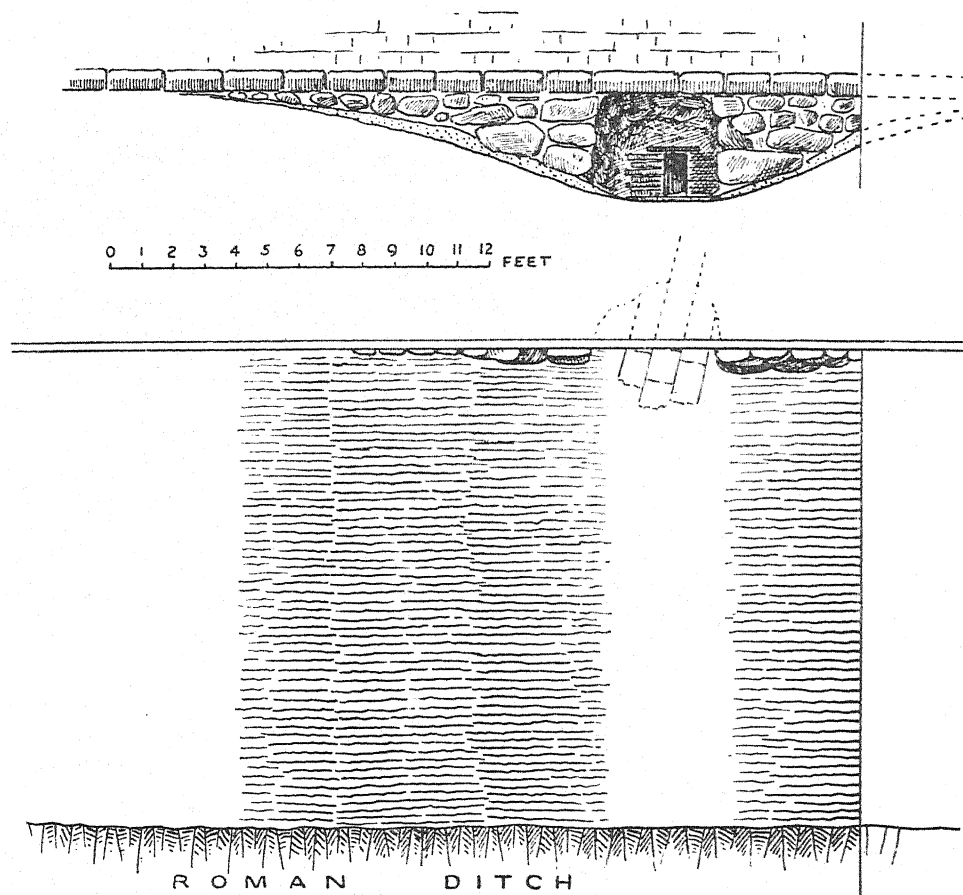


FIG. 12. Culvert under wall and ditch, W. of All Hallows Church. From *Archæologia*, LX.

(16). *Camomile Street, E.* In 1905 a stretch of the wall was uncovered at the back of Nos. 58 and 60 Houndsditch and also adjoining the churchyard belonging to the parish of St. Martin Outwich. The bottom of the plinth lay at a depth of 8 ft. 4 in. below the street-level, and the total height of the fragment (which projected above ground) was 14½ ft. above the base of the plinth. The external face consisted of four courses of squared rag-stone above the plinth followed by a triple bonding-course of brick, and two more courses of squared rag-stone. Above this point only the core of the wall remained, but it included three double bonding-courses. This would appear to be the highest fragment of the wall so far recorded [*Arch.*, LX, 187]. In 1926 a further portion of this same section of the wall was revealed and destroyed.

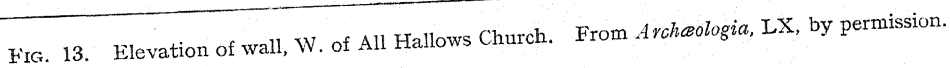
(17). *Camomile Street, middle.* In 1876 a stretch of the wall 70 ft. long (Fig. 25) was uncovered and is described by J. E. Price in connection with the bastion. It was 8 ft. thick and was destroyed above the plinth [J. E. Price, *On a Bastion of London Wall*, 1880].

In Woodward's Letter to Wren mention is made of the destruction of part of the wall near Bishopsgate. It is described as standing 10 ft. high, with a thickness of 9 ft. and foundations 8 ft. below the surface. The wall was built of courses of stone with double courses of bricks at 2 ft. intervals.

(18). *London Wall, E. of All Hallows Church.* In 1905 a small portion of the wall was uncovered at a distance of 45 ft. E. of All Hallows Church. The plinth and two courses of squared rag-stone were exposed [*Arch.*, LX, 211, with section].

(19). *London Wall, All Hallows Church.* In the same year, during the excavations of the bastion beneath the vestry, the lower part of the wall was uncovered. It showed the plinth with four courses of squared rag-stone and a triple bonding-course [*Arch.*, LXIII, 271].

(20). *London Wall, All Hallows Churchyard.* The city-wall still forms the N. boundary of the churchyard and the external face was uncovered in 1905 (Fig. 13). The Roman work remained to a height of about 12 ft., i.e. to about the present ground-level. The facing consists, above the plinth



(21). *London Wall, W. corner of Blomfield Street.*
In 1837, "In building the new sewer, at a few feet eastward of Carpenters' Buildings, an ancient sewer of Roman workmanship was cut through. It was embedded in a mass of rubble masonry 12 ft. wide. At 14 ft. southward of London Wall, it terminated in a mouth cut to the slope of the

ditch into which it had discharged itself. The bank of the ditch was still covered with large quantities of moss. On the northern side it had been converted into a place of sepulchre. The remains of two human skeletons, with a large dog's skull and part of the stem of a stag's horn, were found therein, together with some Roman pottery, a small silver coin of Antoninus, and a copper coin of Faustina, and other ancient money. One upright and two sloping stout iron bars at 12 ft. north of the new sewer, Moorgate Street to Old Broad Street, closed the mouth of this tomb, and were in the most perfect state of preservation, still retaining their grey colour. At 11½ ft. northward the crown had been broken in. A coarsely wrought base of a column was among the rubbish. The bottom is flat and paved with two layers of large tiles, and the sides and arch of the sewer are built of small tiles with thick joints of mortar. The bed of this ancient work, and that of the new sewer being nearly coincident, they were connected on both sides. . . . The substructure of the City wall is rubble, banded at 3-ft. intervals with two thicknesses of large tiles" [Kelsey, *Descript. of Sewers*, 138].

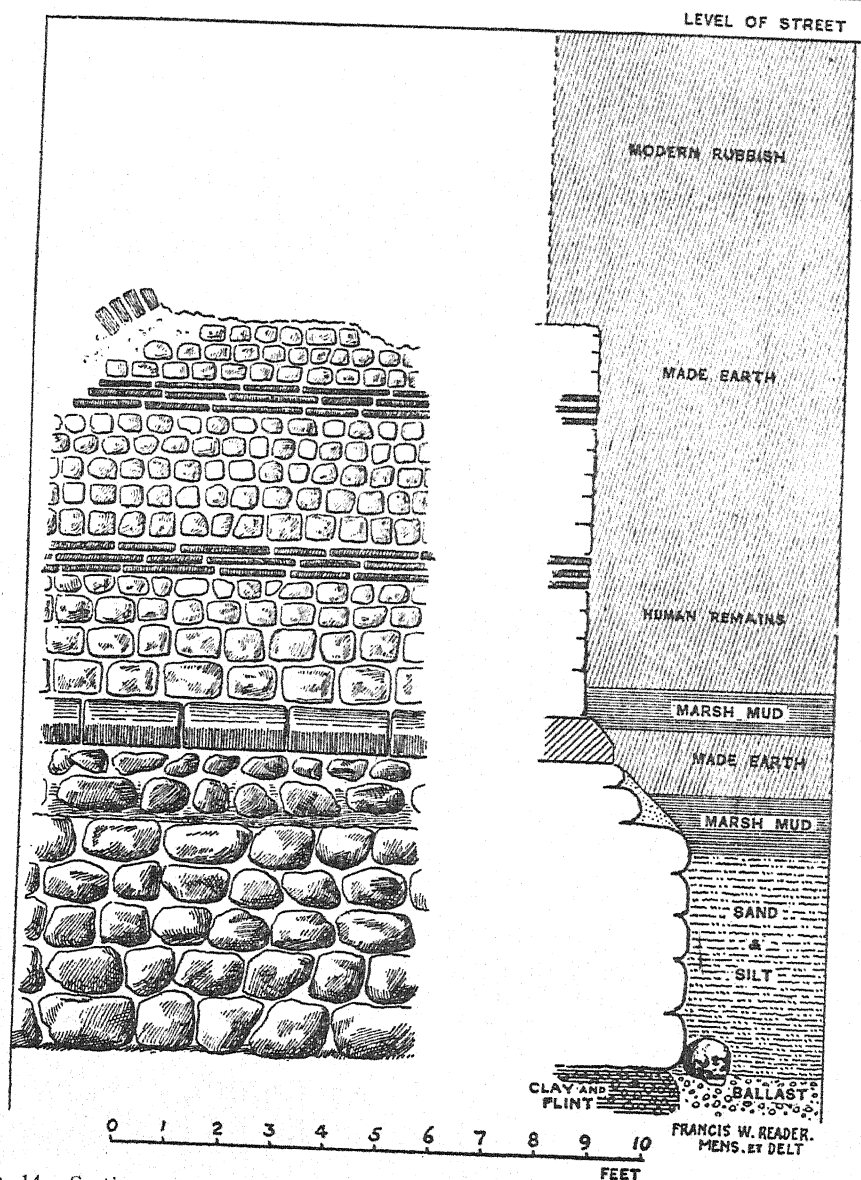


FIG. 14. Section and elevation of wall, opposite Carpenter's Hall. From *Archaeologia*, L.X.

Sir W. Tite's description of the same discovery adds some further details and is as follows:—"Eastwards of Carpenters' Hall, a mass of rubble masonry, of about 12 ft. in thickness, was cut through; and in the centre was found a culvert, or Roman sewer, in which were discovered three iron bars in perfect preservation, enclosing a human skeleton, the skull of a dog, and the stem of a stag's horn, together with a silver coin of Antoninus and a copper coin of Faustina. Beyond this point the crown of the culvert had been broken in, and a fragment of a rudely wrought column had fallen through the breach. As the ancient sewer passed under houses no further examination could be made

in this direction, but on the south side it was not only found to be perfect, but even the mouth of it was discovered under a house at the north-east corner of Carpenters' Buildings. The sewer was constructed of small thin tiles, cemented together by very thick joints of red mortar, made of pounded tile, and having a large pebble inserted in the centre of each. From the top of the sewer to the opposite bank of a ditch into which it discharged itself were placed several pieces of timber scantling in a sloping direction, and a considerable quantity of long moss, undecayed and still retaining a greenish colour, was taken from between them. The ditch receiving the contents of the sewer was made on the south side

of the remains of a strong work like part of a fortification, about the site of Little Moorgate or the entrance of Bloomfield Street. As the depth from the present surface to the bottom of the sewer was 18 ft. 4 in., and the open ditch of the fortress was still deeper, it is evident that at the time when they were constructed the adjacent ground was dry and substantial, for the later accumulation of soil was so soft that at one part the bricks could scarcely be laid" [*Cat. of Antiq. Roy. Exch.*, XXXI]. A City Sewers Plan [I, 124] gives the precise position of this culvert.

Roach Smith's account of the discovery of a second "aqueduct" in 1841 is as follows: "In London Wall, opposite Finsbury Chambers, at the depth of 19 ft. [to the extrados of the arch] what appeared to have been a subterranean aqueduct was laid open. It was found to run towards Finsbury under the houses of the Circus about 20 ft. At the termination were five iron bars fastened perpendicularly into the masonry. . . . At the opening of the work towards the city was an arch (Plate 27) $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high from the crown to the springing-wall, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ ft. wide, composed of 50 tiles disposed as shown in the engraving. The spandrels were filled in with rag-stone to afford strength to the work." He estimates the total length of the enclosed as 60 yards [*Arch.*, XXIX, 152]. Finsbury Chambers was the block on the W. corner of Blomfield Street, but its entrance would appear to have been a short distance W. of the junction of the two streets. The second culvert would thus have been very near, if not directly below, that discovered in 1837. The drawing shows that the channel was $24\frac{1}{2}$ ft. below the present surface, or 5 ft. lower than that of the culvert first discovered. It is possible, therefore, that the higher culvert may have been inserted at a later date, when the lower channel had become blocked.

(22). *London Wall, opposite Carpenters' Hall.* In 1905 a shaft was sunk on the outside face of the wall at this point (Fig. 14). The base of the plinth lay at a depth of $13\frac{1}{2}$ ft. below the street, and rested upon an unusually substantial foundation of rag-stone $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep and projecting 2 ft. from the face of the wall. Above the plinth were four courses of squared rag-stone, a triple bonding-course of brick, five courses of squared rag-stone, a second triple bonding-course and three courses of squared rag-stone. In the lower portion of the shaft the relics were exclusively Roman, and lying in the sand overlying the undisturbed ballast were two skulls, one of which was partly imbedded in the mortar of the Roman foundations [*Arch.*, LX, 170].

(23). *London Wall, between Throgmorton Avenue and Moorgate Street.* The greater part of this long stretch of wall was standing until 1817, when it formed the back-enclosure of Bethlehem Hospital.

The destruction of 75 yards of it is recorded at that date, but without details as to its construction [*Gent. Mag.*, 1817, I, 196]. The road was then widened towards the N., and now covers the site of the wall. A view of this section, dated 1812, is engraved in J. T. Smith, *Ancient Topography of London*, 28. In 1905 telephone-mains were laid, in the core of the wall, from Moorgate Street for a considerable distance eastwards. A manhole, sunk opposite No. 57, was carried down $15\frac{1}{4}$ ft. through the wall, the base of which would appear to have been one foot lower [*Arch.*, LX, 170].

(24). *London Wall, Copthall Avenue.* A branch of the Walbrook passed under the wall a little W. of Little Bell Alley (now Copthall Avenue). J. E. Price's description of the remains discovered here is as follows:—"It was at this point adjoining the Swan's Nest Tavern . . . which yet stands, that in the year 1835 an interesting discovery of remains was made. A pit or well was disclosed which had been carefully planked with boards, and which was found to contain a store of earthenware vessels of divers patterns and capacities, together with a coin of Allectus. Some interesting indications of a red brick arch for the transit of water have been observed, but are now entirely gone. This structure was in Bell Alley, and will doubtless be observed in other places. In height it measured nearly 6 ft. and 4 ft. in width. It was supported on either side by massive piles of elm between which the river ran. These were firmly driven into the natural soil and were 6 ft. long, the total depth of the structure being nearly 18 ft. from the level of the street. . . . The black soil which marks the river-bed abounds in bones of animals, including *Bos longifrons*, etc. The objects found are deposited at Leathersellers Hall" [*Builder*, 1889, II, 236].

Although the actual structure of the wall is not recorded to have been observed here, the culvert described would appear to be that which conducted the water of the W. branch of the Walbrook into the city.

(25). *London Wall, immediately W. of Moorgate Street.* In 1882 a stretch of about 43 ft. of the wall was uncovered on the site of a house said wrongly, by Loftus Brock, to be No. 55, and was found to underly the street-frontage. Loftus Brock records that this section was similar to the general type. It was 9 ft. 2 in. thick, including 2 ft. of mediaeval thickening on the internal face, and was standing 4 ft. above the surface and extended "quite 8 ft. below." The re-used material described by Brock has been thought to indicate the position of a former bastion, but, in view of the reconstruction of the adjoining stretch of wall described under 26, it is more likely to have formed a part of this later work [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXXVIII, 424].

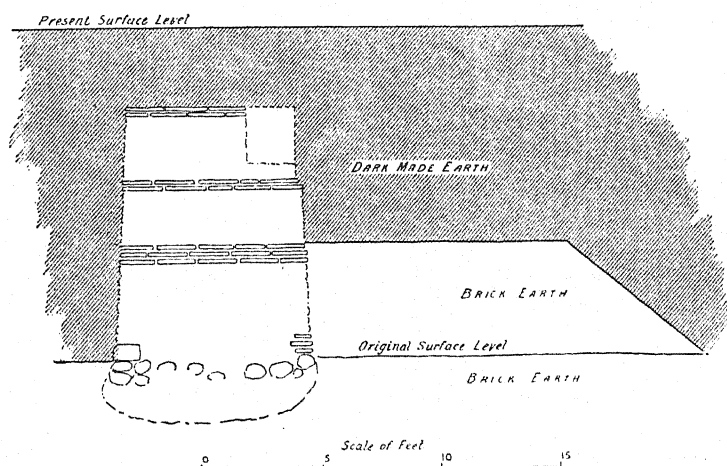


FIG. 16. Section showing supposed earthen bank (32). From *Archæologia*, LXIII.

below the surface of the ground, above this $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. of rubble, a double bonding-course, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. of rubble, a second double bonding-course and more rubble above. It is not stated which face of the wall is described and illustrated, but as offsets at the bonding-courses are implied the internal face is no doubt intended [*Arch.*, XXX, 522].

(31). *St. Botolph, Aldersgate, churchyard, S. side.* In 1887, in clearing a site for post-office buildings, a stretch of 131 ft. of the wall was exposed. The inner face of the wall now forms the N. side of the basement area. A total height of 14 ft. 4 in. of Roman work was seen. The face consisted of the usual triple levelling-course above the footings, followed by five courses of squared rag-stone, a double bonding-course of brick, five courses of rag, a second double bonding-course, five courses of rag, a third double bonding-course, two courses of rag and at the same interval a fourth double bonding-course visible in the core of the wall. At each levelling and bonding-course in the usual offset it was estimated that the original thickness at the base was 8 ft. [*Builder*, 1888, I, 315; *Arch.*, LII, 609].

(32). *Christ's Hospital site (A).* In 1907-9 a stretch of wall near King Edward Street was exposed. The total height was 10 ft. 2 in., the plinth resting at a depth of 13 ft. 8 in. below the ground-level. Above this point one triple and two double bonding-courses remained. There were somewhat indefinite indications of a bank (Fig. 16) built against the inner face. It extended $16\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the wall, and remained to a height of about 5 ft. It was composed of an orange-coloured loam which was clearly distinguishable from the surrounding made-earth; where it had been covered by this bank, the face of the wall was remarkably well preserved [*Arch.*, LXIII, 276].

(33). *Christ's Hospital site (B).* A portion of the wall (Fig. 22) at the back of the bastion (17) was uncovered at the same time. The base of the plinth was $9\frac{1}{2}$ ft. below the surface, and was surmounted by four courses of squared rag-stone, a double bonding-course of brick, five of rag, a second double bonding-course and two courses of rag. The width above the plinth was $8\frac{1}{2}$ ft. [*Arch.*, LXIII, 277].

(34). *Christ's Hospital site (C).* A further long stretch of wall was uncovered W. of the above. It was of similar character. At one point just below the base levelling-course of brick was a flooring of large Roman tiles laid on a bed of puddle-clay 1 ft. thick, and extending for a distance of 10 ft. from the wall [*Arch.*, LXIII, 280].

(35). *Christ's Hospital site (D).* At the N.W. corner of the wall, a fragment of the Roman structure (Plate 37 and Fig. 28) adjoining the angle-bastion. It was built on the curve, and the base of the plinth was 12 ft. below the surface. The substructure was upwards of 6 ft. deep. The outer face of the wall "bore evident marks of water having stood against it for a protracted period." On removing this coating the whole face was seen to have been pointed with pink mortar. Above the plinth were five courses of squared rag-stone, a double bonding-course of brick, five courses of squared rag, and a second double bonding-course. The thickness above the plinth was $7\frac{3}{4}$ ft. The wall had evidently tilted outwards at this point and badly cracked before the addition of the bastion (No. 19) [*Arch.*, LXIII, 286]. This portion of the wall with the angle-bastion is preserved in a specially constructed enclosure and can still be inspected.

(36). *Immediately N. of Newgate* a portion of the city-wall was uncovered in 1875 and recorded by Loftus Brock, though he failed to recognise its

significance. It was 8 ft. thick and retained two double courses of bonding-tiles [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXXI, 76; XXXII, 385].

(37). *Newgate Prison site.* On clearing the site for the New Sessions House in 1903, a considerable stretch of the wall (Plate 27), 76 ft. in length, was uncovered together with an isolated fragment farther S. Above the plinth the thickness was 8 ft. and the external face consisted of five courses of squared rag-stone, and a double bonding-course of brick; above this point the face of the wall had been largely destroyed, but a second double bonding-course was visible. On the inside the facing was preserved to above the second bonding-course. The base of the plinth was 11 ft. below the pavement-level of Newgate Street [*Arch.*, LIX, 125; LXIII, 295].

(38). *Warwick Square, W. side.* In 1922, during alterations of the premises of the Oxford University Press, the internal side of two pieces of the wall was uncovered; the northern fragment had been robbed of its facing, but the face of the southern was largely intact, showing a double bonding-course with four courses of squared rag-stone above and below it. A fragment is preserved *in situ* [*Journ. Rom. Studies*, XII, 258].

A further portion of the wall, near here, was found, before 1880, under the building of Tylor and Son, adjoining the Oxford Arms (now pulled down) [Price, *On a Bastion of London Wall*, 21n].

(39). *Nos. 7-10, Old Bailey.* In 1900 a fragment of the wall was uncovered at the rear of No. 8 Old Bailey. It was 8½ ft. thick above the foundation and was standing 8 ft. high, the top being 18 in. below the pavement-level. Neither the description nor diagram, published at the time, are clear [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, N.S., I, 354].

The remains of the wall behind Nos. 7, 8, 9 and 10, Old Bailey, were uncovered in 1907-8 on the demolition of the Old Bailey Sessions House, the original base of the wall continuing throughout the site. At the S.E. corner of the site the sandstone plinth was missing and the external face had been repaired in later times, the thickness at the first bond being only about 7 ft. [*Arch.*, LXIII, 295].

(40). *South of Ludgate.* The line of the Roman wall from Ludgate to the Thames is badly recorded. Two portions, however, appear on the subjoined evidence to have continued the line from the Old Bailey southwards:—

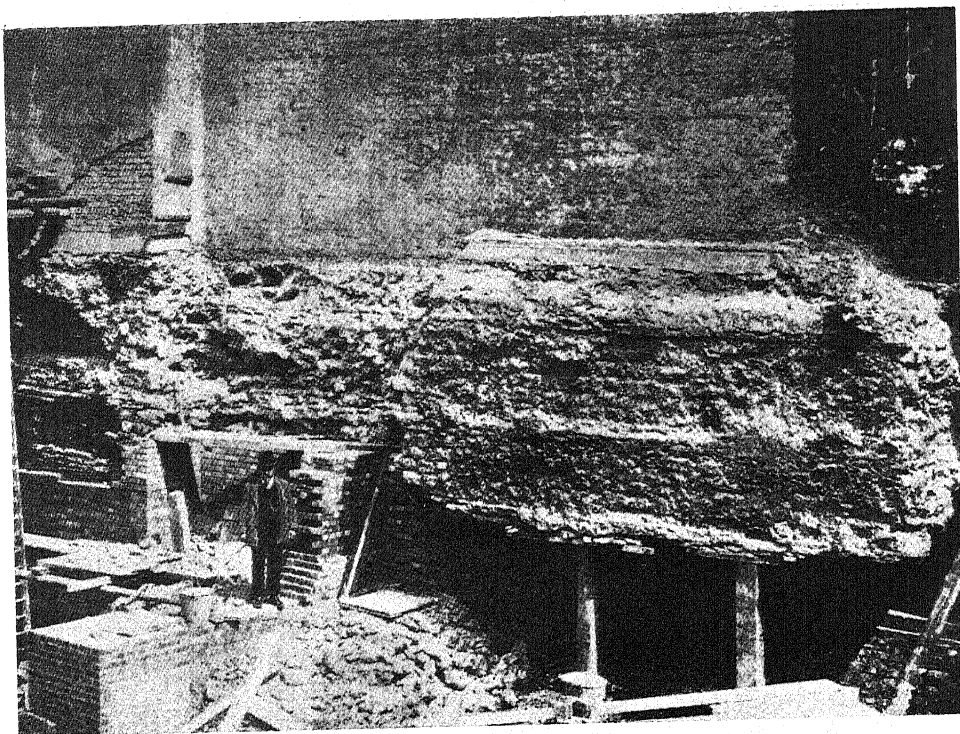
(a) *In Playhouse Yard.* W. Chaffers, Junr., records that in sewer operations a portion of "old London wall" was exposed. From the context it appears to have run N. and S. in a line with Ludgate. It was 10 ft. thick and "composed of large unhewn stones embedded in a sort of grouting

composed of powdered bricks, lime and gravel." The wall was tunnelled through but not destroyed [*Coll. Antiq.*, I, 127].

A second account of the discoveries in Playhouse Yard is contributed by "E. B. P." He states that a wall 8 to 10 ft. thick was found near the W. end of Playhouse Yard near the Apothecaries' Hall and within 100 ft. of it (presumably farther E.) were two others of the same massive character, all three running N. and S. Which of these walls was that seen by Mr. Chaffers is uncertain but E. B. P.'s identification of the western wall with the town-wall is obviously wrong [*Gent. Mag.*, 1843, I, 635]. It is possible that all three walls were part of the Blackfriars Convent.

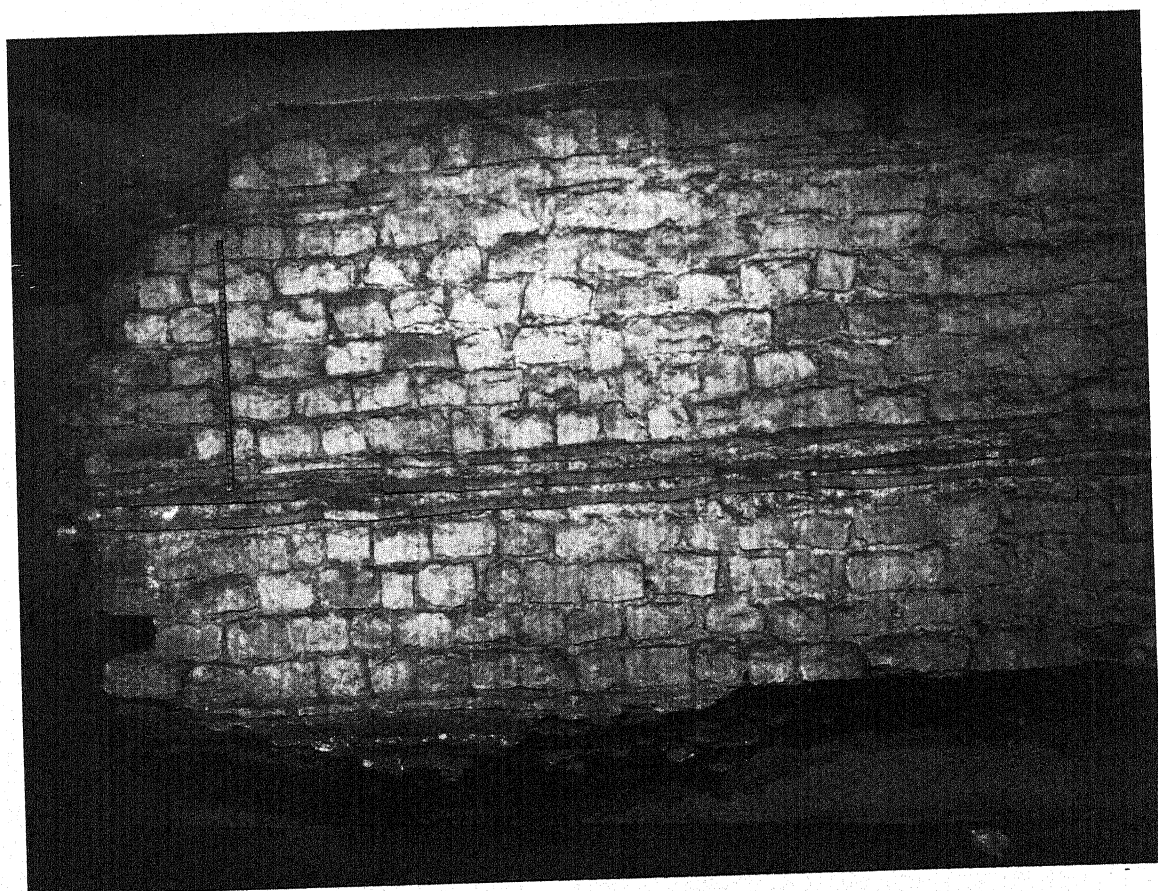
(b) *Under the "Times" Office.* The position of a fragment is indicated on a sketch-plan in the *Builder*, 1855, 221 and 269, showing the line of the wall S. of Ludgate in its relationship to the *Times* building. Roach Smith describes this fragment as a very thick wall of three distinct constructions. "That of the Roman city-wall; a reparation of considerable solidity, which might be Norman or Early English work; and, above all, the remains of a passage or window which probably belonged to the Blackfriars Monastery." The section was examined during some alterations to the *Times* buildings [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, V, 155]. The fragment has been subsequently destroyed.

(41). *Upper Thames Street (A).* Roach Smith records that in 1841 sewer excavations began at Blackfriars, but until the foot of Lambeth Hill was reached nothing was encountered; they "were there checked by a wall of extraordinary strength, which formed an angle with the hill and Thames Street; upon this wall the contractor was obliged to open his course to a depth of about 20 ft. so that the greater portion of the structure had to be overthrown. . . . It extends, as far as I had the means of observing, from Lambeth Hill to Queenhithe, with occasional breaks; in thickness it measured from 8 to 10 ft.; the heights from the bottom of sewer was about 8 ft., in some places more or less; it reached to about 9 ft. from the present street, and 3 ft. from that which indicates the period of the Fire of London. . . . The foundation was made in the following manner: oaken piles were first used; upon these was laid a stratum of chalk and stones and then a course of hewn sandstones, from 3 to 4 ft. by 2 and 2½ ft., firmly cemented with the well-known compound of quicklime, sand and pounded tile. Upon this solid substructure was built the wall composed of rag and flint with layers of red and yellow, plain and curve-edged tiles. . . . Many of the large stones, above mentioned, are sculptured and ornamented with mouldings, which denote their prior use in a frieze or entablature of an edifice, the



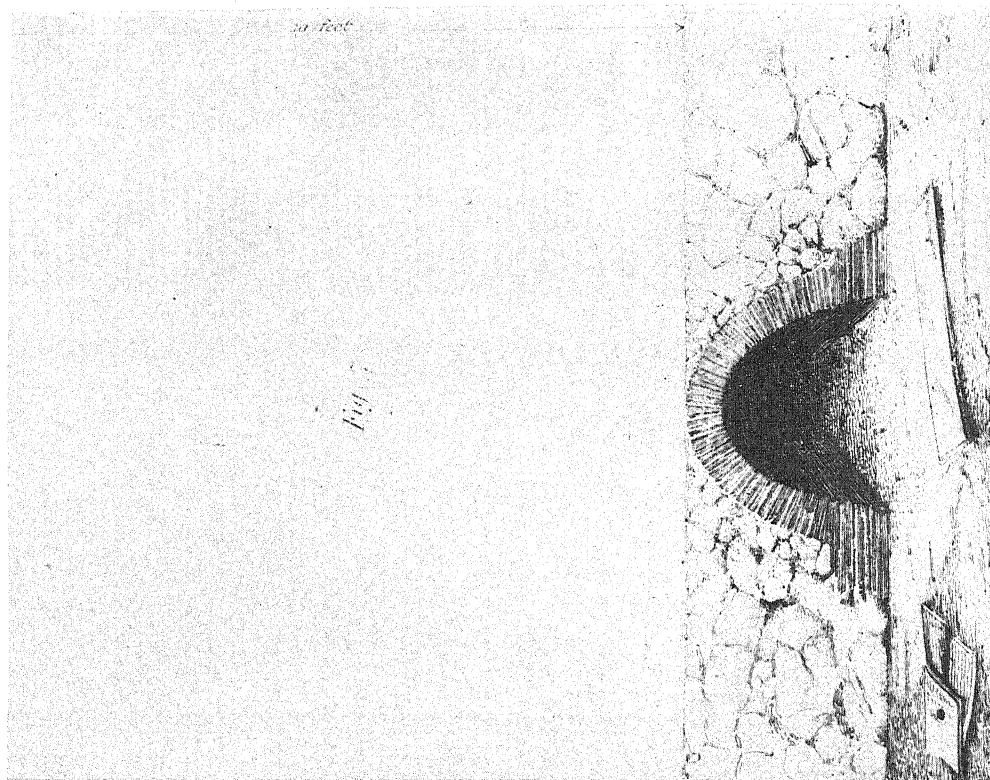
View of the wall as exposed 1905.

From *Archæologia*, LX.

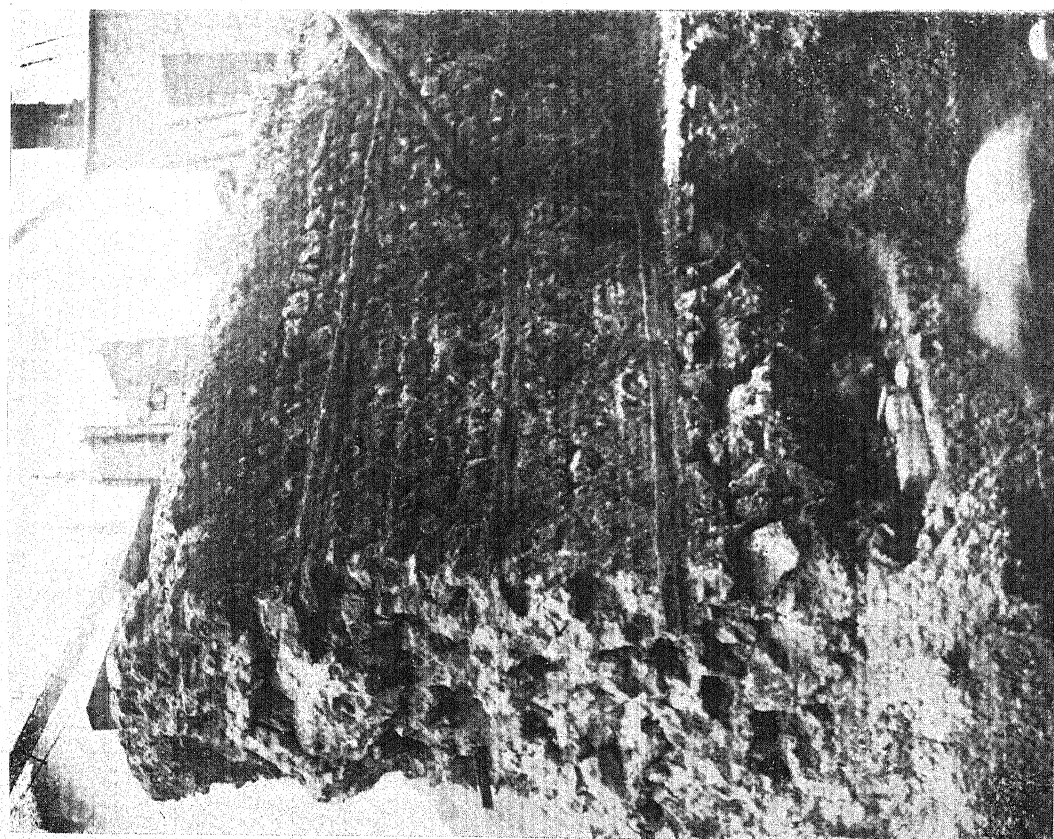


Part of remains as preserved 1927.

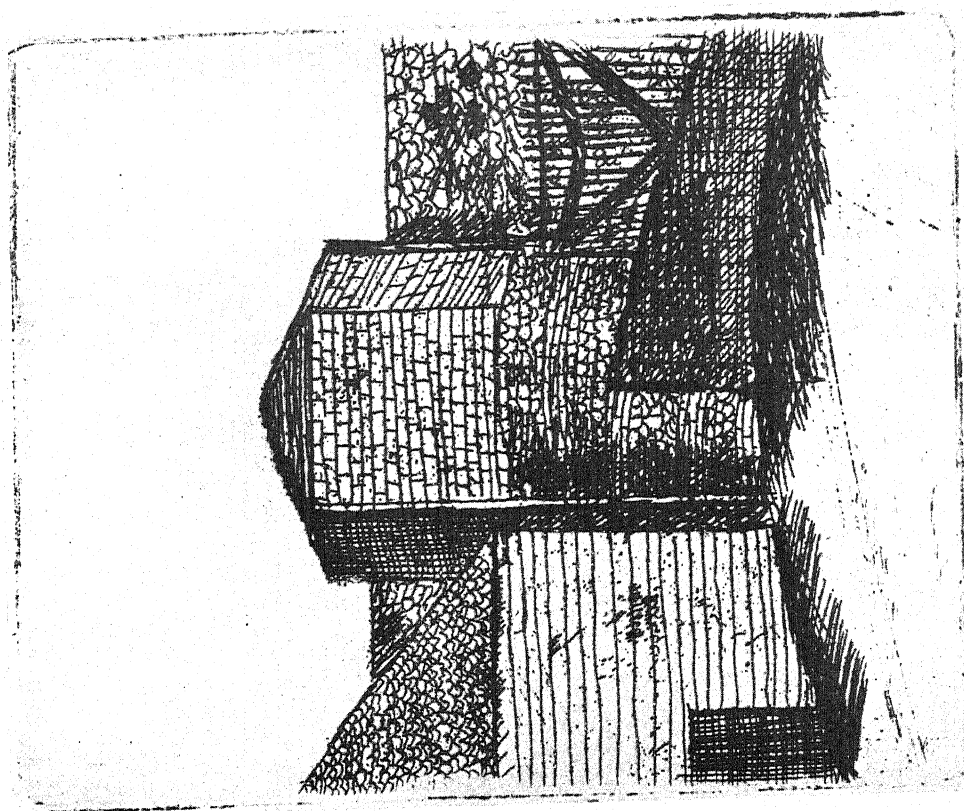
TOWN WALL (9), JEWRY STREET and CRUTCHED FRIARS.
Remains at "Roman Wall House." See p. 85.



TOWN WALL (21) in LONDON WALL.
Sketch of Arch for sewer, discovered 1837. See p. 89.
From *Illustrations of Roman London*, C. Roach Smith.

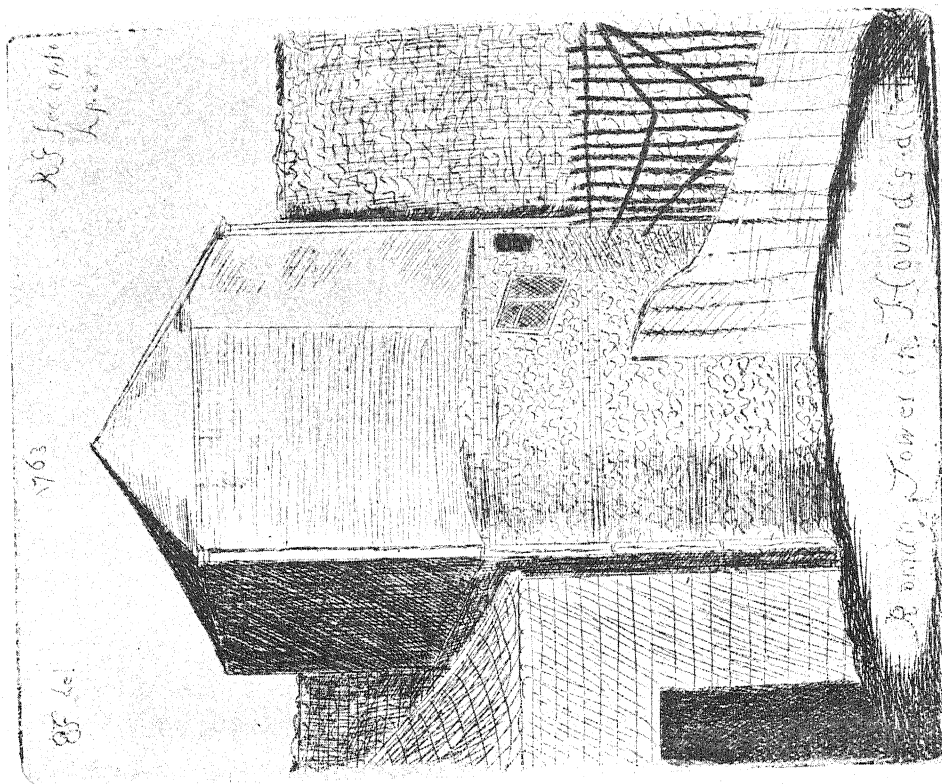


TOWN WALL (37), NEWGATE PRISON SITE.
Part of wall as exposed 1903. See p. 92.
From a photograph in possession of Dr. P. Norman, by permission.

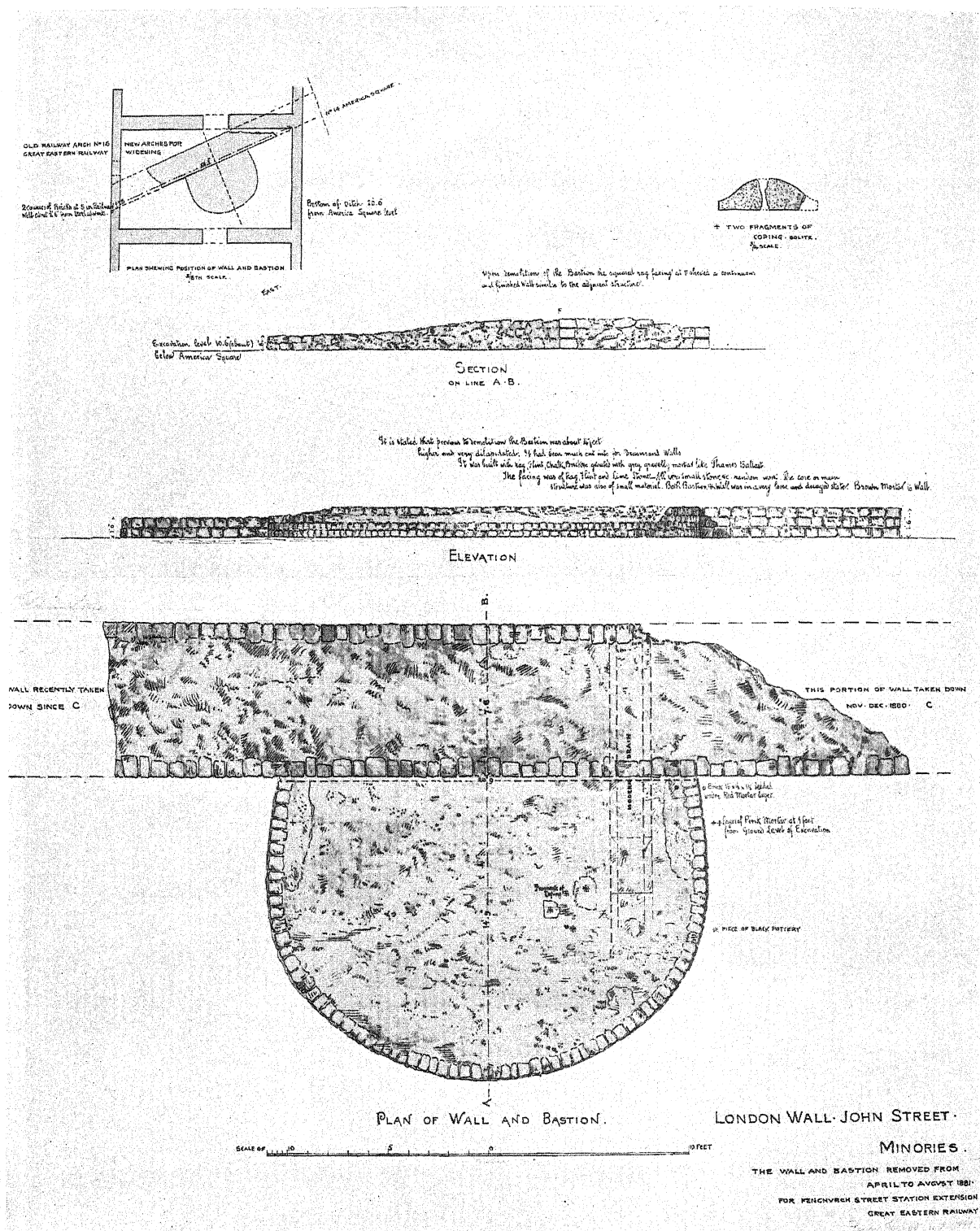


From an etching by E.F., mid 18th-century.

BASTION (7). DUKE'S PLACE, ALDGATE.
See pp. 80 and 100.



From a copy by Gough, 1763.



BASTION (3), AMERICA SQUARE. From a drawing of 1881, by H. Hodges. *Guildhall Library.*
See pp. 80 and 99.

magnitude of which may be conceived from the fact of the stones weighing in many instances, upwards of half a ton. . . . I observed also fragments of sculptured marble had been worked into the wall, and also a stone carved with an elegant ornament of the trellis-work pattern, the compartments being filled alternately with leaves and fruit” [*Arch.*, XXIX, 150; *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 19]. The fragments of marble pilasters and the fragment with trellis-pattern (Plate 51) are now in the British Museum.

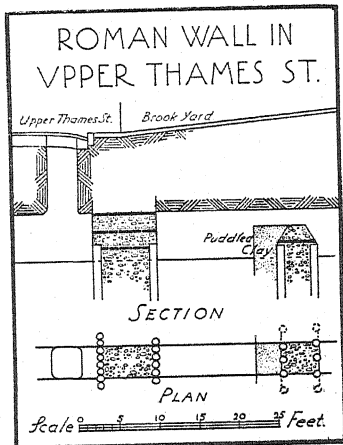


FIG. 17.

A piece of this wall (Fig. 17) was re-opened in October, 1924, in the construction of a sewer under Brooks Yard from Upper Thames Street, when the S. wall of the city was tunnelled through. The foundation was laid between two rows of contiguous piles the tops of which were 14 ft. below the roadway in Thames Street; the total depth of the tunnel being 16 ft. The wall is of a concrete of Kentish rag-stone with a course of bricks a few inches below the tops of the piles. A second course of bricks was found 2 ft. above that just described. Fifteen feet to the N. of the main wall, and parallel to it was a second wall 5 ft. thick, and with the foundation also between two rows of piles, but set apart. A thick bonding-course occurred just above the heads of the piles, and above this the wall was battered or coped back on both sides and finished with a flat top 2 ft. wide. On the S. face of this wall was a mass of puddled clay [Q. W. and *Times*, June 18th, 1925].

(42). *Upper Thames Street (B)*. J. T. Smith records that “In June, 1839, the labourers engaged in deepening a sewer in Thames Street, opposite Vintners’ Hall, in the middle of the street, at a depth of 10 ft. from the surface, discovered the perfect remains of an old Roman wall, running parallel with the line of the river. The wall was formed of alternate layers of flint, chalk and flat tiles” [*Streets of London*, 380].

(28711)

(43). *Upper Thames Street (C)*. Crossing Queen Street, Roach Smith saw a fragment of wall “precisely similar in character” to the length described under No. 41 [*Arch.*, XXIX, 150; *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 19].

(44). *Upper Thames Street (D)*. Under Cannon Street Station a wall 200 ft. long was discovered in 1868. It may have formed part of the city-wall, but the position and direction are not definitely recorded [see Inventory, p. 113].

(45). *Upper Thames Street (E)*. In 1927, between the ends of Bush Lane and Little Bush Lane, a foundation of chalk blocks was encountered and an indeterminate edge on the S. side seemed to trend more N. of E. than the line of the trench. This foundation may represent either the foundation of the river-wall or the débris fallen outwards.

(46). *Upper Thames Street (F)*. In 1863, at or near the S.E. angle of Suffolk Lane, a wall was found which was regarded as part of the river-wall, as described by Roach Smith and Tite [*Arch.*, XL, 48].

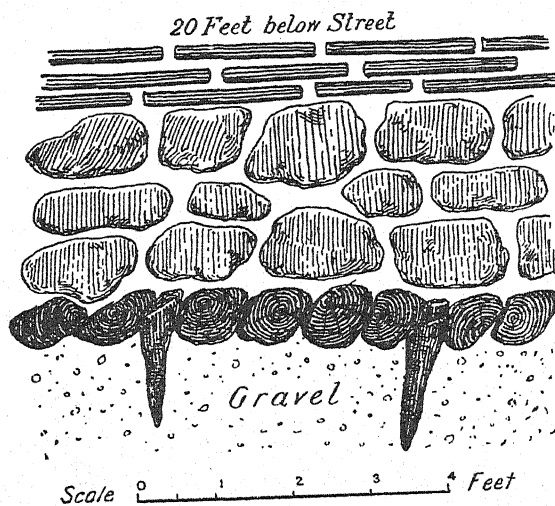


FIG. 18. Elevation of River-wall, under 125 Lower Thames Street.
From *Archæologia*, LXIII.

(47). *Lower Thames Street (A)*. Under the frontage-line of No. 125 Lower Thames Street and the adjoining pavement, a portion of the wall (Fig. 18) was exposed in 1911. The wall rested on the ballast at a depth of 24 ft. below the present surface. “Large roughly-squared timbers, 12 ft. long and about 8 in. square, were first laid on the top of the ballast, across the thickness of the wall, these being held in position by pointed piles driven in at intervals. . . . On these timbers were laid large irregular sandstones and rag-stones bedded in clay and flints. Three layers of these stones showed on the face above which was a bond of two

K

(the drawing shows three) rows of yellow tiles. Some chalk with other stone formed the core, the whole being cemented with red mortar. The total height of the masonry remaining was 3 ft. and its width 10 ft. Some of the stones were apparently re-used though no moulded stone appeared in the small piece uncovered" [*Arch.*, LXIII, 309].

(48). *Lower Thames Street (B)*. Under the roadway immediately S. of the Coal Exchange a wall about 7 ft. thick, which may have been part of the city wall, was encountered in 1859. It was built of rag-stone but no other details of its construction are recorded [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXIV, 295].

THE DITCH.

(N.B.—The positions of the items, numbered consecutively in this section, are shown by the same numbers, prefixed by the letter D on the large Plan A at the end of the volume.)

(1). *America Square*. In 1908 excavations on the site of Nos. 15 and 16 America Square revealed in two places the section of the Roman city-ditch cut in the gravel (Figs. 19 and 20). The inner edge was 12 ft. in advance of the face of the wall, and the ditch was about 10 ft. wide and 5 ft. deep. It was of the usual V-shaped section, the lower portion being filled with a clear clayey deposit containing fragments of Roman tiles and pottery, including one piece of "Samian." Above this layer was a black band in which was a tightly packed mass of minute snail-shells. Apparently overlaying the ditch was about a foot of disturbed gravel; above this again was about 6 ft. of clean light loam, containing plentiful remains of the Roman period but nothing later. The description here summarized does not precisely tally with the section which accompanies it. The second section made at the N. end of the same site showed how rapidly the original surface rose towards the N., there being a difference in level of $3\frac{1}{4}$ ft. in a distance of 45 ft. [*Arch.*, LXIII, 262].

(2). *New Broad Street, W.* A considerable stretch of the Roman city-ditch was examined in 1906 to the S. of this street. Eight sections in all were made showing that the ditch (Fig. 21) was of uniform character, 16 ft. wide, $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. to 5 ft. deep, the inner edge being 15 ft. in advance of the face of the wall. The form was V-shaped and the filling was a light sandy soil, containing a fairly abundant quantity of "Samian" and other Roman pottery, and no relics of a later age. This was held also to prove that the marsh-conditions which subsequently obtained in this district were not present when the ditch was filled up [*Arch.*, LX, 212]. The footings of the bastion under the vestry of All Hallows Church oversailed the inner edge of this ditch (Fig. 27), the filling beneath being composed of black mud, chalk-rubble and rubbish in which oyster-shells, Roman pottery and tile frequently occurred [*Arch.*, LXIII, 272]. Slight traces of a

second and later ditch seem to have been discovered at the extreme W. end of the site; they corresponded with the remains of the second ditch described under Item 4 [*Arch.*, LXIII, 279].

(3). *Aldersgate Street*. The ditch to the W. of the street was examined and recorded in 1888 by G. E. Fox. The inner edge was at a distance of $10\frac{1}{4}$ ft. from the wall. "The total width of the ditch across the top was $74\frac{1}{2}$ ft., the flat bottom 35 ft., and the total depth 14 ft. 1 in. The sides sloped at an obtuse angle. Both sides and bottom had a clay-puddling 6 in. thick. Another section of the ditch was obtained close to Aldersgate Street. This revealed a curious feature. In the bottom of the ditch appeared a slightly raised mound of unknown length, as it ran under the street and could therefore only be traced for a short distance. It was $2\frac{3}{4}$ ft. high and 7 ft. 2 in. broad at the top and 11 ft. 10 in. at the base, and was traceable for a length of about 10 ft. The surface was puddled like the rest of the ditch. It was not placed in the middle of the ditch, but was nearer the outer than the inner margin." It was supposed to have formed the base to a wooden trestle-work forming a support to a bridge. The ditch was dug through a stratum of clay, and penetrated $2\frac{3}{4}$ ft. into the gravel beneath [*Arch.*, LII, 615]. Though accepted as the Roman ditch by more than one recent authority, the unusual dimensions throw grave doubt upon this attribution.

(4). *Christ's Hospital site*. During the excavations of 1907-9, two sections of the first Roman ditch were uncovered to the E. and W. of the first bastion W. of King Edward Street. The first section (Fig. 22) was of the usual V-shaped form 12 ft. wide, $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep and about 11 ft. from the external face of the town-wall. The foundations of the bastion were carried down through the inner half of this ditch, the outer edge of which had been destroyed. The ditch was dug in the brick-earth,

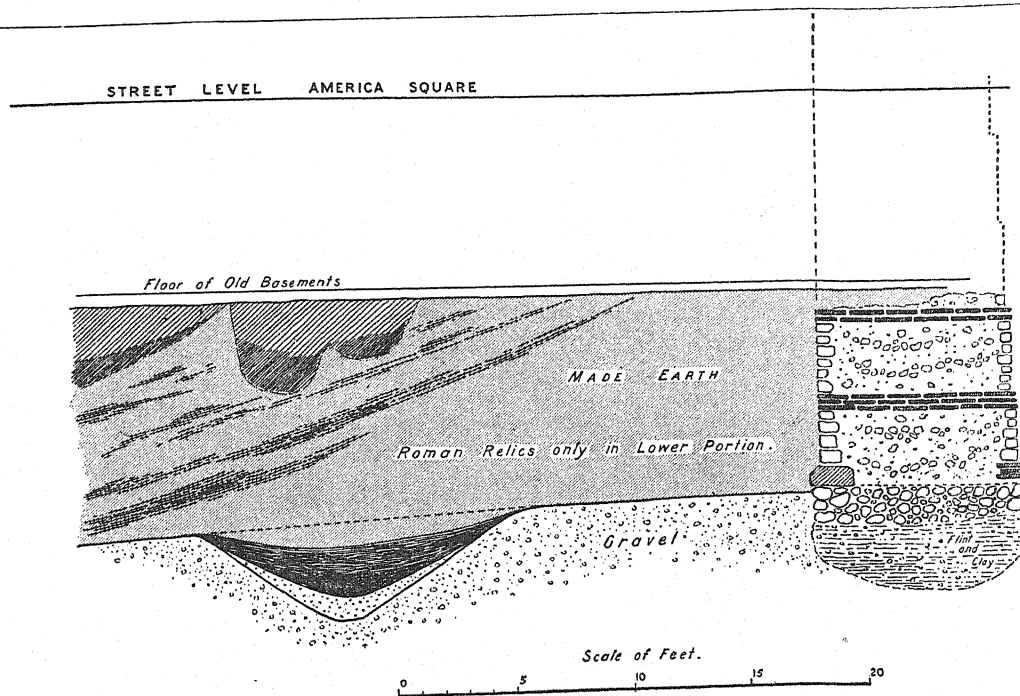


FIG. 19. Section of City-wall and ditch in America Square. From *Archæologia*, LXIII.

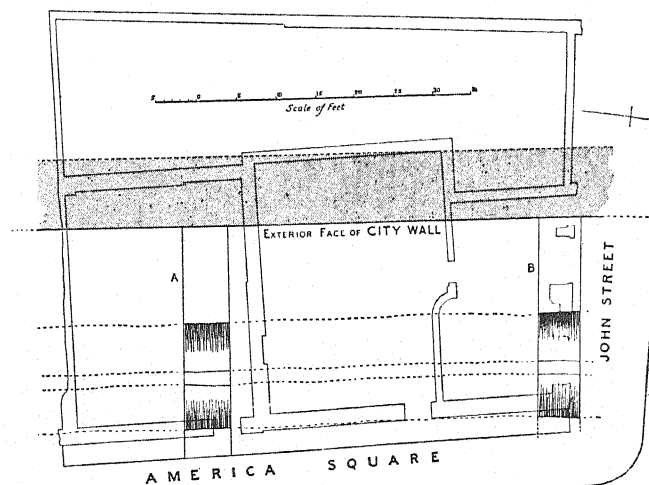


FIG. 20. Plan of ditch in America Square. From *Archæologia*, LXIII.

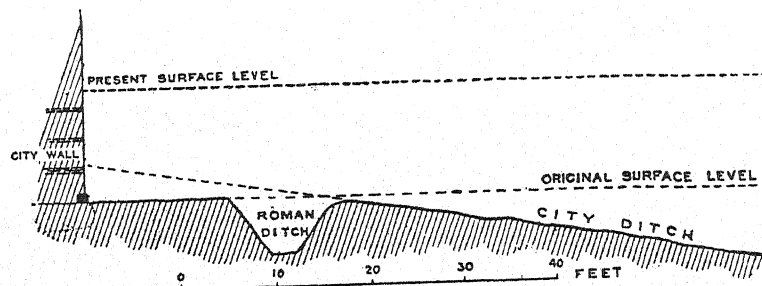


FIG. 21. Section of ditch, New Broad Street. From *Archæologia*, LX.

and was filled with black earth. The second section (Fig. 23) uncovered disclosed the remains of a second and later ditch also of V-shape, about 25 ft. wide, 14 ft. deep and 11½ ft. in advance of the town-wall. This ditch had entirely destroyed the earlier ditch with the exception of a narrow sector on the inner side which showed that at this point the earlier ditch approached to within 10½ ft. of the town-wall [Arch., LXIII, 276].

(5). *Newgate Prison site.* Very doubtful indications of a ditch about 25 ft. wide and some 55 ft. from the external face of the wall are recorded to have been found on this site in 1903-4 [Arch., LIX, 137]. A subsequent account, however, states that no regular ditch had been cut here, and that the surface of the gravel lay unevenly all over the site at depths varying from 17 ft. to 23 ft. [Arch., LXIII, 297].

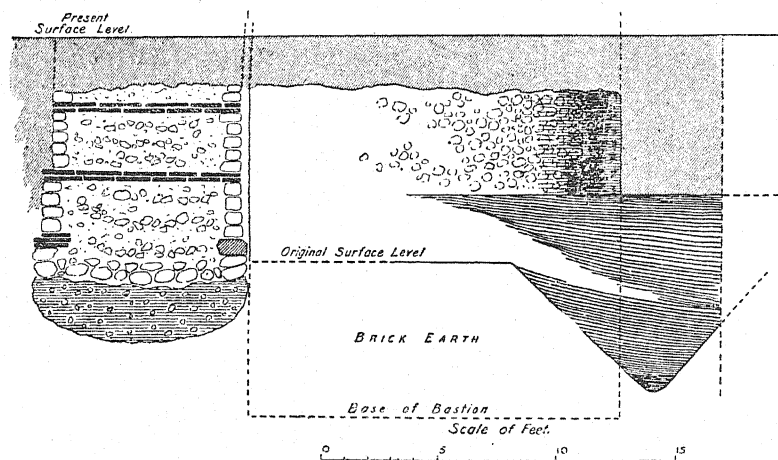


FIG. 22. Section of wall and ditch, Christ's Hospital.
From *Archæologia*, LXIII.

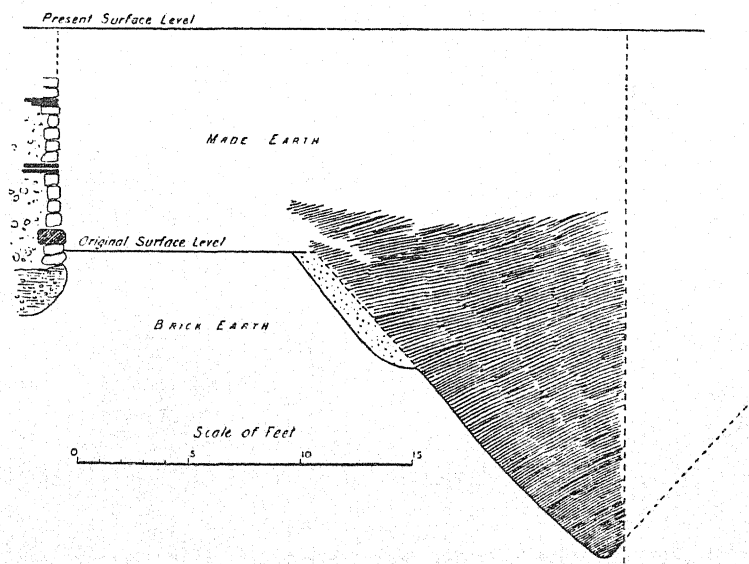


FIG. 23. Section of two ditches, Christ's Hospital.
From *Archæologia*, LXIII.

THE GATES.

(N.B.—The positions of the gates, numbered consecutively in this section, are shown by the same numbers, prefixed by the letter G on the large Plan A at the end of the volume.)

(1). *Tower Postern* is said by Stow to have been formerly on the main line of communication from E. to W. of the city. It was undermined by the digging of the tower-ditch, c. 1190, and partly fell down in 1440 [Stow, *Survey* (ed. Kingsford), I, 28]. There is no evidence of the original date of this structure.

(2). *Aldgate*. This gate is first mentioned *temp.* Canute [Cal. of Letter Books, C, 217]. The plan of the mediaeval gate, perhaps that rebuilt from the foundations by Norman, Prior of Holy Trinity 1108–47 [Guildhall MS., 122, fol. 13, cited in Stow's *Survey* (ed. Kingsford), II, 274], is partly preserved in the Elizabethan plan of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, at Hatfield House [*Home Counties Mag.*, II, 46]. It was of rectangular form with two semi-circular towers projecting on the external face. This gate was pulled down in 1606 and rebuilt in 1610 when "two heads done after antique models" were found [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. VIII, 25A]. In 1907, in driving a sewage-tunnel under the roadway on the S. side of Aldgate High Street, some solid masonry was encountered at a depth of 16½ ft. below the surface. It consisted of work of two periods, one built against the other, and had to be tunnelled for a distance of 16 ft. The portion directly under the houses was comparatively modern and contained mediaeval material; the other portion was of rag-stone very solidly built with hard white mortar, and containing fragments of Roman tile. At 10 ft. from the house-fronts, under the roadway, a built face of dressed stones, varying from 9 in. to 2½ ft. in length was found running diagonally in a south-easterly direction, but was not uncovered for a length of more than 2 ft. to 3 ft. It seems probable that this may have formed part of the base of a flanking tower [Arch., LXIII, 266]. The style of building appeared to be similar to that employed in the base of the bastions of the wall, and it is possible that the remains were those of the late Roman gate [V.C.H. London, I, 53].

(3). *Bishopsgate*. This gate is first mentioned in Domesday Book. The fact that it is approximately on the line of the Ermine Street seems to imply its Roman origin. In 1905, in connection with operations for laying telephone-mains, a manhole was formed near the N. angle of Wormwood Street and Bishopsgate Street, near the site of the gate. Here at a depth of 5 ft. a mass of rubble masonry was encountered extending 2 ft. into the ballast which here lay at a depth of 8 ft. On its S. side

were indications of a carefully built face. The materials were rag-stone rubble with some portions of Roman tile, and below the whole mass was a puddling of flint and clay. Cutting into this mass of masonry and resting on it was a culvert of rag-stone, 2½ ft. wide and 1¾ ft. high; the floor was slightly hollowed, and the covering was of single slabs of stone. The presence of thin tiles in this structure indicated its mediaeval date. From this fact and the presence of the puddling, it seems fairly certain that the mass of masonry was of Roman date and formed part of the S. face of a gate projecting some 20 ft. within the inner face of the town-wall [Arch., LX, 185]. A fragment of walling which may also have formed part of the gate was found in 1921 on the N. side of No. 108 Bishopsgate Street, i.e. on the E. side of the internal projection of the gate. Here was found at a depth of 3 ft. "Roman work 3 ft. thick and 4 ft. wide, with large hard stones and well-rammed clay 3 ft. lower." It appeared to be part of a wall about 5 ft. thick, and was apparently at right angles to the town-wall, though the published description is not easily intelligible. The wall contained red bricks and the stones were apparently squared [Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc., N.S., IV, 332].

(4). *Moorgate*. This gate was an enlargement, made in 1415, of an earlier postern of uncertain date [Stow, *Survey* (ed. Kingsford), I, 32; II 274]. A cutting made by the Metropolitan Water Board in 1925 encountered a mass of concrete some 10 ft. in advance of the town-wall at this point, and composed of broken bricks (mostly 1½ in. thick) and tiles, rag-stone and septaria. It stood upon a timber raft, 3 in. thick, resting on 9 in. of rammed chalk; the total depth was 14¼ ft. below the pavement. It would appear probable that this was some portion of the mediaeval gate.

(5). *Aldermanbury Postern* is said to have been formed in 1655, but the existence of something of the same sort in Roman times has been conjectured owing to the proximity of the curious wall-arches recorded by Roach Smith in 1857 [V.C.H. London, I, 62]. There seems to be little basis for this conjecture.

(6). *Cripplegate*. This is one of the three gates mentioned in the Laws of Ethelred, c. 1000 [Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, 127], and it may consequently go back to Roman times. No remains of this age have, however, been recorded.

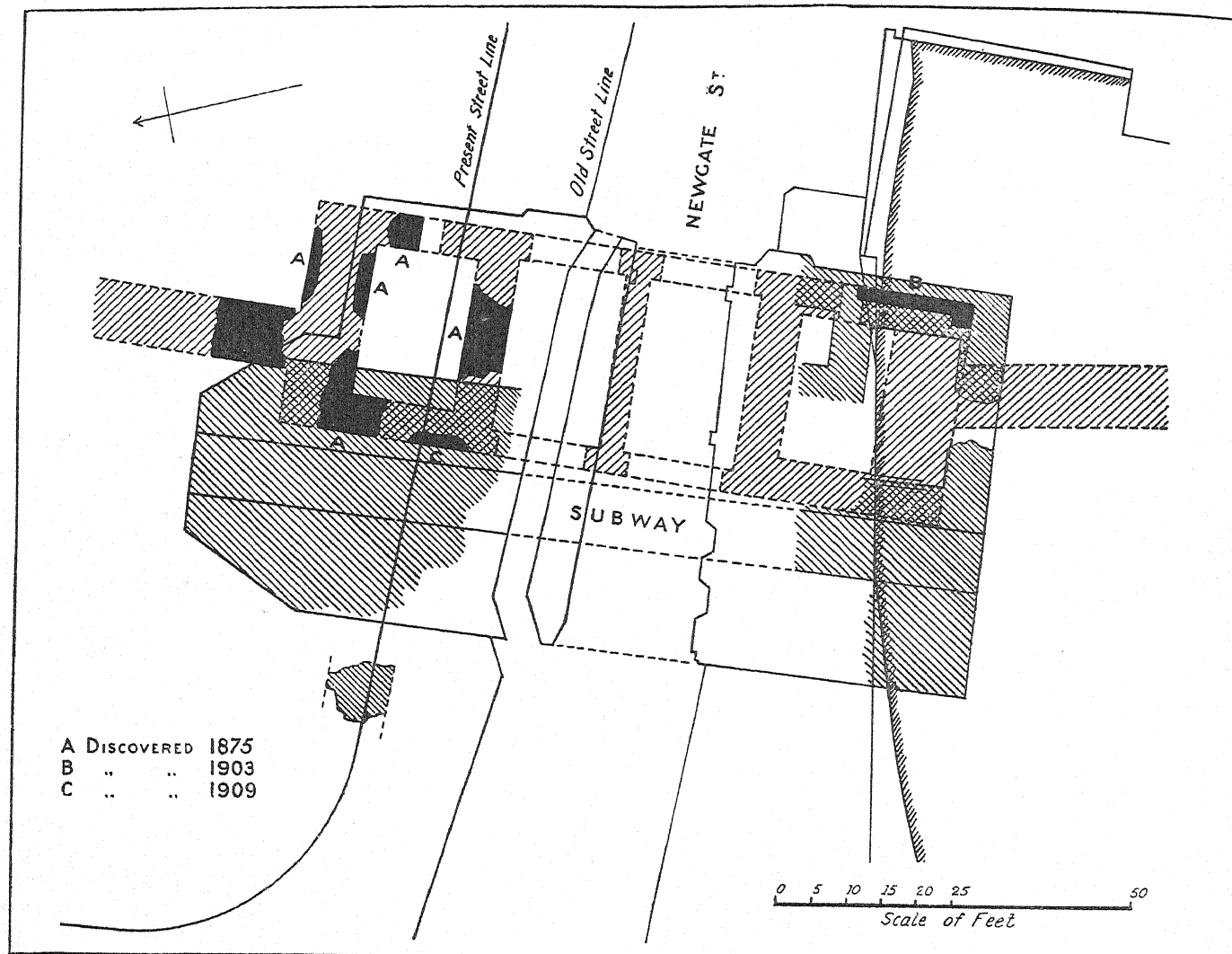


FIG. 24. Plan of Roman Newgate, with mediaeval reconstructions.
From *Archæologia*, LXIII, by permission.

(7). *Aldersgate*. This gate is mentioned as Ealdredesgate in the laws of Ethelred, c. 1000. In the excavations of 1887 (see Town-Wall No. 31) Mr. Fox recorded the existence in the middle of what he assumed to be the Roman ditch, close to Aldersgate, of a raised mound (p. 94), which was thought to have formed the support for a wooden trestle-bridge. If this evidence be accepted, it of course implies the existence of a Roman gate at this point. In 1924, a shaft was sunk for a new sewer on the line of the city wall in Aldersgate Street; concrete was found at a depth of 11 ft., and below this was a foundation 7 ft. thick composed of lumps of chalk and below this again were piles 8 or 9 in. in diameter [Q.W.].

Excavations on the E. side of the street in 1922-3 revealed the existence of what was probably a mediaeval barbican with a polygonal turret at the N.E. angle, and a tunnel extending under the road, immediately to the W. of it. The barbican projected some 36 or 37 ft. in advance of the city-wall, but contained no work of a date recognizably anterior to the 15th century [A.C.].

(8). *Newgate* is almost certainly to be identified with the Westgetum of a charter of 857 [Stow, *Survey* (ed. Kingsford), II, 276]. Remains of the Roman gate (Fig. 24) at this point have from time to time come to light, providing sufficient evidence to reconstruct the general plan of the building.

The discoveries made in 1875 were recorded but misunderstood by Loftus Brock; they consisted of portions of all four walls of the northern guardroom which measured 32 ft. by 30 ft. externally, and 22 ft. by 15 ft. internally. The walls at the N.W. angle still retained a double bonding-course of tiles. These remains were incorporated with the masonry of the mediaeval gate which projected considerably farther on the outside of the town-wall [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXXI, 76; XXXII, 385; *Arch. Journ.*, XXXII, 477]. The remains found in 1903 and recorded by Dr. P. Norman consisted of a portion of the E. wall and plinth of the S. guardroom, including the S.E. angle. The base of the plinth was 6½ ft. below the pavement-level, and the plinth itself was composed of an oolitic stone closely resembling Barnack. Under the plinth was 1 ft. 10 in. of rag-stone walling resting on a foundation of puddled clay with fragments of rag-stone, nearly 5 ft. deep [*Arch.*, LIX, 130]. In 1909, a portion of the plinth of the W. wall of the N. guardroom was uncovered and recorded by Messrs. Norman and Reader; it was similar in depth to the portion found in 1903 [*Arch.*, LXIII, 294].

The results of these various discoveries are sufficient for the reconstruction of the plan of the gate which follows a normal Roman type with square flanking guardrooms. A double entrance is indicated by the distance, 35 ft., between the guardrooms. The N. guardroom projected 16 ft. within the town wall as compared to the 20 ft. at Bishopsgate, but the S. guardroom projected only some 8 ft. There can be no doubt that this gate was of Roman date, but that it was considerably later than the Roman town-wall is indicated by the difference in level of the respective plinths, that of the town-wall being 4½ ft. below the plinth of the gateway.

(9). *Ludgate*. There is no very early reference to this gate, which must, however, have been one of the seven double gates mentioned by Fitzstephen, *temp.* Henry II. That it was of Roman origin is indicated by the presence of burials in the neighbourhood of Fleet Street. No structural remains of this age have been found, but the discovery of the Roman sepulchral stone (Inscriptions No. 15) in the immediate neighbourhood may indicate a late building or rebuilding of the gate.

THE BASTIONS OF THE TOWN - WALL.

(N.B.—The position of the bastions, numbered consecutively in this section, are shown by the same numbers, prefixed by the letter B on the large Map A at the end of the volume.)

(1). *Wardrobe Tower* in the Tower of London. The mediaeval tower incorporates the base of a Roman tower (Fig. 11) of semi-circular plan and apparently hollow. This base consists of a mass of rubble masonry 5 ft. high, consisting of stone and broken Roman brick, with brown and red mortar, quite distinct from the white mortar of the mediaeval reconstruction [Loftus Brock, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXXVIII, 130].

(2). *E. of Tower Hill*. In 1852, during excavations on the eastern or outer side of Trinity Place, was found what was described as a quarry of 125 stones or a mediaeval buttress, resting against the Roman wall which was in remarkably good condition. Roach Smith states that the buttress was in a great measure composed of stones which had belonged to Roman buildings of importance and to sepulchral monuments. Pink mortar is said to have been found on the face of the wall. From sketches in the *Builder*, it appears that the stones included cornices, column-drums and the monumental inscription, No. 6, p. 171. Although Roach Smith called the structure mediaeval, its composition and situation leave little doubt that it was one of the usual semi-circular bastions added

to the wall. An engraving (Plate 22) by Fairholt in Roach Smith's *Illustrations* shows the remains of the bastion still *in situ* against the face of the wall. This bastion is not shown on Ogilby and Morgan's survey [*Builder*, 1852, 562; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, VIII, 241; Roach Smith, *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 15]. What was probably a surviving portion of this bastion was destroyed in the excavations for the Inner Circle Railway, 1882-5; it contained sculptured stones [*Antiquary* (1885), XI, 33].

(3). *America Square, W. side*. On the widening of the London and Blackwall Railway in 1880, a bastion in this position was destroyed. It is shown on Ogilby and Morgan's survey, but the only record of its form and situation is an unpublished drawing (Plate 29) by Henry Hodge, 1881, now in the Guildhall Library [Add. Prints, p. 98]. From this drawing it appears that the bastion, which was preserved to a height of 1½ ft. above the excavation-level, was of slightly horseshoe-form, 21¾ ft. in diameter, and projected 14¾ ft. from the face of the wall. It was "built with rag, flint, chalk, brick, etc., grouted with grey gravelly mortar like Thames ballast. The facing was of rag, flint and limestone—all very smooth stone and random work. The

core or main structure was also of small material," and contained two fragments of shaped coping in oolite. On each side of the bastion, 1 ft. from the ground-level of the excavation, was a patch of pink mortar extending about 2 ft. into the structure.

(4). *N. of John Street.* The bastion here is known only from Ogilby and Morgan's survey.

(5). *Jewry Street.* A bastion immediately N. of the present site of the Cass School is indicated on Ogilby and Morgan's survey. It is, no doubt, also that described by Maitland [*Hist. of London*, 1756, 31] as the basis of a "Roman tower about 8 ft. high which supports a new building," at the lower end of a street called the Vineyard. He adds that a tablet on the building stated that when the upper part of the tower, three storeys high, fell down no one was hurt. This part of the street is now called Little George Street.

(6). *Duke's Place, E.* This bastion is shown on the Elizabethan survey of Holy Trinity, and also on Ogilby and Morgan's Plan as of semi-circular form. It is described by Maitland as being 21 ft. high and of similar construction to No. 7, that is to say, with brick bonding-courses, "the bricks being as sound as newly laid," though the stonework was in bad condition. The foundations of this bastion were probably those seen by Loftus Brock in 1887, but his account of the position is complicated by an apparently wrong reference to the Jewish Synagogue in Bevis Marks. He describes the bastion as "built of large blocks of freestone worked to smooth surfaces, some being so well rounded as to warrant the belief that they were shafts of columns" [W. Maitland, *History of London* (1756), I, 31; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XLIII, 203; *Arch.*, LXIII, 340.]

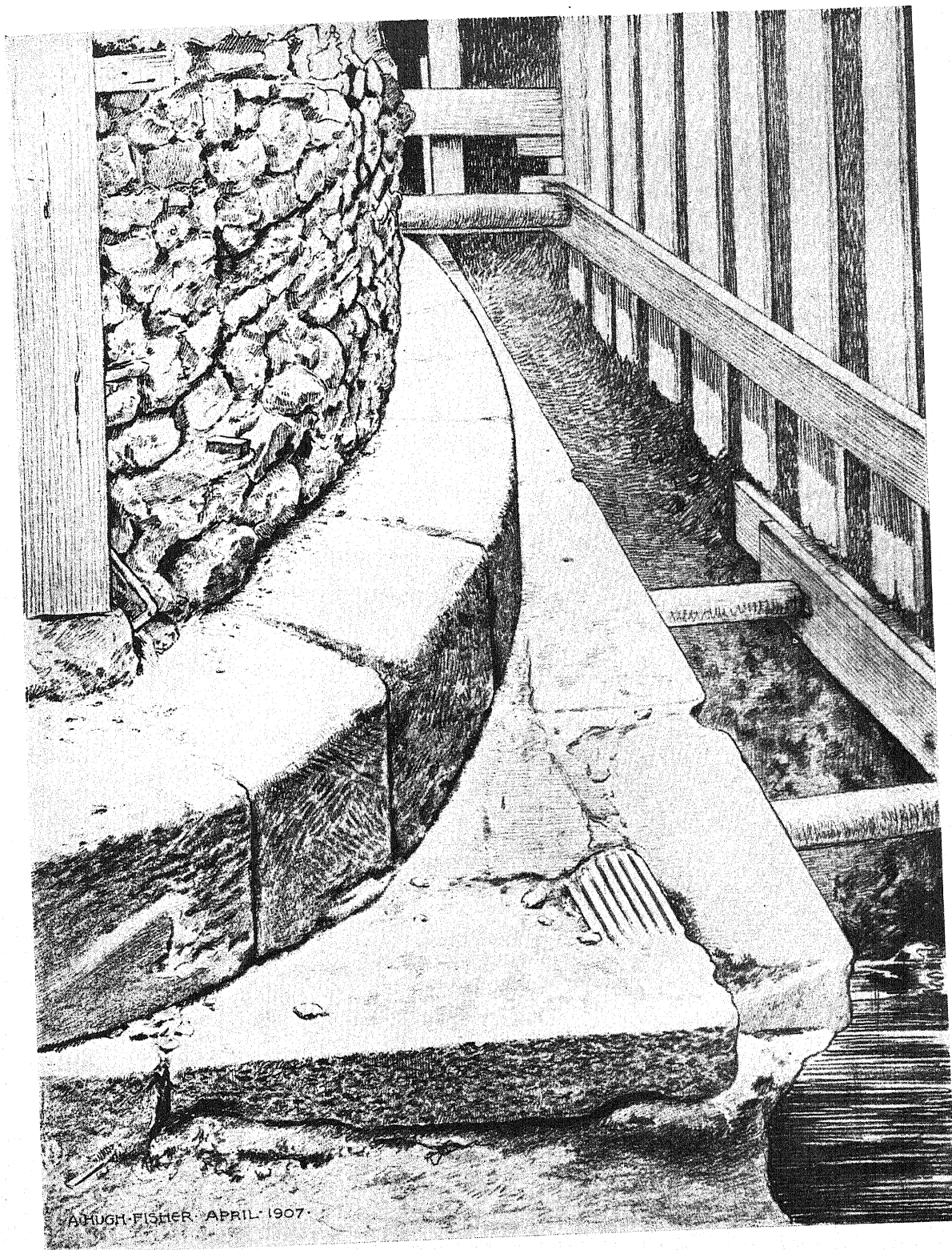
(7). *Duke's Place, W.* This bastion also is shown semi-circular in the two plans mentioned under No. 6. It is described by Woodward in 1707 as follows:—"Tis composed of stone with layers of brick interposed, after the Roman manner . . . being about 26 foot in height." The position of Woodward's bastion is fixed by Maitland, who says it was almost opposite the end of Gravel Lane, and that the back fronted a passage into Duke's Place. An etching of this tower by E. F. is preserved with a copy by Gough, dated 1763, in the Gough MSS. (Plate 28), and was engraved long subsequently by Fairholt. The etching shows a semi-circular tower of stone with triple bonding-courses of brick (four in all) at approximately regular intervals. The top part of the tower is shown polygonal in form, and was evidently of later date. The entirely misleading reproduction of Fairholt has led to the mistaken supposition that the tower was rectangular [Woodward's *Letter to Hearne*; Maitland, *History of London* (1756), I, 31; Roach

Smith, *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 16; Gough MSS., Bodleian Lib. Gen. Top. 62, 16 and 16a and Map 21, 41].

(8). *Bevis Marks, near E. end.* During the rebuilding of No. 31 Houndsditch in 1880, the base of a bastion was found at "the N.E. of these excavations" (the compass-point should probably be S.E.), and it is described as "of later date [than the wall] and rougher but still probably of Roman work." It projected 18½ ft. from the outer face of the city wall. The width is said to have been 40 ft., but this is obviously an error. Its face was "a flat segment of a circle." Built up into it were some fragments of Roman architectural work, including the base of a circular column, a shaft, 9 in. in diameter, with trellis ornament in relief, and an inscribed stone (see p. 174, No. 23). Red mortar "was observable in some part of the bastion, as if used sparingly, and not as if it had adhered to the stones on their removal from some other building." A massive channel of solid stone, 1½ ft. broad and 1¼ ft. deep, led from the centre of the bastion to the ditch, and "traces of a raised earthen bank like an external vallum to the ditch" were found [see Loftus Brock, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXXVII, 86; XXXVIII, 132-5].

(9). *Castle Street (now Goring Street).* The base of a bastion on the W. side of Castle Street was uncovered in 1884. The only record of it is a careful survey (Plates 31 and 32) probably by Henry Hodge, in the possession of Dr. Philip Norman. The foundation consisted of flint and puddled clay surmounted by a bed of chalk. The bastion itself was 26 ft. wide and projected 15½ ft.; it was standing nearly 11 ft. above this foundation which was 5 ft. below the base of the plinth of the adjoining town-wall. The facing of the bastion consisted apparently of coursed rag-stone battering outwards towards the base, and standing on a projecting footing-course. At a height of 8½ ft. above the foundation was a double course of bricks not carried through the wall. The bastion, as far as it was standing, was solid, the filling containing numerous lengths of shaped stone coping, a cornice and other moulded stones, a fragment of an inscription and a fragment of frieze carved with swags and running hares (Plate 21). The inscription (see Inscriptions No. 21), the frieze and probably also the cornice are now in the Guildhall Museum [*Antiq. Journ.*, VII, 518; *Antiq.*, X, 134].

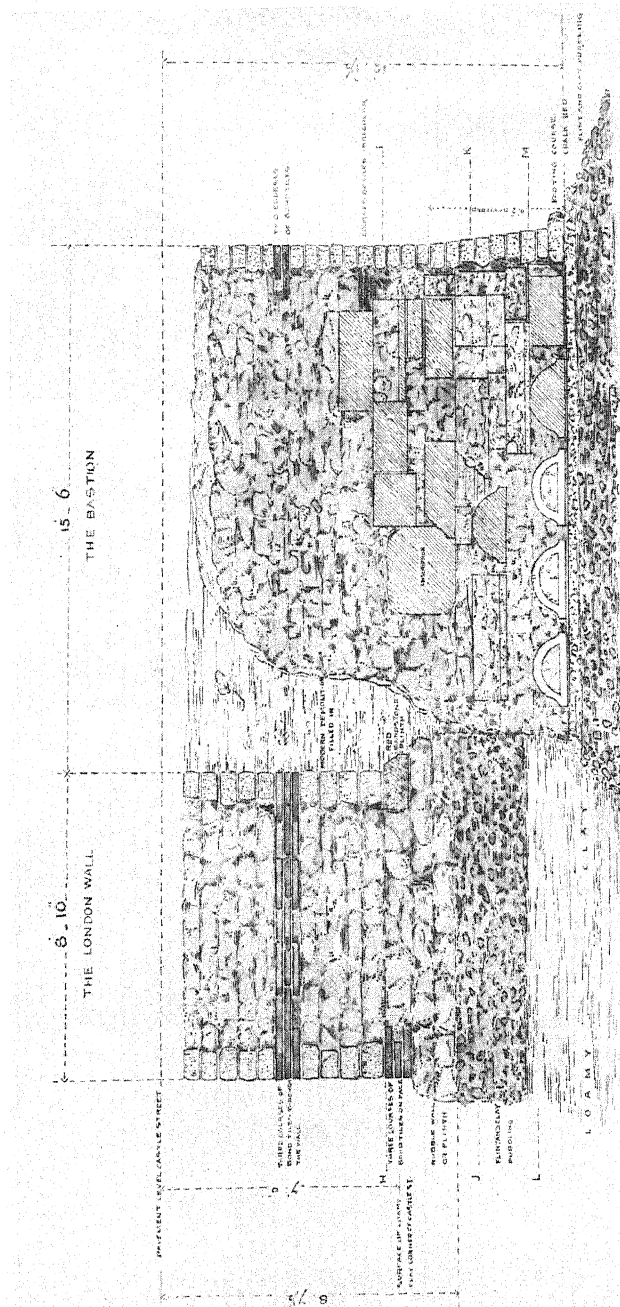
(10). *Camomile Street.* In 1876 building operations revealed the remains of a semi-circular bastion (Figs. 25 and 26) 20 ft. in diameter and projecting 14 ft. 9 in. from the face of the Roman town-wall, below the plinth of which its base was carried about 4 ft. "It rested upon the natural soil of London clay, which had been simply levelled by compressing



BASTION (11), ALL HALLOWS' CHURCH, LONDON WALL.

See pp. 80 and 103.

From *Archæologia*, LXIII, by permission.

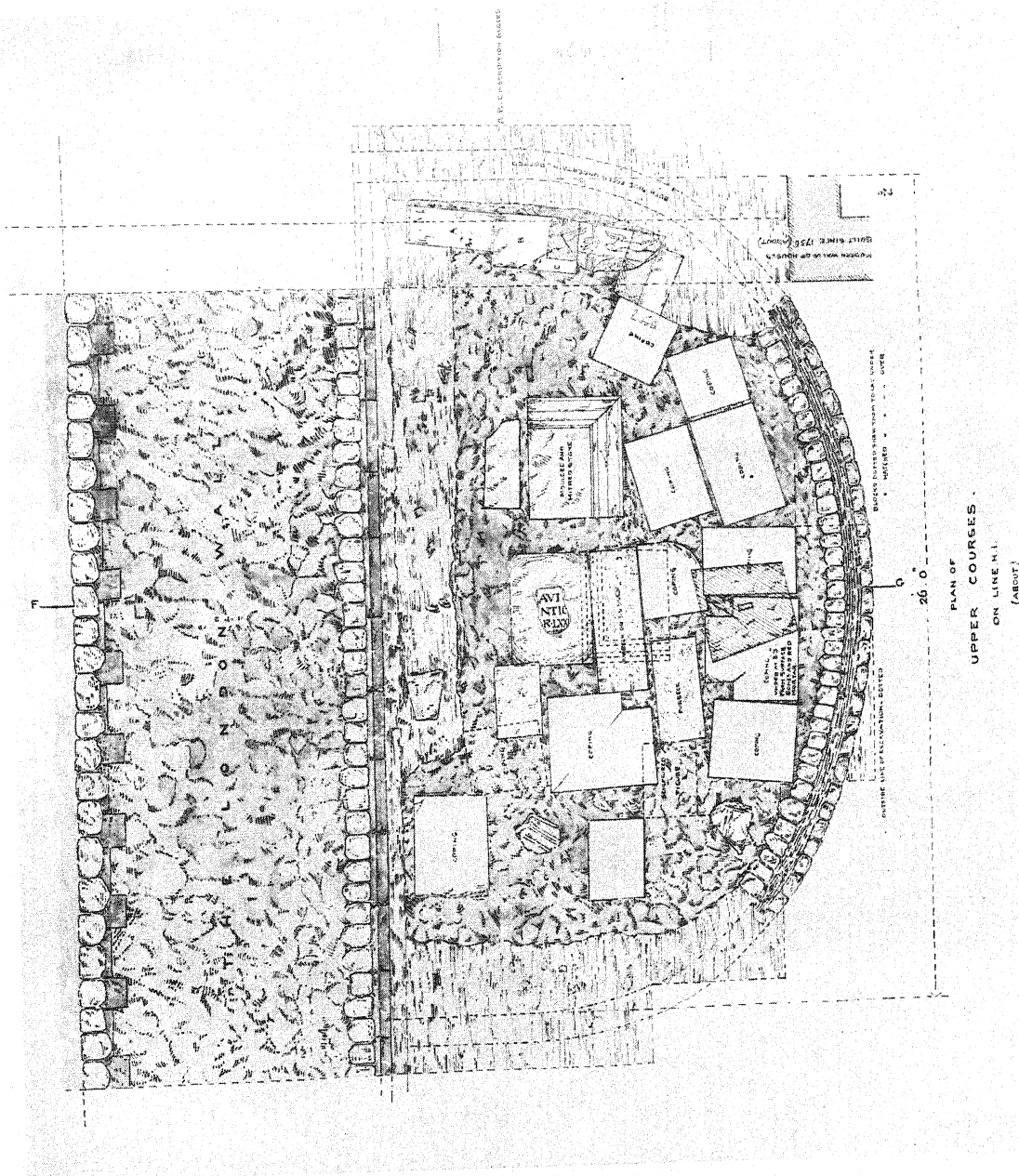


SECTION OF
THE LONDON WALL AND BASTION
ON LINE.F.6

TOWN WALL (15) and BASTION (9), BEVIS MARKS and GORING STREET (formerly Castle Street).

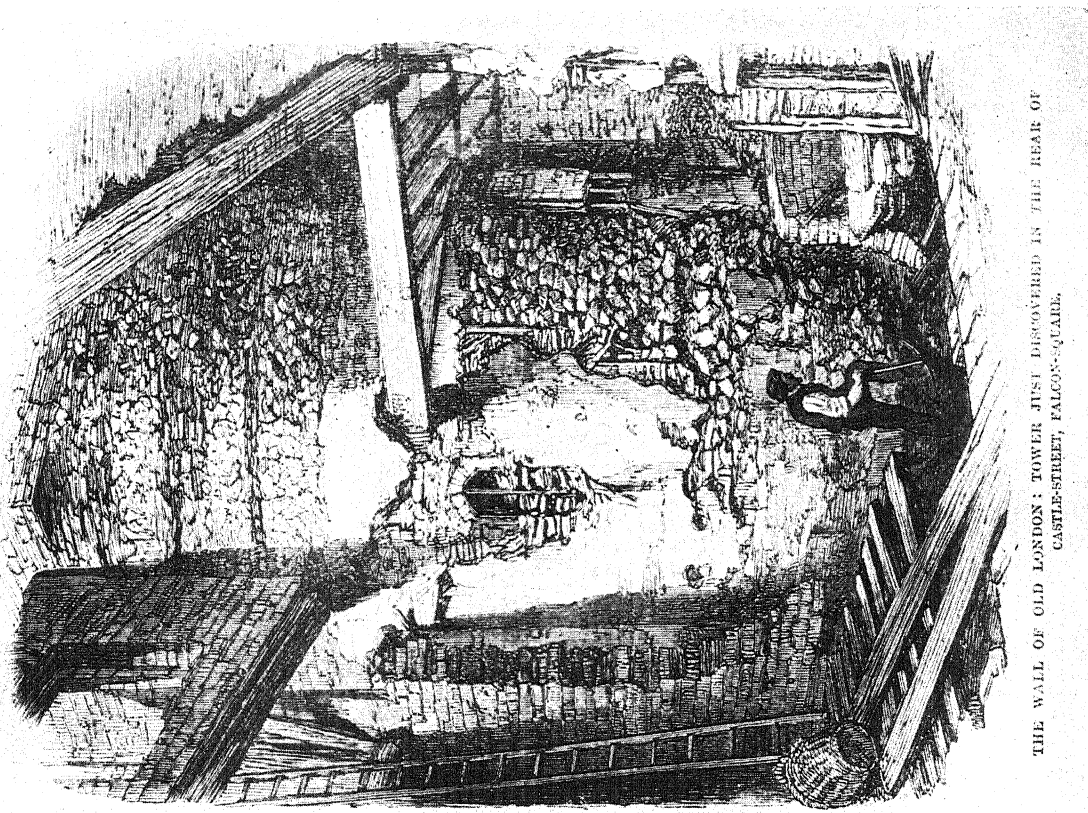
Section, from a drawing of 1884, by permission of Dr. P. Norman.

See pp. 85 and 100.

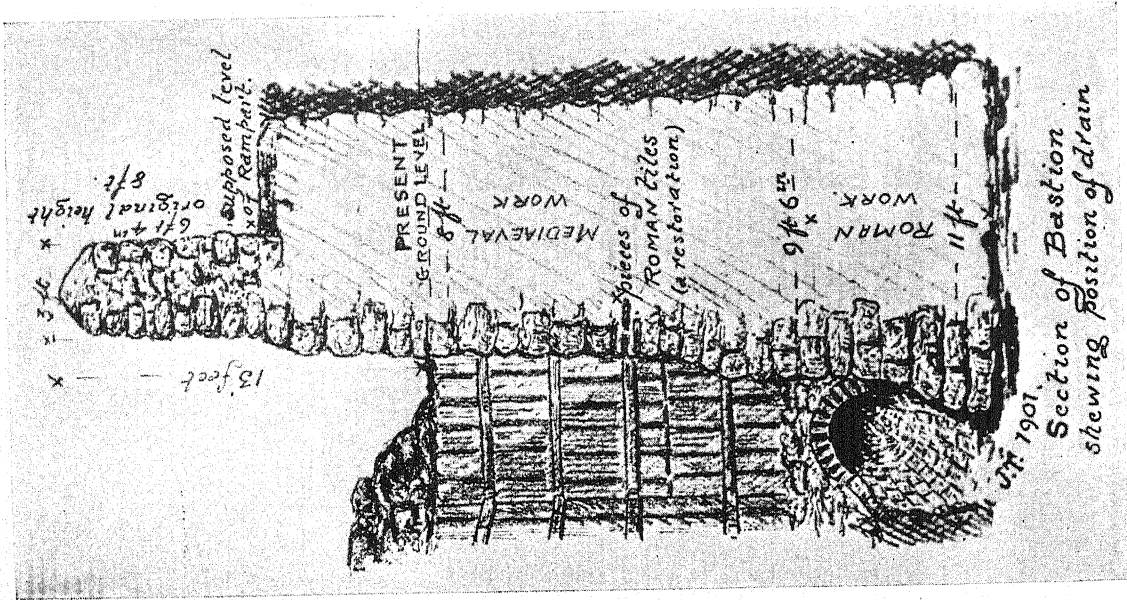


TOWN WALL (15) and BASTION (9), BEVIS MARKS and GORING STREET (formerly Castle Street).
Plan, from a drawing of 1884, by permission of Dr. P. Norman.

See pp. 80, 85 and 100.



BASTION (14), WINDSOR COURT, MONKWELL STREET.
Sketch as existing 1865. See pp. 82 and 104.
From *Illus. London News*, Aug. 19th, 1865, by permission.



BASTION (12), ST. GILES'S, CRIPPLEGATE.
Section. See p. 104.
From *London and Midx. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, N.S. I.,
by permission.

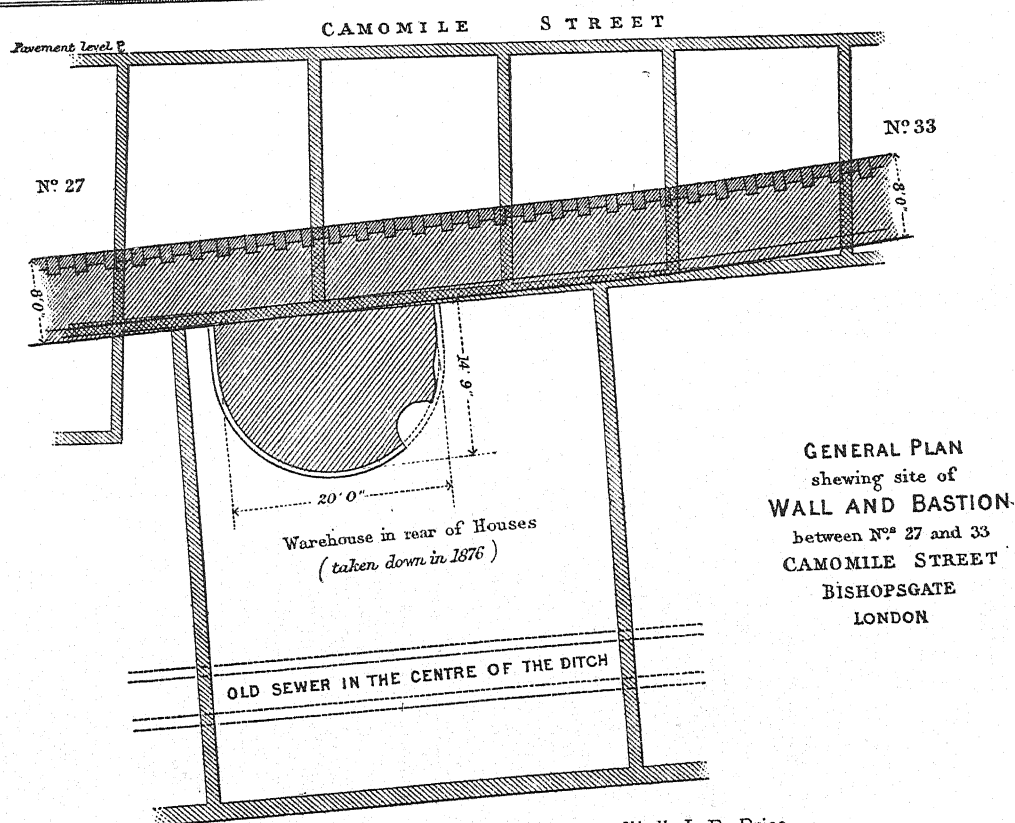
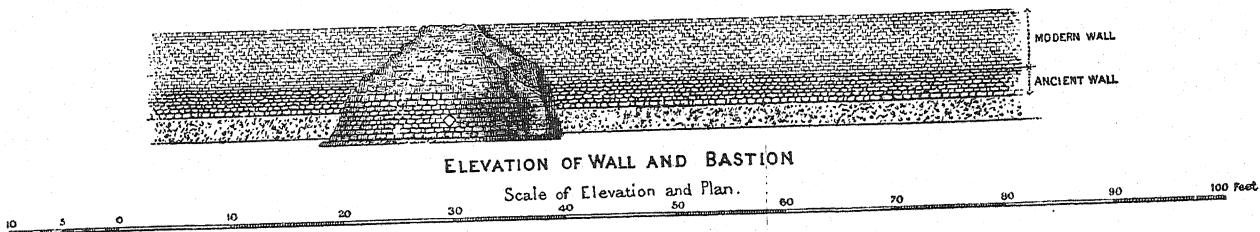


FIG. 25. From *On a Bastion of London Wall*, J. E. Price.

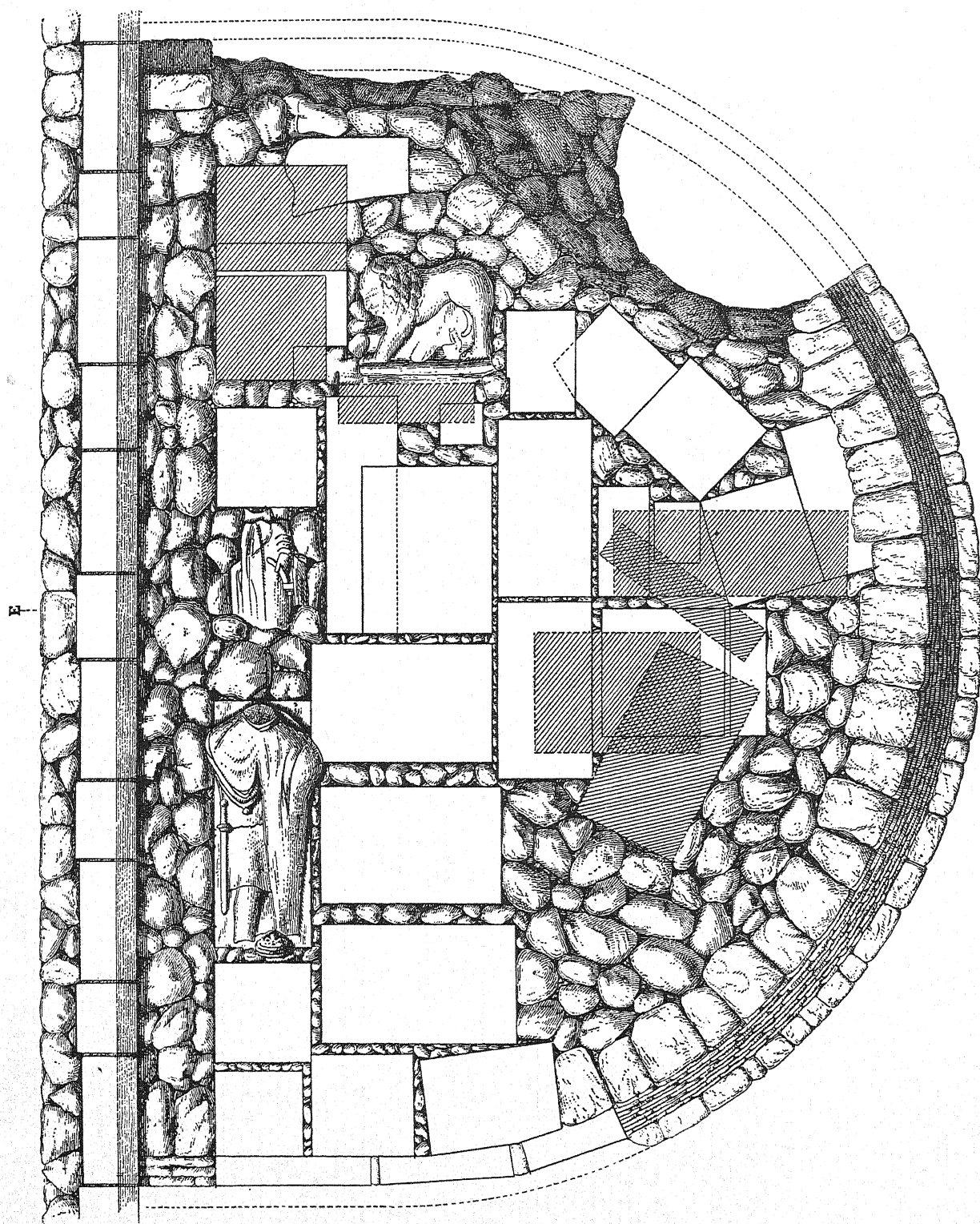


FIG. 26. Plan of Camomile Street Bastion. From *On a Bastion of London Wall*, J. E. Price.

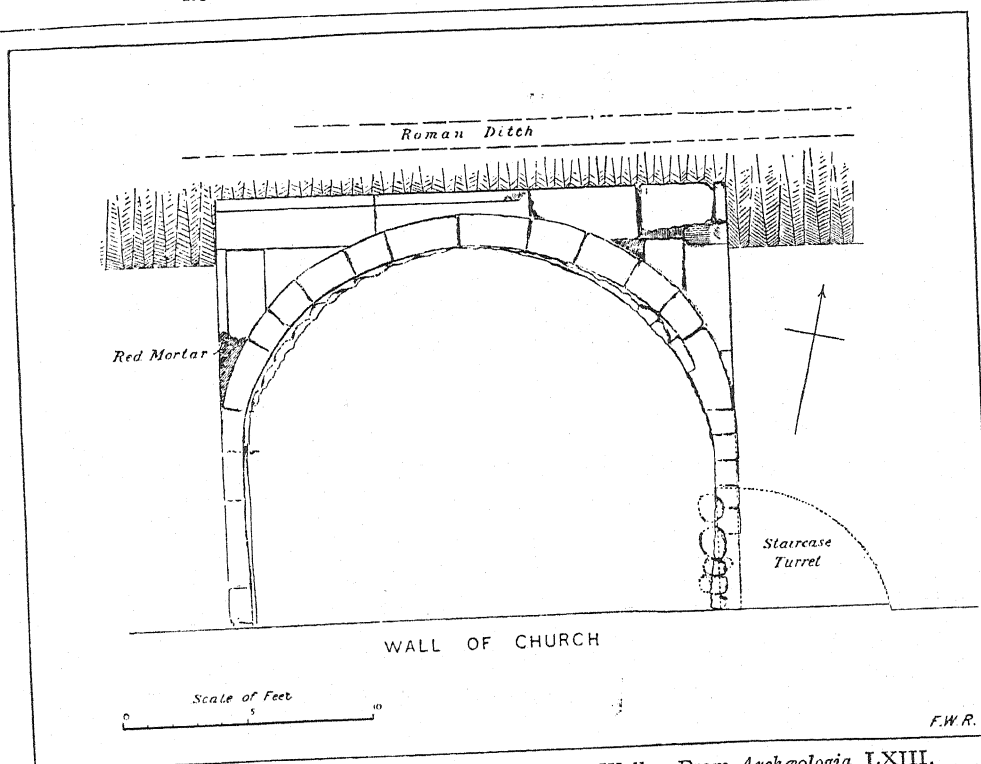


FIG. 27. Plan of Bastion at All Hallows, London Wall. From *Archæologia*, LXIII.

together masses of chalk into the clay, for a thickness which varied from two to three inches. With the exception of huge blocks of oolite and green sandstone, which formed the nucleus of the structure, the stone employed in building was the familiar Kentish rag-stone rubble, with a facing in random courses of the same material. The size of the blocks of which this facing was composed varied from three to eight and a half inches thick and from five to fourteen inches long. . . . Though shown to be of later date than the erection of the [Roman] wall, and separated from it in places by an intervening space filled in with rubble, there were yet signs that the masonry of the bastion had been toothed or chased into the wall for the purpose of acquiring solidity and strength." To its surviving height of 10 ft. the tower was solid. It had a projecting stone footing of about 8 in., and its structure included large blocks of re-used pink cement and masonry (Fig. 26)—fluted pilasters, shafts of half-columns, portions of canopies, cornices, door-jambs, etc.—together with the sculptured figures of a soldier and a lion, and a human head of colossal size, all now in the Guildhall Museum (Plates 7, 11, 15, 16 and 17).

J. E. Price thought that the tower was mediaeval on the ground that the handle of a pitcher of green-glazed ware was found "beneath the lowest bed of stone, and near to the centre of the structure." But even if this observation was

accurate, the sherd may well have been Roman. No bastion is shown here on Ogilby and Morgan's survey [J. E. Price, *On a Bastion of London Wall*, 1880].

(11). *All Hallows Vestry*. In 1905 the original masonry of the bastion (Plate 30 and Fig. 27) was found by excavation beneath the structure of the vestry, and subsequently the whole of the external face of the bastion was uncovered. Its diameter was 19 ft., and its projection 15 ft. The main structure survived to a maximum height of rather more than 8 ft., of which 3 ft. extended below the top of the chamfered plinth of the Roman town-wall. It was of random rubble with white mortar, and rested upon a plinth of re-used ashlar of larger size, which in turn rested upon a rectangular platform set in, and in places covered by, pink mortar. The platform also consisted of re-used ashlar, mostly of thin stones laid flat; and it oversailed the original Roman ditch, which had been filled for the purpose with chalk, flint and broken stones. The re-used masonry included an angle-pilaster with a moulded cap (Plate 38), several blocks with a marginal fillet, and many with sockets known as lewis-holes. Very few relics were found in the soil from just above the surface of the platform, "but it did not appear to have been disturbed since it was laid down. There were some portions of roofing tiles and a few fragments of Roman pottery, including some

Samian, also oyster shells and bones. Similar relics were found in the ditch. Under the layer of chalk and flint, the ditch-filling was black mud, containing snail-shells and remains of rushes. There was also a horse's skull and a human femur." Beyond the extent of the platform the ditch had not been filled with chalk and stones; "it has clearly remained open for some time after the building of the bastion, accumulating mud and rubbish against the obstruction of the bastion footings." This bastion is not shown on Ogilby and Morgan's survey [Norman and Reader, *Arch.*, LX, 200; LXIII, 271].

(12). *St. Giles's Churchyard.* This bastion, situated at the angle of the wall, is hollow and has an external diameter of about 37 ft. Excavation about 1900, showed that the base of the tower (Plate 33), the upper part of which is still visible here, extended to a depth of 18 ft. below the present surface, giving a total height of 31 ft. to the structure. "The foundations (which are on ballast) and, indeed, the lower portions of the wall to a height of about 4 ft., are in a good state of preservation, and judging by the appearance of the materials used, particularly the mortar, this portion is probably Roman work. Above this height the work was of a different character, intermixed with pieces of Roman tiles and flints, and in some instances the stones had been wedged up with several layers of oyster shells, the mortar being of an inferior quality to that found at a lower level, and there is not the slightest indication of this portion of the bastion being the work of the Romans, although full of their materials" [J. Terry, *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, (N.S.), I, 356].

(13). *Between Well Street and Monkwell Street.* An entry in the records of the Barber Surgeons' Company states: "5th February, 1607. This day it is ordered that a courthouse be erected upon the Bulwarke behind the Hall of this Company for the Mrs. or Governors to kepe the Courte at the charge of the Company." This building was destroyed in 1864, and the site is now covered by a rounded warehouse. A view of the bastion, dated 1800, is included in Smith's *Antiquities of London*, but the external face was then, apparently, rendered in cement.

(14). *Windsor Court, Monkwell Street.* No. 2A, known as "Bastion House," occupies the site of a bastion found in 1865. It is described as a semi-circular tower, about 40 ft. high. "The materials are rough flint and Kentish rag-stone, but . . . high up in the elevation, as shown in the engraving (Plate 33), is a bonding-course of tiles resembling Roman bricks, upon which is a floor of modern rooms. In the face of the tower were apertures which have been filled up with brickwork" [*Illus. Lond. News*, Aug. 19th, 1865].

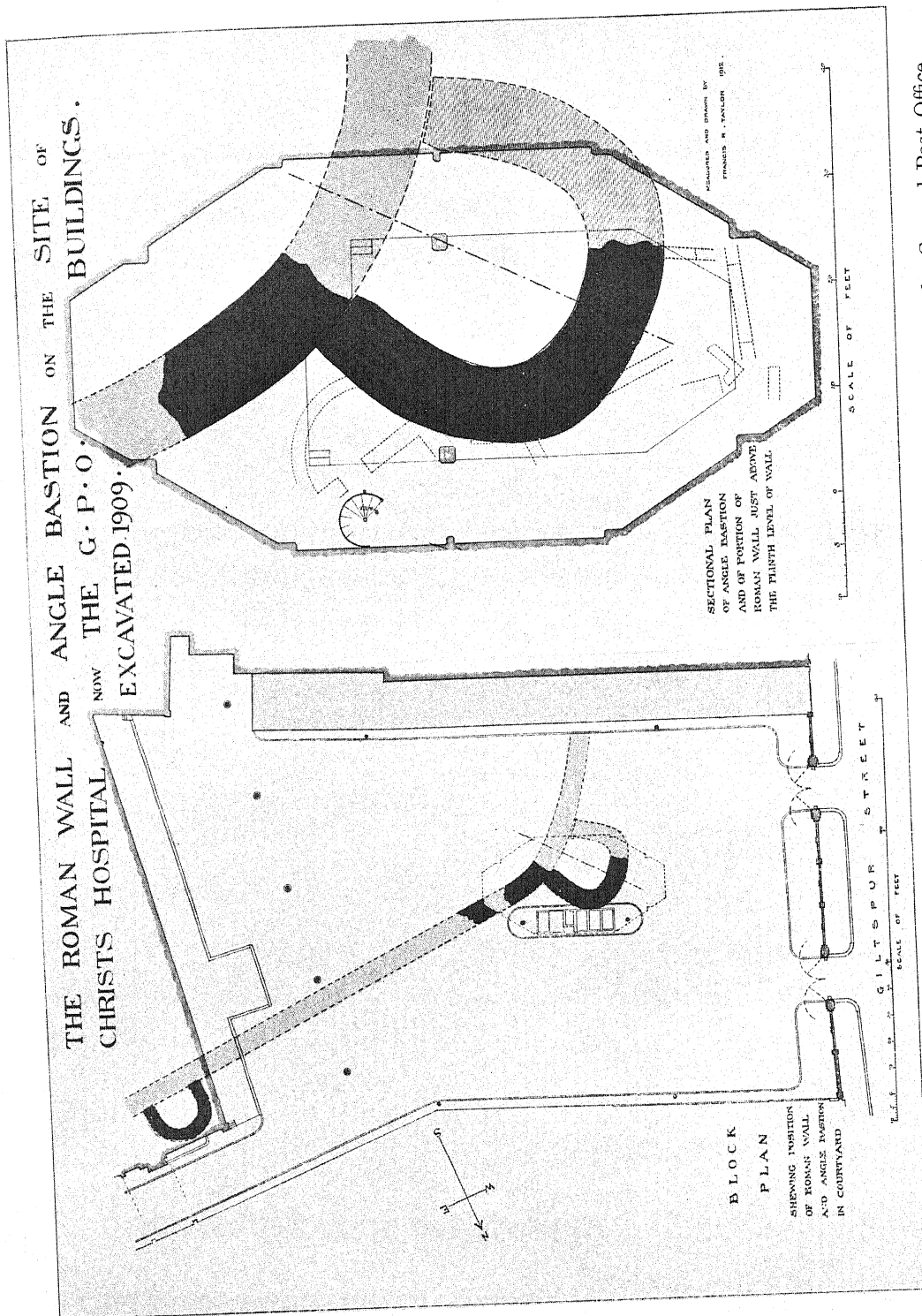
(15). *East of Aldersgate.* In 1922 the base of the bastion shown by Ogilby and Morgan in the re-entrant angle of the town-wall here was uncovered, but there is no detailed record of its structure [*Journ. Rom. Studies*, XI, 220]. Mr. F. Lambert states definitely that it was hollow and that only about two-thirds of the curve were uncovered, the rest turning under a modern wall on the edge of the site; it was not explored to its base. Dr. P. Norman states that the W. face of the bastion was flattened, indicating that the building was of horse-shoe form.

(16). *Near King Edward Street,* beneath the houses on the E. side of the street were discovered in 1887, the foundations of a hollow semi-circular tower. They were 5½ ft. wide, and composed of Kentish rag with some chalk and a few fragments of old building-material. The internal measurements were 17½ ft. by 16 ft. "Some pieces of worked stone discovered [in the foundations] showed traces of Norman mouldings and of foliage of the Early English Period." The staircase-projection forming part of the existing post-office building marks the site. This tower is not shown on Ogilby and Morgan's survey [G. E. Fox, *Arch.*, LII, p. 610].

(17). *Site of Christ's Hospital, E. end.* In 1908-9, part of the base of a solid bastion of slightly horseshoe plan was found here. It was about 26 ft. in diameter, projected 16 ft., and was built of random rubble, consisting of rag-stone, flints, fragments of Roman tile, etc. The foundations were carried down 7 ft. below the base of the plinth of the town-wall, and rested on undisturbed ground [*Arch.*, LXIII, 276].

(18). *Site of Christ's Hospital, middle part.* The same excavation (1908-9) uncovered the remains of a second bastion (Plates 34 and 35), hollow and of horseshoe plan. Its wall was 5½ ft. thick, and the internal diameter was 13 ft. The base of the structure lay at a depth of nearly 10 ft. below the level of that of the Roman town-wall and was without footings [*Arch.*, LXIII, 281].

(19). *Site of Christ's Hospital, angle bastion* (Plates 34, 36 and 37, and Fig. 28), now preserved below the courtyard of the G.P.O. It is of horseshoe plan with a projection of 26 ft., and is hollow, with walls 7 ft. thick at the base which is irregular (conforming to pre-existing hollows in the ground), and reaches a maximum depth of 7 ft. below the base of the plinth of the Roman town-wall. The masonry of the tower was rag-stone set in good white mortar; no re-used stones were found. The external face was carefully pointed and smoothed, whilst the internal face was irregular and unpointed. The filling of the bastion below a level of 10 ft. from the present surface, with the exception of an easily distinguished sump-hole of

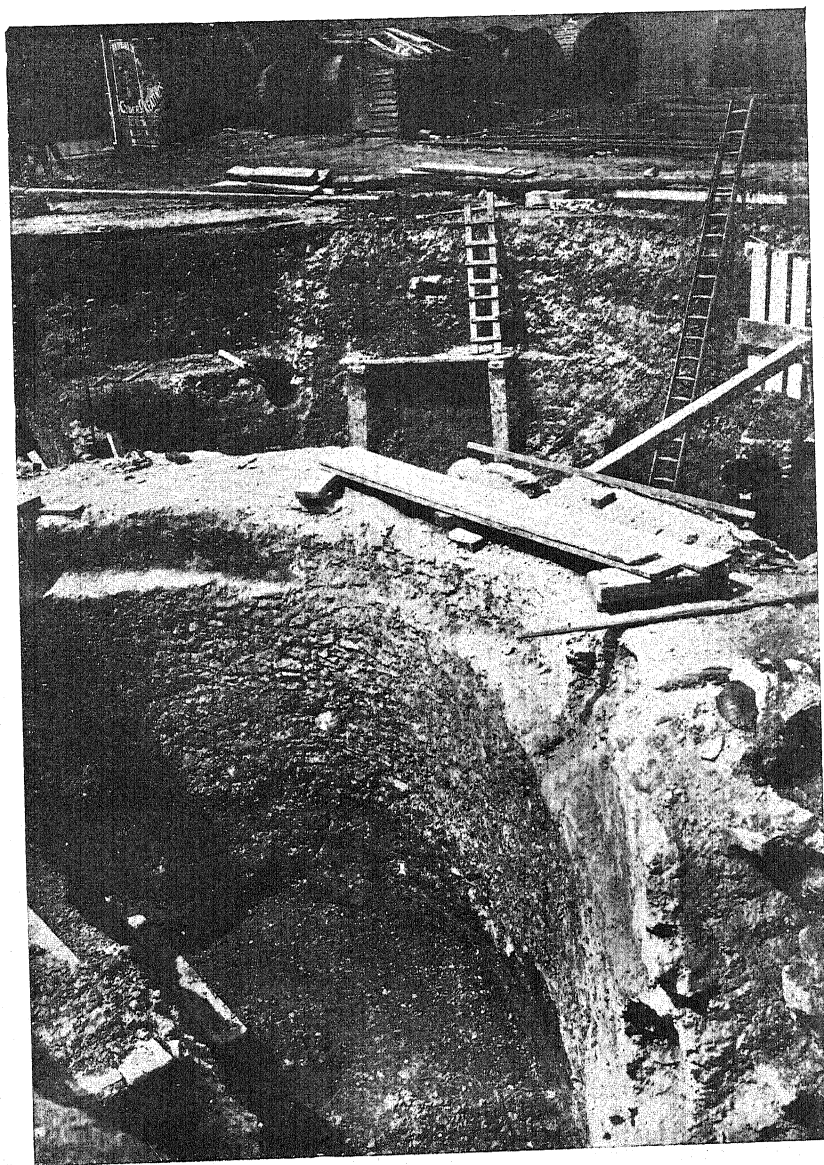


TOWN WALL (35) and BASTIONS (18) and (19), SITE OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, now the General Post Office.
See p. 91.

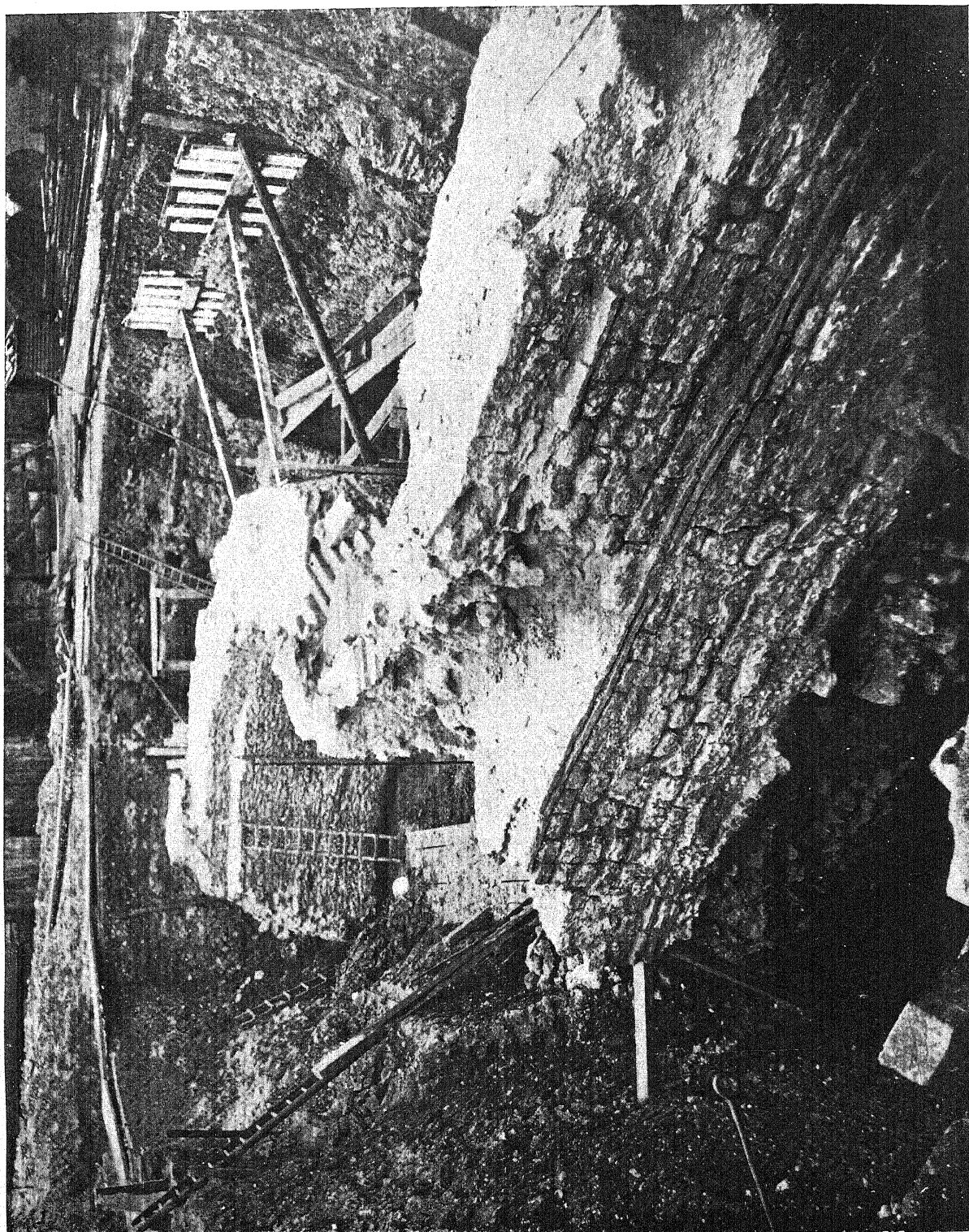
See p. 91.
From *Archæologia*, LXIII, by permission.



BASTION (18), SITE OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, now the General Post Office.
View looking S.W. in 1909. See p. 104.
From *Archæologia*, LXIII, by permission.

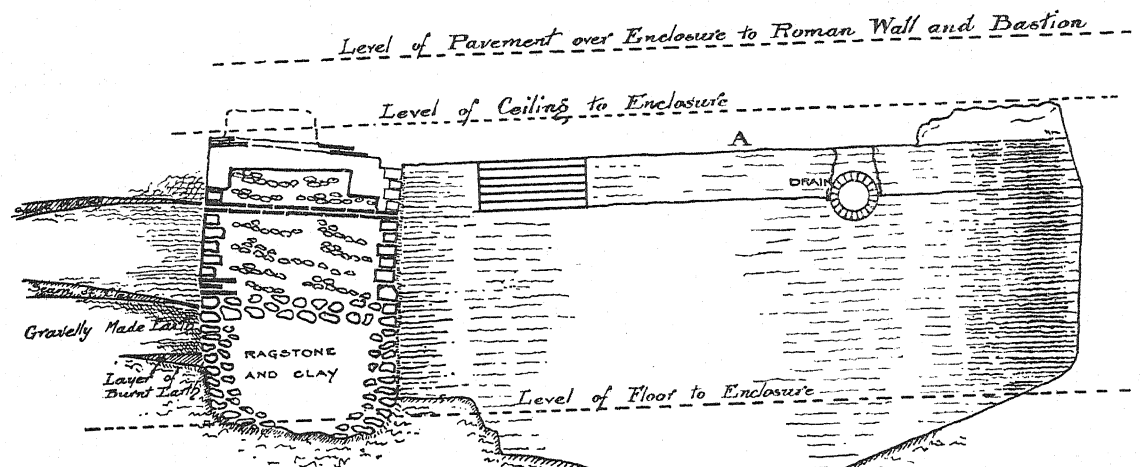


BASTION (19), SITE OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, now the General
Post Office. View of Interior in 1909. See p. 104.
From *Archæologia*, LXIII, by permission.

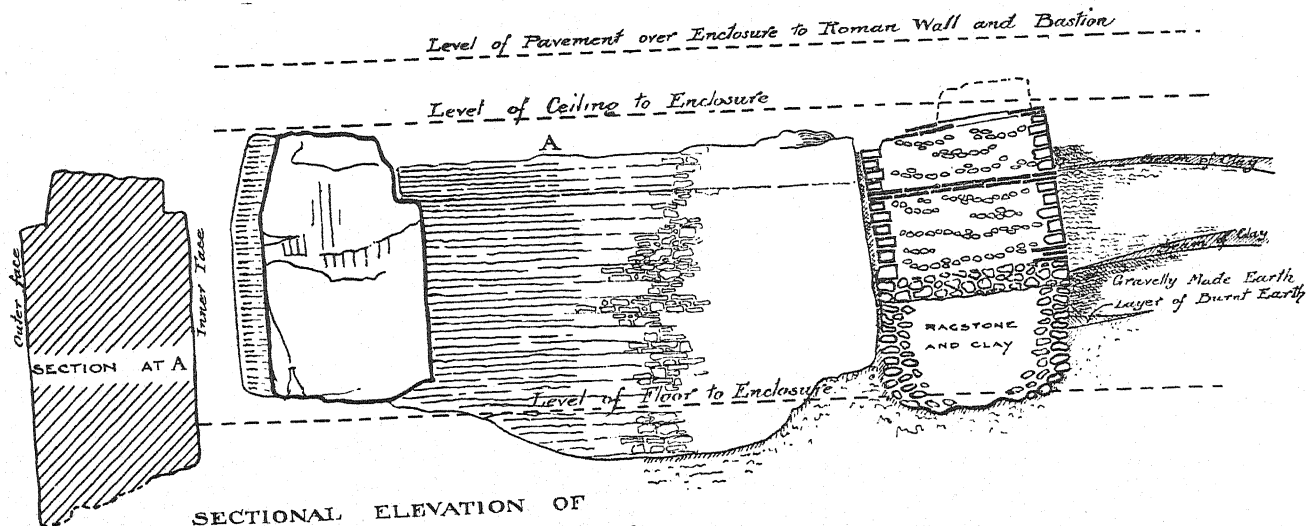


TOWN WALL (35) and BASTION (19), SITE OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, now the General Post Office.
View from inside of wall in 1909. See pp. 91 and 104.
From *Archeologia*, LXIII, by permission.

THE ROMAN WALL AND ANGLE BASTION CHRISTS HOSPITAL NOW THE G.P.O.



SECTION THRO' ROMAN WALL ALSO
EXTERNAL ELEVATION OF BASTION.



SECTIONAL ELEVATION OF
ROMAN WALL AND BASTION.

MEASURED AND DRAWN BY
FRANCIS R. TAYLOR. 1912.

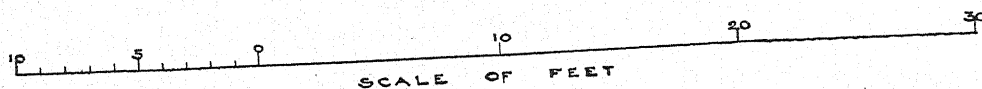


FIG. 28. From *Archæologia* LXIII, by permission.

the 16th or 17th centuries, contained only Roman objects. The upper part, which was apparently the artificial filling of the bastion, included masses of *opus signinum* flooring, fragments of rag-stone with mortar adhering, roofing-tiles, much Roman pottery, etc. The lower part had apparently not been disturbed by the building of the bastion, and represented surface-deposits antedating it. It

contained a few fragments of Roman pottery. This bastion is shown on Ogilby and Morgan's survey [Norman and Reader, *Arch.*, p. 286].

(20) and (21). Between Newgate and Ludgate, two bastions are shown on the map by John Leake, etc., engraved by Hollar in 1666. The more northern of the two was opposite Fleet Lane.

(B) STRUCTURES WITHIN THE WALLS.

In the following inventory, which is based upon that in the *Victoria County History* (1909), checked, amplified and added to from subsequent information, only those remains are included which represent Roman structures found *in situ*. References to non-structural finds are only mentioned in this section when they have a direct bearing upon the date or character of the site. The reference numbers to Plan A show, where possible, the position of each item on the large plan at the end of the volume.

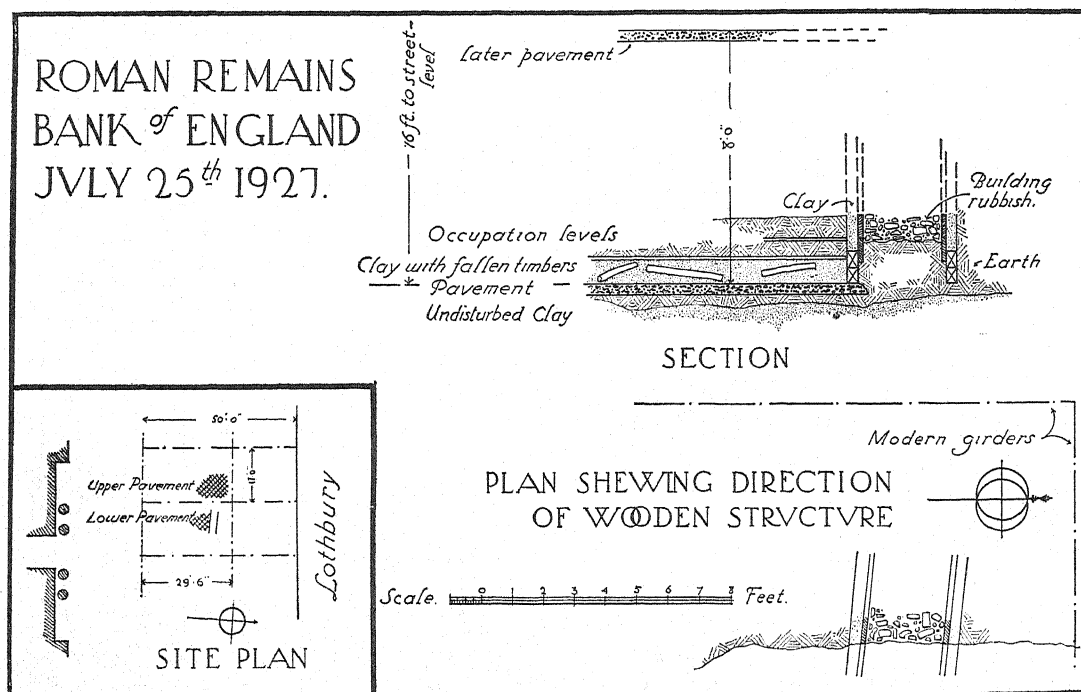


FIG. 29.

ABCHURCH LANE. A note on a City Sewers Plan of 1855 (III, 69) records the discovery of 36 ft. length of wall (Plan A 92) of rag-stone, chalk and flints, in the S. part of the lane N. of King William Street. The sewer was cut through the wall.

BANK OF ENGLAND. A pavement (Plate 47), now in the British Museum, was found in 1805 "under the S.W. (should read N.W.) angle of the building, 20 ft. W. of the W. gate of the Bank

(Plan A 69) opening into Lothbury, and the same distance S. of the carriageway, and 11 or 12 ft. below the street." It measured, in all, 11 ft. square, the central portion being 4 ft. square, and having a pattern of four acanthus leaves in a circle in red, black and grey, on a white field. The edges of the pavement were said to have shown traces of fire [*Arch.*, XXXIX, 491 ff. ; *Gent. Mag.*, 1807, I, 415; *Soc. Antiq. MS. Min.* XXXI, 63; a coloured drawing of this pavement is preserved in

Bod. Lib. Gough MSS., Map 19, 11]. Other pavements are recorded by Kelsey, covering the area between Princes Street, Lothbury, and Bartholomew Lane [Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 258]. A supposed Roman bust was found in digging foundations of the Bank (1733) [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. II, 14].

In 1926, a well (Plan A 71) lined with barrel-staves was found, immediately under the doorway from the old Rotunda to the Shutting. One stave (Plate 38) bore a stamped inscription (Inscriptions, No. 52). The associated pottery indicated a date of c. 100 [Antiq. Journ., VI, 186].

In July, 1927, a Roman concrete floor, (Plan A 70), about 3 in. thick with a pounded tile surface and of indeterminate extent, was cut through; it was about 12½ ft. below the pavement-level of Lothbury, and lay below the courtyard a little W. of the old main entrance from that street. A portion of another floor at a slightly lower level was found a few feet to the S.E. Some 10 ft. farther E. a second pavement of concrete (Fig. 29), 4 in. thick, was found resting almost immediately on the undisturbed clay and about 8 ft. below the first pavement. It was bounded on the N. by a double timber-framed structure (? wall or conduit) consisting of two framings 2½ ft. apart, and composed of 6-in. by 4-in. sills with boarding applied on each side, though only the boarding in the inner side remained in each case; the space between the boarding was packed with clay. The interval between the two framings was filled with building rubbish, broken bricks, tiles, wall-plaster, etc., lying on black earth. Lying on the original floor in a layer of clay 8 in. thick were the fallen timbers perhaps of a roof. Above this level there were traces of two subsequent habitation-levels. The ground to the N. of the timber structure was evidently outside the building. Between the levels of the upper and lower pavements were found numerous fragments of leather and 1st-century pottery, including graphite-coated ware, Samian with the stamps MOM, JVCUND, OF VITA. . . , MEMORIS M, etc., and little or nothing of later date [R.E.M.W. and A.C.].

BARTHOLOMEW LANE. A portion of a tessellated pavement in Bartholomew Lane (Plan A 72) was found in 1841 (probably when the church of St. Bartholomew was being destroyed), of which "a large piece was preserved by the city authorities, but it is not known where" [Arch., XXIX, 155]. Another account says: "A piece of tessellated pavement, consisting of a scroll of ivy-leaves in black upon a white ground, was found in a deserted cellar in Bartholomew Lane, but evidently not *in situ*" [Tite, *Cat. Antiq. Roy. Exch.*, XXXI].

BILLINGSGATE (Plan A 21). Quantities of piling were discovered about 1843, and taken by Price as evidence of a bridge at this point (towards Botolph

Wharf), E. of the present London Bridge, where also, he thought, was the harbour or landing-place, as the existence of a gate implies [see J. E. Price, *Rom. Antiq. Nat. Safe Deposit Co.'s Premises*, 18].

BIRCHIN LANE (Plan A 86). In 1786, an anonymous letter to Mr. Gough mentions the discovery of walls, etc., in digging for a sewer (Fig. 46). Opposite the houses Nos. 15 and 13, on the E. side of the sewer and near No. 12 on the W. side, and at the N. end of the lane on the W. side of the sewer, were walls of the same materials as that near the Post Office in Lombard Street (i.e. of rubble with brick bonding-courses). Opposite No. 14 was a pavement of coarse *tesserae* about 5 ft. long, sloping northwards. Opposite No. 11 were large fragments of figured tessellated pavement of various colours. Opposite No. 2 at a depth of 14 ft. was a pavement of chalk stones. Opposite No. 1 a wall crossed the sewer, and near the W. corner of the lane was a wall on the W. side of the sewer. At the N.W. corner of the lane was seen a corner of a pavement with a border of black, white, red and green *tesserae* [Arch., VIII, 119, with plan; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min., 72, 79, 92]. Fragments of wall-decoration in painted stucco were also recorded. E. B. Price says: "It is probable that some analogous fragments found in this locality within the last few years are portions of the same floor. They comprise portions of borderings with fanciful and complex patterns, and are in the Guildhall Museum." In 1857, part of another pavement representing a sea-horse was uncovered; this is probably the panel now in the Guildhall Museum [Arch. Rev., I, 274; Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Proc. E.M., 1861, 33], and in 1846, walls running across Birch Lane and Finch Lane (Plan A 84) and into Cornhill and Lombard Street, with tessellated pavements and remains, and a head sculptured in freestone were brought to light [Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc., II, 205].

BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHIN. In Bishopsgate Street, a short time before 1833, a gravel roadway was found at a depth of 20 ft., from which were thrown up fragments of amphoræ, etc. [Gent. Mag. (1833), II, 423].

A tessellated pavement (Fig. 30) was discovered in October, 1839, beneath the cellar of No. 101 (Plan A 54); it lay 53 ft. from the street and 15 ft. from Excise Yard, and was 13 ft. deep from street-level. In the same cellar, "a few years since," stood an arch contiguous to the street, formed of square flat tiles. The pavement was covered over with bricks to preserve it; the portion uncovered was of black and white *tesserae* in squares and diamonds. It probably formed part of the same building as that found on the site of the Excise Office (see BROAD STREET) [Arch., XXIX, 155, pl. 17, figs. 1, 2; Illus. Rom. Lond., pl. 8, fig. 1, p. 55; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 182].

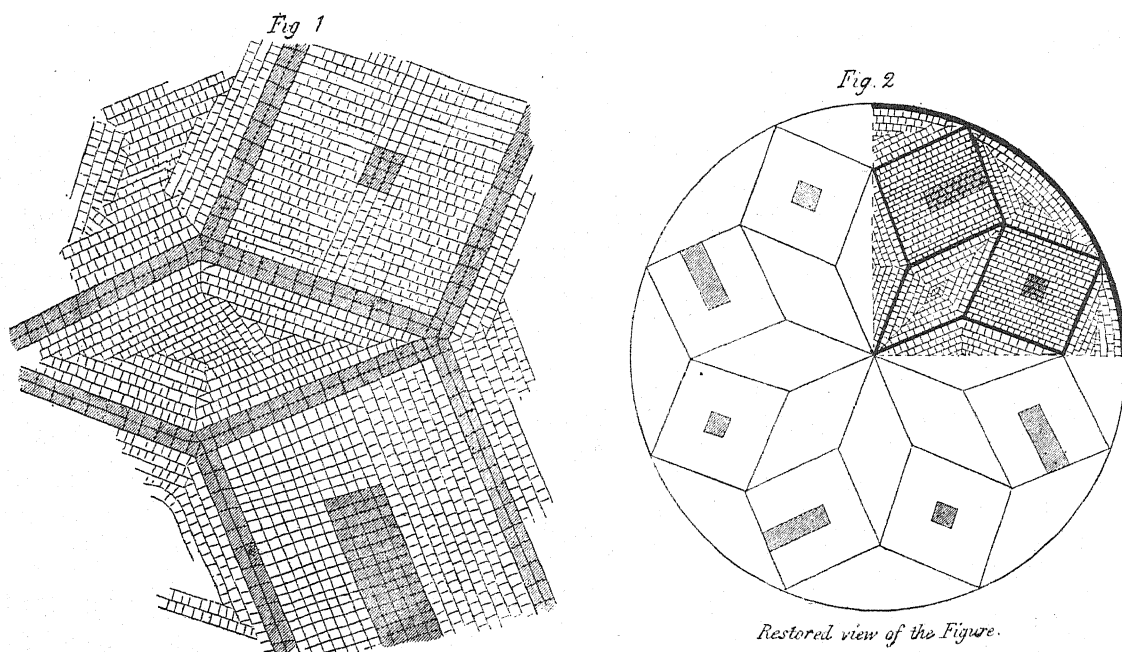


FIG. 30. Mosaic pavement under 101 Bishopsgate Street. From *Archæologia*, XXIX.

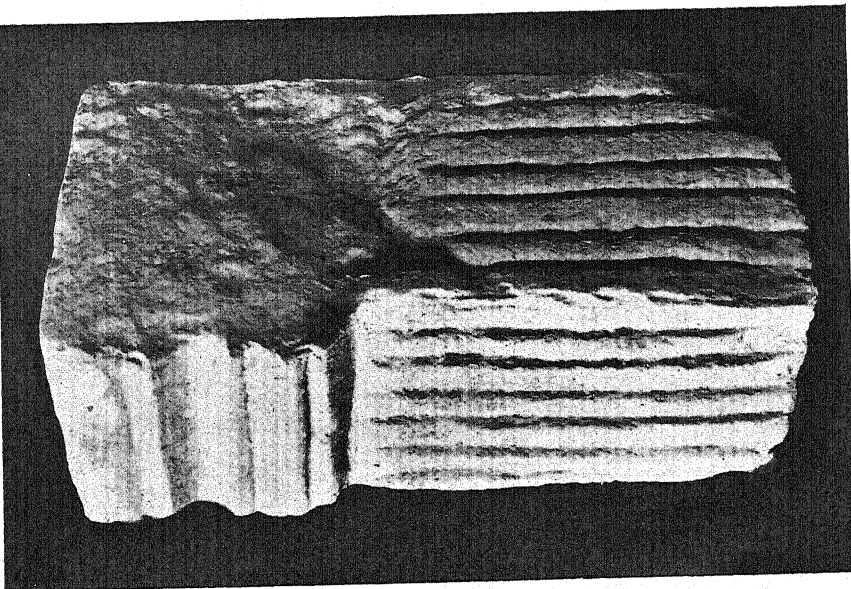
In 1873, a pavement was discovered at a depth of 7 ft. on the same side of the street; it had guilloche and trefoil patterns in red, white and black. Part only was exposed (and subsequently covered in); it must have extended beneath the roadway [*Illus. Lond. News*, 19th July, 2nd August, 1873]. In 1875 another similar pavement was found, on the W. side of the street, opposite Crosby Hall, (Plan A 55) under a building for Gordon and Co. The pavement was 4 yards square, 15 ft. below the pavement, and about 50 ft. W. of the street [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXXIII, 106]. In 1895, red mosaic pavement was found at Anthony Gibbs' counting-house at No. 15, Bishopsgate Street (Plan A 58). The part seen was about 6 ft. long by 2 ft. wide, extending northwards under the wall of the house. The depth was 16 to 17 ft. below the yard [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, XVI, 36]. In the Guildhall is a pavement [*Cat.* 7], probably one of the above.

In 1908, a pavement of plain red *tesserae* was found on the site of the public house, immediately at the back of Nos. 31 and 33 Bishopsgate Street and in Gresham House Court (Plan A 56). This pavement must have closely adjoined that found in 1839 under No. 101 (now No. 35) [*Arch.*, LXIII, 319].

BREAD ST. HILL. At the lower end of Bread St. Hill, near Thames Street (Plan A 164), two walls, crossing the street, are indicated on a City Sewers Plan of 1845 [I, 139]. The same plan shows a mass of masonry (Plan A 162) at the junction with Knighttrider Street (now under Queen Victoria Street). An engraving showing a Roman wall,

apparently running parallel to the sewer, was published in the *Illustrated London News*, July 20th, 1844.

BROAD STREET (OLD). Previous to 1805 were found "foundations and remains of pavements . . . within these few years, behind the old Navy Pay Office in Broad Street." They are said to have been about 7 ft. deep [*Gent. Mag.* (1807), I, 415-7]. The principal find near Broad Street has been the tessellated pavement (Plan A 57) unearthed in February, 1854, under the vaults of the S.E. part of the old Excise Office, on the E. side of the street. On approaching Bishopsgate Street, arched vaults with flat arches beneath were found 12 or 13 ft. below the street level, and under them a bed of coarse concrete, beneath which the first Roman remains appeared (fragments of pottery, glass, mortar, concrete, wall-plaster and coins), and finally the pavement. It was laid on a bed of hard cement with coarse concrete below resting on the natural soil, and formed the floor of a room 28 ft. square; it had been unsuccessfully mended in parts. "Northwards of this pavement we have found the floor of a room paved with dark red *tesserae*. The pavement was about 12 ft. square and the *tesserae* 17 in. square" (*sic*). It was noted that the site was lower than the Roman level in Bishopsgate Street. The design of the first pavement (Plates 39 and 48) has a central panel with a Bacchante on a panther; the other compartments are formed by stars of intersecting guilloches, inclosing various devices, and divided by lozenge patterns; there is an outer border of lotus flowers. The pavement was



BASTION (11), ALL HALLOWS', LONDON WALL.

Angle-pilaster re-used in the base.

See p. 103.

From *Archæologia*, LXIII, by permission.

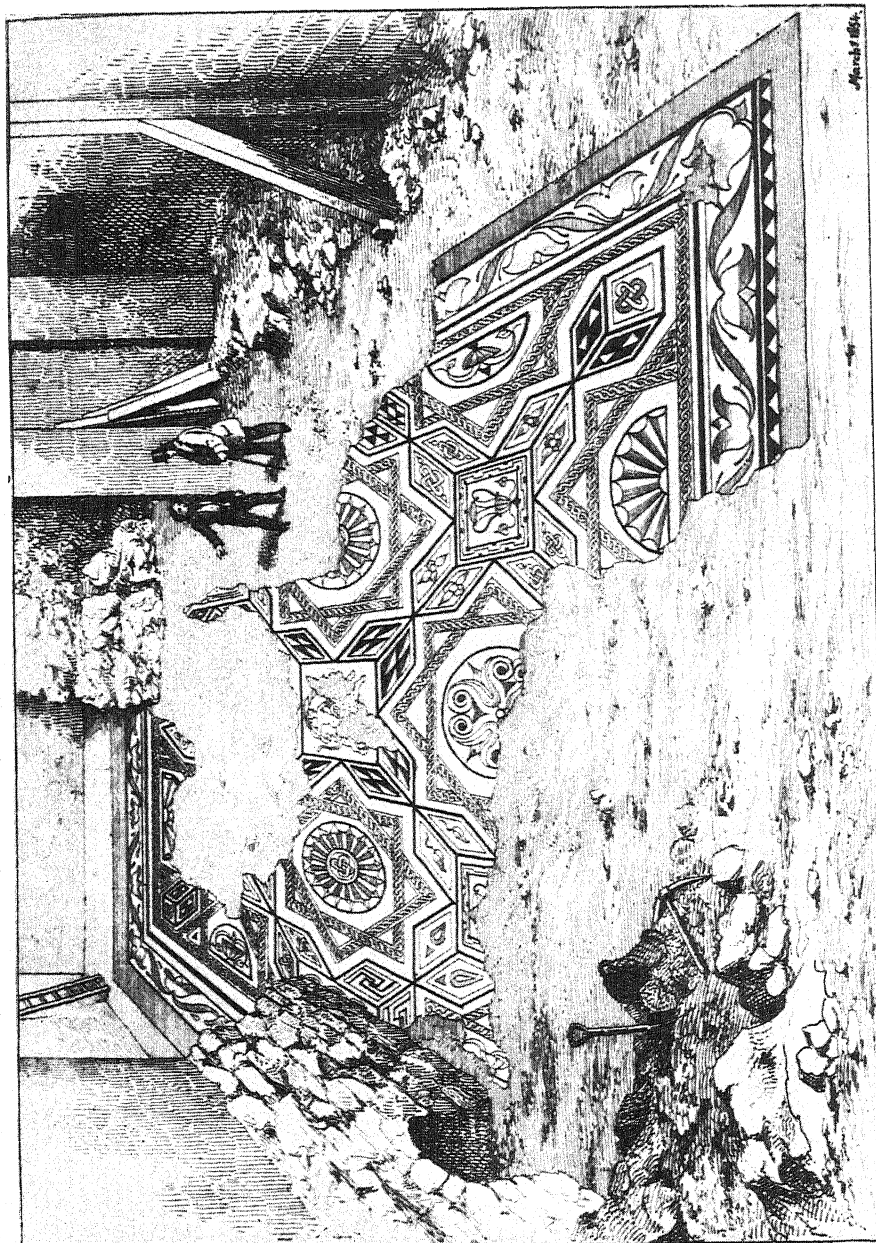


BANK OF ENGLAND. WELL OF BARREL-STAVES.

Stamped inscription on a stave.

See pp. 107 and 176, Inscription No. 52.

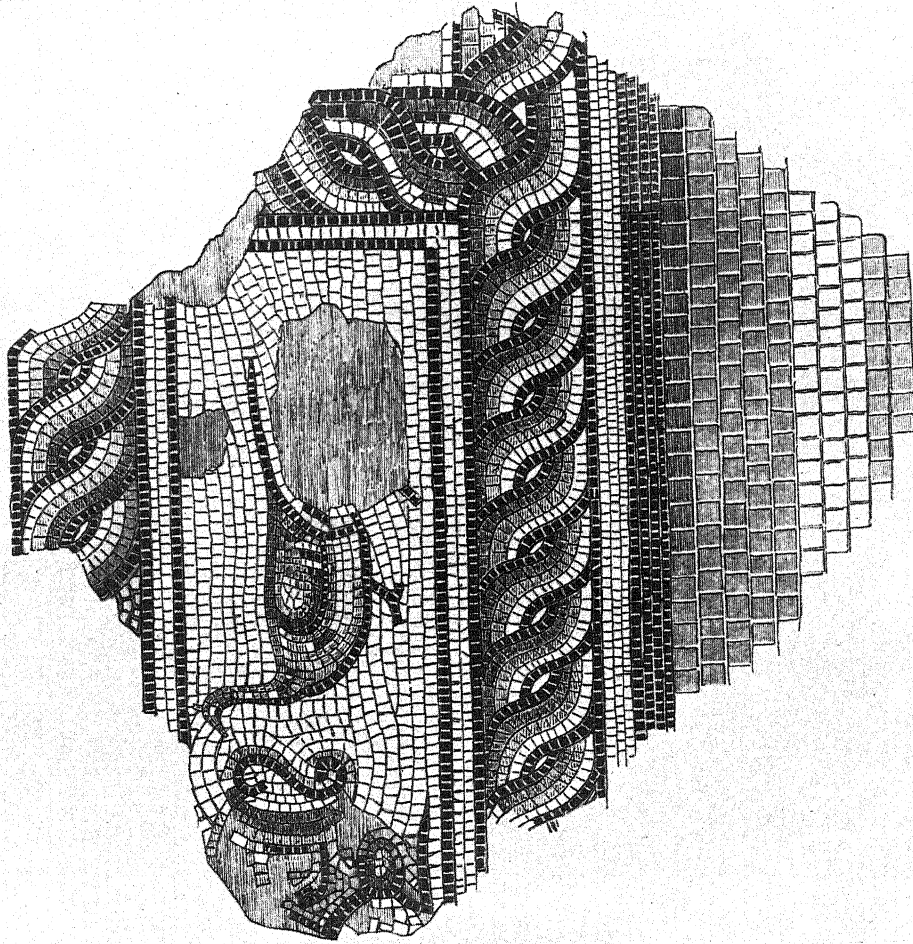
From the *Antiquaries Journal*, VI, by permission.



BROAD STREET (OLD). View of the tessellated pavement discovered under the Excise Office, 1854.

See p. 108 and Plate 48.

From *Illustrations of Roman London*, C. Roach Smith.



FENCHURCH STREET. Tessellated pavement found 1857. *British Museum.*

(About 2 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 6 in.) See p. 118.

From *Desc. of Rom. Tessel. Pavement in Bucklersbury*, J. E. Price.

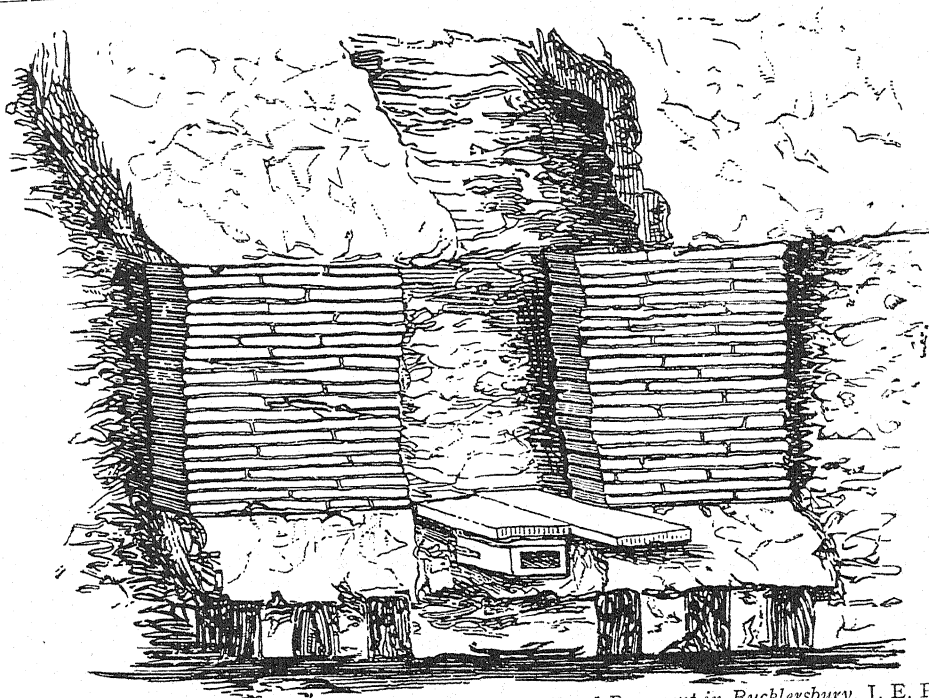


FIG. 31. Drain near Bucklersbury. From *Roman Tessellated Pavement in Bucklersbury*, J. E. Price.

removed to the Crystal Palace [*Arch.*, XXXVI, 203 ff., pls. 18, 19; *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, pl. 7, p. 54]. Another pavement was found in 1792, when making a sewer from St. Peter-le-Poer to Threadneedle Street (*sic*) (Plan A59) behind the old Navy Pay Office (Winchester House); it was circular in form, and a quantity of burnt corn and charcoal, with pottery and plated coins, lay upon it [*Arch.*, XXXIX, 493; *Coll. Antiq.*, III, 257]. A mosaic with a female head of life size, of glass and coloured stones is also reported [*Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 56].

BUCKLERSBURY. A fine pavement was found in the line of the present Queen Victoria Street (Plan A 125) in May, 1869, and is now in the Guildhall. It was 19 ft. below street-level, parallel with the stream and a very short distance from Walbrook, and forms a parallelogram, 13 ft. by 12½ ft., with a semicircular addition 7¼ ft. long at the N. end; the foundations of the inclosing walls (Plate 41) were of tile with blocks of chalk and rag-stone, on a chalk foundation, laid on square piles, 3 to 4 ft. long. There were indications of herring-bone brickwork, and a neatly turned plaster moulding running round the building. In the walls at three places were vertical flues. Fragments of stucco, painted red and blue, were also found, and round the semicircular part were vertical flues; below was a hypocaust with rows of flanged tiles supporting the concrete. At the N.E. corner was a drain formed of semicircular roof-tiles 7 in. across. This pavement (Plate 42), considered to be the most

perfect, and by some the finest, found in London, has a border of guilloche inclosing interlacing squares, one in colours, the other in white and black, with floral ornaments in the centre. Above is a floral scroll, and round the semicircle a guilloche inclosing a scale-pattern formed in parti-coloured rays. Round the whole are plain borders of red, white, and yellow *tesserae*. It is probably of fairly early date, about the time of Hadrian. At the S.E. end was a small portico 5 ft. 5½ in. by 4 ft. evidently a doorway, paved with red *tesserae* and surrounded by a timber frame, to the right of which ran a passage floored with concrete parallel with the floor; part of a wooden paling adjoining seems to suggest a veranda facing the Walbrook. At a distance of 90 ft. from the pavement in a westerly direction, at a depth of 17½ ft. from the surface of Bucklersbury, two Roman walls (Fig. 31) were cut through, nearly in a line with Bucklersbury, towards Walbrook. The foundation was of wooden piles driven into the clay, and on these rest blocks of chalk. On this again were two well-built walls of brick 2¾ ft. thick and 2¼ ft. apart; in this space surrounded with chalk blocks was a drain of ordinary flue-tiles, laid to fall towards the brook. Over this was a tiled pavement with a small fillet or skirting of mortar against the walls. Over this were later walls, probably mediaeval. J. E. Price also mentioned a well or cesspool, 16 ft. S.W. from the pavement, about 4 ft. in diameter; it was not cleared to the bottom. It was formed of hewn blocks of chalk, the upper part probably later, and

M

was thought to be a Roman latrine [J. E. Price, *Descr. of Rom. Tessell. Pavement in Bucklersbury*, 1870 (illustrated); *Guildhall Mus. Cat.*, p. 72, pl. 55].

BUDGE ROW (Plan A 123). Mr. Gunston stated that in January, 1853, he descended into an excavation made for a new sewer, and at a depth of 15 ft. distinctly traced the remains of a Roman wall constructed of rubble, layers of tile, and concrete [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, IX, 84; see under CANNON STREET].

BUSH LANE. After the Great Fire some labourers, digging foundations of houses in Scots Yard, found at 20 ft. deep, "a Tessellated Pavement, with the Remains of a large Building or Hall," supposed at the time to indicate respectively the Roman

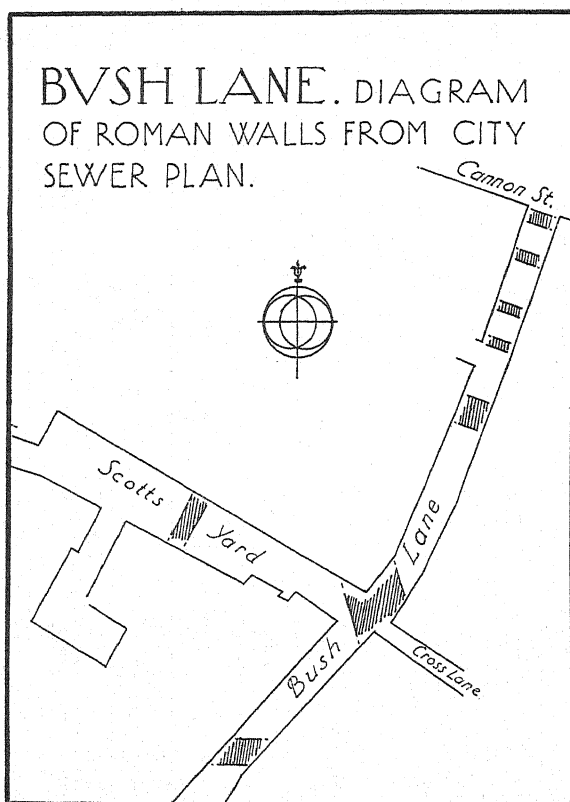


FIG. 32.

governor's palace and the Basilica. Four holes full of charred wood were supposed to have been for piles, and as the substructure of the pavement was composed of artificial earth containing bricks and broken glass, it was thought that the building was destroyed by Boudicca [Wren, *Parentalia*, 265; Stow, *Survey* (ed. Strype), II, App. V, 23; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 176; Maitland, *Hist. of Lond.*, I, 17; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. VIII, 25a]. Bagford, writing in 1714, said that part of the pavement ("of Caesar's tent") was in the museum

of the Royal Society [Leland, *Coll.* (ed. Hearne), I, 60]. In 1840-1, at the lower end of the lane (Plan A 109), was found a wall of rag-stone and tiles, running 50 ft. northwards until met by a similar transverse wall. Fragments of pottery and frescoes, tiles and bricks, were found. Advancing up the lane, walls of considerable thickness crossed (only one of these shown on sewer-plan and figured 10 ft. thick), much fresco, pieces of tessellated pavement, tiles, but "opposite Scots Yard (Plan A 110) a formidable wall of extraordinary thickness, was found to cross the street diagonally; it measured in width 20 ft. (figured 22 ft. on sewer-plan); it was built of flints and rag with occasional masses of tiles. On the N. side, however, there was such a preponderance of flints, and on the S. such a marked excess of rag-stone," as to indicate two dates; it was very hard and had to be drilled; the depth of excavation was 15 ft. and top of wall 6 ft. below pavement-level; adjoining the N. side of the wall, "and running absolutely upon it was a pavement of white *tesserae*, together with a flooring of lime and pounded tiles, supporting the tiles of a hypocaust in rows of about one dozen 2 ft. apart"; with these were several flue tiles adapted as pillars. The remaining portion of Bush Lane was intersected by the walls of houses as far as Cannon St., the last met with, running under the pavement of that street. These five walls are figured on the sewer-plan (Fig. 32) as (from S. to N.) 10 ft. 7 in., 3 ft., 3 ft., 3½ ft. and 4 ft. thick respectively. In Scot's Yard opposite the great wall (Plan A 111), at depth of 8 ft. was another wall 8 ft thick (figured 6 ft. thick on sewer-plan) of "oblong tiles" and mortar. It descended to a depth of 13 ft., where alongside were pavements of lime and gravel. One of the tiles found, a hollow cube in form, is now in the British Museum [*Arch.*, XXIX, 156, 402; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. XXXVIII, 152; City Sewers Plan, Guildhall, I, 116]. Roach Smith thought that these massive substructures indicated a south-eastern boundary wall with a flanking tower. Another wall, about 200 ft. in length, 10 ft. high and 12 ft. thick, was discovered in the excavations for Cannon Street Railway Station; this inclosed foundations supporting smaller walls, 3 ft. wide, composed principally of tiles, connected by similar cross walls [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, III, 213; see also CANNON STREET STATION and THAMES STREET, UPPER]. The evidence here, as in most cases, is very vague, but that there must have been an extensive building or series of buildings in this locality seems clear.

In Little Bush Lane (Plan A 112) to the S. a wall of tile and rag was found in 1846, extending across the street, also the base of a column [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, II, 341]; and in Chequers Court on the W. (now covered by Cannon Street Station) two fragments of tiles were discovered in 1841, one inscribed P.BR.BII, the other BR. [*Arch.*, XXIX,

157; *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 114; *Corp. Inscr. Latin*, VII, 1255; both tiles now in British Museum].

In 1910, a wall of rubble, about 9 ft. thick and 8 ft. high was found at No. 10 Bush Lane (Plan A 113), "filling the N.W. corner of the site, which it crossed diagonally, continuing under the roadway in one direction, and passing under the adjoining buildings in the other" [*Arch.*, LXIII, 319]. This wall closely adjoined the southernmost wall shown on the sewers plan of 1840.

CAMOMILE STREET. In April, 1707, "upon the pulling down some old houses adjoining to Bishops Gate in Camomile St. (Plan A 51) in order to the building there anew and digging to make cellars about 4 ft. under ground, was discovered a pavement consisting of diced bricks. . . . The extent of the pavement in length was uncertain, it running from Bishops Gate for 60 ft. quite under the foundations of some houses not yet pulled down. Its breadth was about 10 ft. terminating on that side at the distance of three foot and a half from the city-wall." The colours of the *tesserae* were red, black and yellow. Under the pavement were 2 ft. of rubbish and then a stratum of clay in which, at a depth of 2 ft. more, were several urns of various sizes and containing bones; with them were found various objects and a coin of Antoninus Pius [*Woodward's Letter to Wren*, 12-14; hence *Gent. Mag.* (1807), I, 415].

CANNON STREET (including the former DISTAFF LANE, LITTLE FRIDAY STREET, BASING LANE and LITTLE ST. THOMAS APOSTLE). Set in a stone case in the front S. wall of St. Swithin's Church is the large rounded block of stone known as London Stone. It stood formerly on the S. side of the street (Plan A 114) "near to the channel," says Stow, pitched upright, fixed in the ground very deep and fastened with bars of iron. In building operations, after the Great Fire, it was found to have a large foundation, and "in the adjoining ground on the S. side (upon digging for cellars . . .) were discovered some tessellated pavements, and other extensive remains of Roman workmanship and buildings." In 1742, the stone was moved to the N. side of the street, and reset close to the wall near the S.W. door of St. Swithin's church. It was again moved in 1798. Its original position is recorded on Strype's plan of Walbrook Ward. The block is now quite formless, and there is no evidence of its original use. Camden considered it to have been a Roman milestone, but as Stow says: "the cause why this stone was set there, the time when, or other memory hereof is none" [Stow, *Survey* (ed. Kingsford) I, 224; *Ibid.* (ed. Strype), II, 119; Wren, *Parentalia*, 265-6].

Strype says: "In Canning Street nigh Bush Lane (Plan 115) was found pretty deep in the

Earth, a large pavement of Roman mosaic work." Dr. Hook gave a piece of it to the Repository in Gresham College [Stow, *Survey* (ed. Strype), II, App. V, 23].

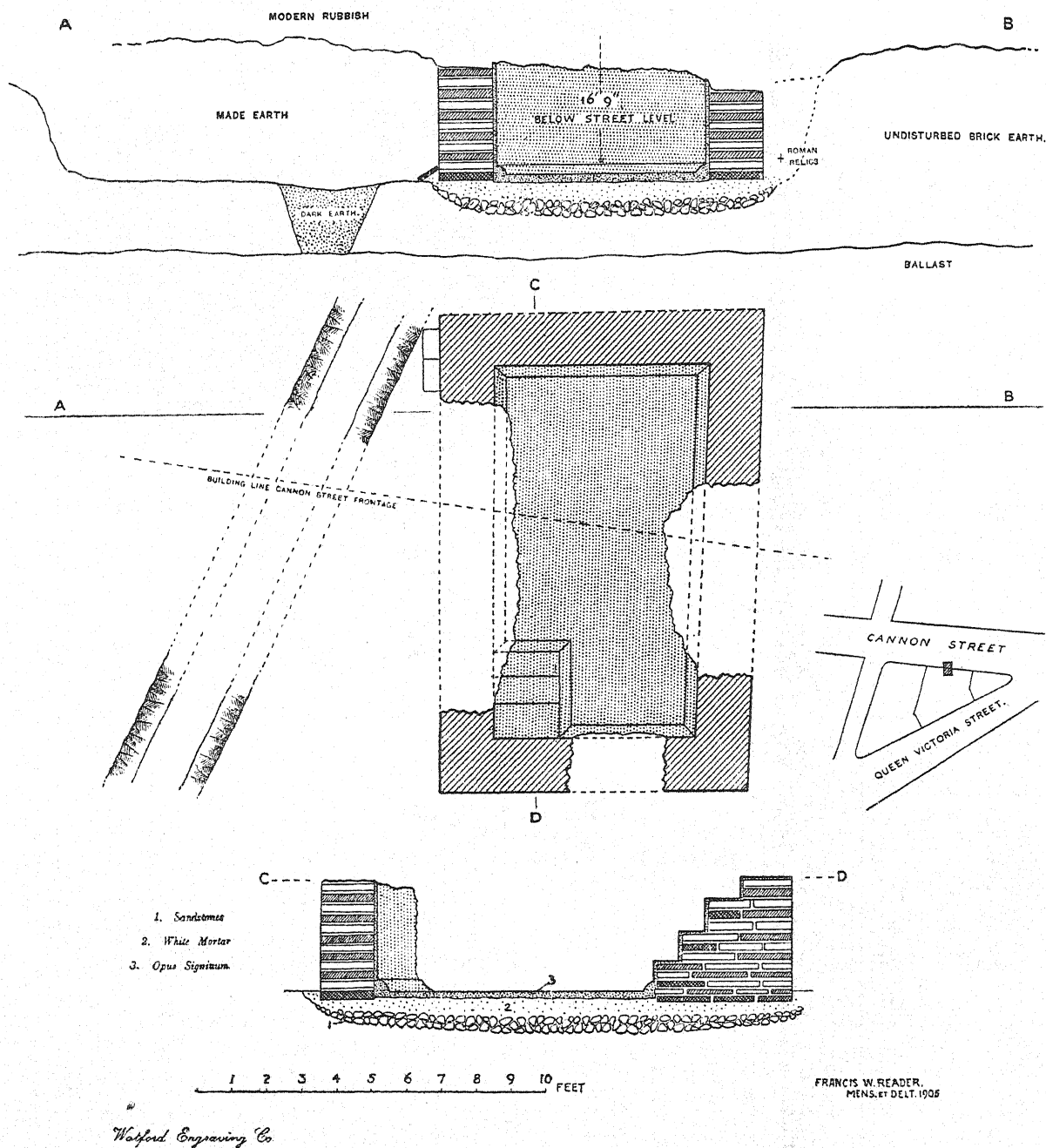
During drainage work in 1845, along the line of this thoroughfare, in the western part, formerly known as Basing Lane (Plan A 153), "portions of immense walls with occasional layers of bond-tiles and in some cases (as at Great Trinity Lane) exhibiting the remains of fresco paintings, afforded frequent evidence of the massive and important character of the edifices which anciently occupied this site" [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, I, 254]. A City Sewers Plan [I, 139] of this period marks the position of walls (Fig. 43) found in Little Friday Street (Plan A 155). In the eastern part, at the crossing of Queen Street (Plan A 157), fragments of a tessellated pavement in black and white, were found in 1850 [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. I), II, 93]. In 1852, a portion of a pavement (Plan A 156) composed of red *tesserae*, without any pattern, was found in Cannon Street a little E. of Basing Lane [*Arch. Journ.*, IX, 297].

In the Spring of 1852, in New Cannon Street, on the removal of houses just demolished, on the S. side of Watling Street near Walbrook, (Plan A 122), fragments of the Tower Royal were found and below them, at a depth of 12 ft., Roman walls, 3 ft. thick, built of rag, chalk and tiles, on a foundation of wooden piles; a little to the W. was 20 ft. of plain tessellated pavement (in red *tesserae*). At 60 ft. due N. from the frontage, stood three piers, 6 ft. apart formed of the ordinary tiles, 14½ in. by 11 in. [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, X, 144; *Illus. Lond. News*, 1852, I, 308]. In 1854, in New Cannon Street, 20 ft. from the frontage, a thick Roman wall of rubble and layers of red and yellow tiles were found at what is now the crossing of Queen Victoria Street, near which was a concrete floor of lime, sand, and broken tiles [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, X, 111. Section of earlier excavations given in Jewitt's *Reliquary*, 1st S., IV, 49].

In 1877 another pavement was found on the N. side of Cannon Street, two or three doors W. of the junction with Bow Lane (Plan A 153), in digging for new buildings. It was of white and black *tesserae* with a border of red and was 12 ft. below the street-level. A few walls of chalk were also encountered [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXXVIII, 260].

A small Roman bath (Plan A 154) was discovered in 1906 (Fig. 33) on the site of the Fire Brigade station [*Arch.*, LX, 214 (Plan)].

In March, 1926, the base-stone (Plate 20) of a gable was found at a depth of 15 ft. under the N. side of the roadway a few feet to the W. of Bread Street [Q.W.].

FIG. 33. Bath in Cannon Street. From *Archæologia*, LX.

CANNON STREET STATION. A note on a City Sewers Plan of June, 1850 [II, 123], reads:— "While excavating for sewer in Turnwheel Lane (Plan A 116) we met with an old wall, running across the lane as shown on (accompanying) plan, with Kentish rag and chalk, 6 ft. from the surface to the top of the wall and 5 ft. thick. At 11 ft.

from the surface and close against the face of the wall lay a piece of oak timber in a horizontal position, 14 in. by 12 in., quite black but sound." The site is now covered by Cannon Street Station.

During the excavations for Cannon Street Railway Station (Plan A 117) in 1868 were brought to light remains of buildings which are described as



LARGE PLAN OF BUCKLEBSURY PAVEMENT.

Guildhall Museum.

Malby & Sons, Lith.

follows:—"The numerous piles and transverse beams which extended across Thames Street were traced to a considerable distance along the river bank, and in an upward direction towards Cannon Street. So complete a network of timber did they form, and so massive and durable were the means employed for holding the entire fabric together, that it is evident it was intended to resist a heavy strain or pressure. The Walbrook here flowed into the Thames, and the drainage of the old city being on a different scale to what it now is, it is probable that the soil of the locality would be damp and yielding, and that some protection for the foundations of the buildings reared along the water line would be necessary against the inroads of the river. Above this embankment buildings of great magnitude must have existed, if we may judge from the strength and solidity of these foundations. Running nearly in a line with Bush Lane was an immense external wall, some 200 ft. long, 10 ft. high, and 12 ft. in thickness, formed of rag-stone, chalk, and a variety of materials bound together with mortar in the ordinary Roman fashion. At an angle were foundations 8 ft. wide of flint and rubble supporting smaller walls, some 3 ft. wide, composed principally of bonding tiles 18 in. by 12 in. These were connected by a series of cross walls 2 ft. 6 in. thick, and built of flat tiles 14 in. by 11 in., also set on rubble footings 4 ft. in width. Still nearer Cannon Street were the remains of an apartment 50 ft. by 40 ft., floored with a coarse red concrete; this was connected with a second, which had access to a third but smaller room. A long series of smaller apartments were satisfactorily traced, with floors of coarse *tesserae* of red and yellow brick in cubes about an inch square. Some little distance in front of the centre apartment in this series was a square piece of paving comprised of oblong bricks on edge, known as 'herring-bone pavement.' Adjoining a thick rubble wall was a large portion of a mosaic pavement, comprised of half-inch cubes of black, white, red and grey *tesserae*, worked into a simple pattern and surrounded by a double border of black and grey stones of a compact nature and from 4 to 6 in. square, but varying in thickness. In close proximity to this human remains were found. There were evidences of strong timber drains, or waterways, one 5 ft. beneath the foundations of the building, and having a steep incline to the river. This measured 4 ft. across, and was 18 in. deep, the boards forming the sides being 4 in., and those at the bottom 6 in. in thickness. The other channels were of smaller dimensions. Within several of the rooms wall paintings remained, the designs in various colours: some divided by lines and bands into panels, others ornamented by a trellis-pattern, or powdering of fancy-coloured spots; besides a quantity of roofing, hypocaust, and building tiles,

fragments of pottery, glass and articles of personal and domestic use. On many of the tiles were the letters PP. BR. LON" [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, III, 212].

CARTER LANE. A few years before 1909, during the rebuilding of No. 56 Carter Lane (Plan A 172) a wall was found, 8 ft. thick and of rag-stone with layers of tiles running diagonally across the site from N.W. to S.E. [*V.C.H. London*, I, 1909, 69].

CHEAPSIDE. Bagford, writing in 1714-15, mentions a pavement found at a depth of 15 ft., about a hundred years previously [Leland, *Coll.* (2nd ed. Hearne), I, 74]. At the entrance to Bread Street (Plan A 147), 12 ft. from the surface, a chalk wall crossed Cheapside diagonally towards Wood Street and apparently entered that street [*Arch.*, XXVII, 150 (1838)]. In 1861, part of a pavement was found, at a depth of 14 ft., opposite Bow Church, with a border of red and white *tesserae* [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XVII, 328]. In the Guildhall Museum is part of a pavement [*Cat.*, p. 72, No. 3], perhaps the one found in 1861.

CLEMENT'S LANE (Plan A 99). In digging for sewers in 1841, walls were found crossing the street at 12 ft. to 15 ft. depth, 3 ft. in thickness, and composed of flints, rubble, and tiles, also fragments of pavements [*Arch.*, XXIX, 272]. "In 1878, a collection of Roman glass from this site was exhibited to the Archaeological Association including a mass of green and white glass-slag weighing nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ cwt., also two small masses of blue glass, each retaining part of the pot in which they were inserted, a rim of an urn of olive glass, a portion of a basin with filigree lines of white, a handle of a small cantharus, a portion of imitative chalcedony, two 'mixers,' one having within a white line and cut without in Roman facets and what appears intended as a lachrymatory, also a bowl of iron from the blue Roman earth, for pressing and moulding the ornamental portions of glass vessels presenting a pattern very similar to those from Cyprus." These discoveries naturally suggest that glass was manufactured on the spot [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXXIV, 254]. A complete amphora, now in the Guildhall, was found with five or six others standing in a row, about 1876; others were found in 1865 [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, III, 100]. In 1878, fragments of a tessellated pavement were found close to St. Clement's Church [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXXIV, 134].

CLOAK LANE (Plan A 120). Wooden piles similar to those found in Princes Street are said to have been found here, also two spear-heads and some concrete pavement [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, II, 341]. In 1846, an inscription was found (see p. 172). In excavating for the District Railway in 1888, and under the site of St. John the Baptist, Walbrook (Plan A 121), "part of the floor of a

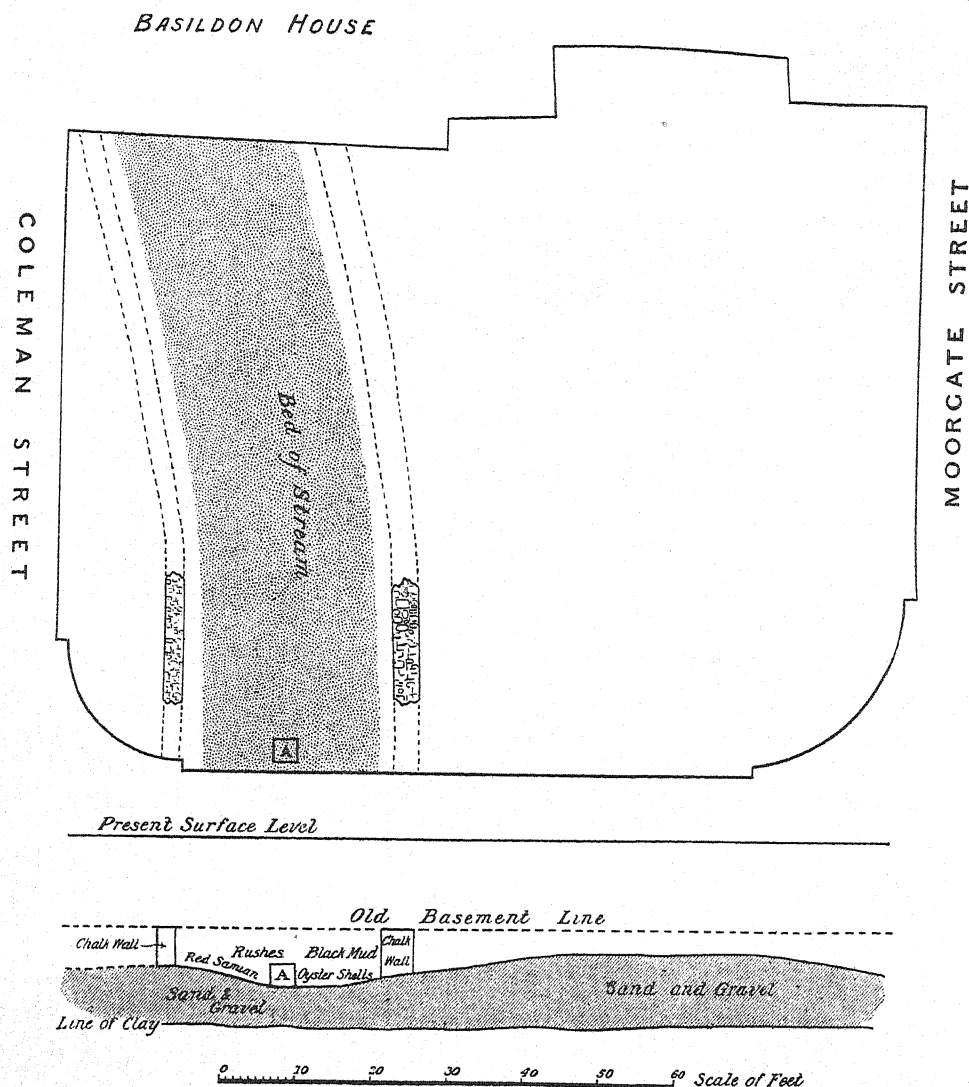


FIG. 34. Stream depression, Coleman Street. From *Archæologia*, LXIII.

Roman villa" was found [*Antiq.*, XVII, 175]; the pavement, now in the Guildhall Museum [*Cat.*, p. 72, No. 20], is of the herring-bone type. It was found at a depth of 21 ft., and near it was "a large quantity of stout oak piling and the sill of a bridge which crossed the brook from E. to W." In 1905, remains of piles were found in the bed of the Walbrook, with Roman pottery [*Arch.*, LX, 230].

COLEMAN STREET. J. E. Price mentions a brick floor, in Coleman Street Buildings (Plan A 135), apparently vitrified by heat; it was found in 1843 at a depth of 20 ft. [*Bucklersbury Pavement*, 54].

In 1907, the depression (Fig. 34) formed by a western arm of the Walbrook was found on the W. side of a site (Plan A 134) bounded by Coleman Street, Moorgate Street and Lothbury. The depression was bounded for a short distance on

both sides by chalk walls; between them the filling was black mud and rushes and contained a Samian pot, with the stamp PRITMA. At the S. end of the depression was a wooden enclosure 3 ft. square, perhaps to protect a spring or for drawing water [*Arch.*, LXIII, 312, with plan].

COLLEGE STREET, DOWGATE HILL. In excavating for the rebuilding of Dyers' Hall (Plan A 119), in 1839, remains of a pavement were found at 13 ft. 8 in. (*Illus. Rom. London* says 15 to 16 ft.) below the surface; also pottery and coins. The lower part of the ground in which the above were found, for 4½ ft. in thickness, appeared to be the sediment from water, probably the ancient Walbrook, and in it, scattered over the surface, was a large quantity (20 cwt.) of animal bones [*Gent. Mag.* (1839), II, 636; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* I, 206; *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 59].

COPTHALL AVENUE (formerly LITTLE BELL ALLEY). A note on a City Sewers Plan of 1851-2 (III, 1) records that, in Little Bell Alley (Plan A 62), between London Wall and New Court, vertical oak piles were met with, and horizontal planking which seemed to have formed the embankment of the Walbrook. On the removal (December, 1906) of the houses Nos. 10 and 12, on the E. side of the avenue, many piles were found on all parts of the site. The undisturbed surface shelved towards the E., where the loam gave place to stream-deposit of washed gravel and sand; the whole was covered with 5 or 6 ft. of black mud [*Arch.*, LX, 232, with site-plan].

An excavation at the N. end of Cophthall Avenue in 1923 revealed numerous piles in the 12 ft. of "mud, peat and slurry" lying above the London Clay [Information from City Corporation].

CORBET COURT, GRACECHURCH STREET. A wall here is mentioned by Kelsey [*Descr. of Sewers*, 100].

In 1872, remains of massive walls, about 9 ft. thick, of chalk, rubble and mortar, with a few tiles, came to light beneath the Norman crypt (Plan A 35), S. of Corbet Court; fragments of pottery, found therewith, seem to support the view that they were Roman [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXVIII, 179, with plan]. See also under GRACECHURCH STREET and LEADENHALL MARKET.

CORNHILL. In the British Museum is a vase, from Roach Smith's collection, with figures in *appliqué*; it was found, together with remains of a wall, between Bank Buildings and the Royal Exchange (Plan A 74) in 1841; a shaft only was sunk, but the wall appeared to run in the direction of the Bank; thickness 7 ft., height 14 ft., depth 20 ft. from the bottom to the street-level. [*Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 97; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.*, pl. 6; *Déchelette*, II, 187; *Arch.*, XXIX, 273].

In 1891 a series of substantial walls (Fig. 35) was found under No. 50 Cornhill (Plan A 81). They were of rubble with fragments of Roman brick, and extended down to some 21½ ft. below the pavement-level. The walls were standing 9 ft. high and were thought by Mr Grover to have been foundations formed in trenches; he states that one piece of the superstructure (Plate 43) survived "under the (St. Michael's) church at the S.W. corner. It is a large block of carefully worked ashlar sandstone, laid on the top of the rubble wall, the only accessible stone of a course on which a good Roman brick wall is built." Three wells were found, two of which are said to have been Roman, some tessellated pavement, etc. A fragment of the N. face of the southern wall is still exposed in the basement of the modern building. Some doubt has been expressed as to whether the southern group of these walls was of Roman date. The original plan in the Soc. Antiq. Library [Brown

Portfolio] shows that the walls were parallel and aligned with those of the Basilica (Fig. 3). The plan reproduced in *Arch.* LX is thus incorrect [*Antiq.*, XXIV, 212; cf. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 20th August, 1891; fuller details in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), XIV, 6; see also *Arch.*, LX, 223, plan].

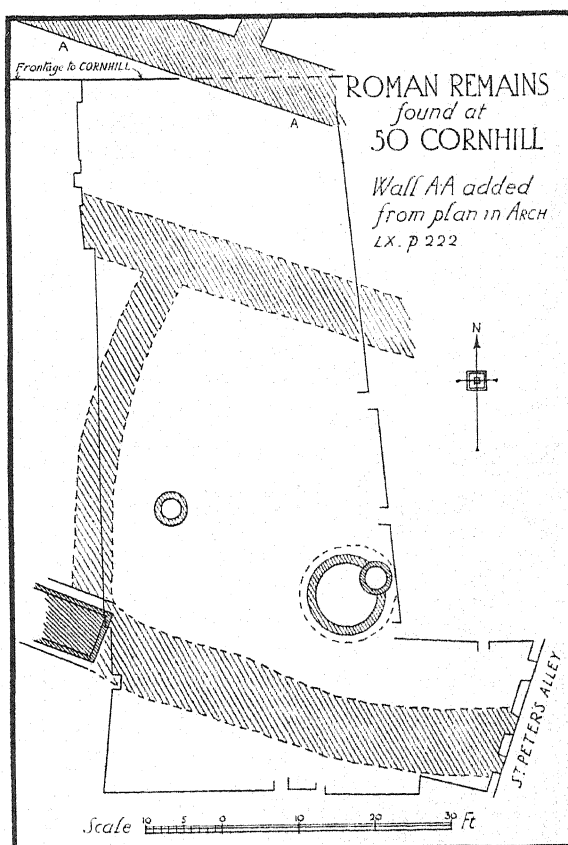


FIG. 35.

In 1897 a Roman wall was found in the foundations of the new building (Plan A 79) on the N. side of Cornhill for the Union Bank of Australia [*Midd. and Herts. Notes and Queries*, 1897].

In 1922, on the demolition of Nos. 56 and 57 Cornhill, (Plan A 80), on the N. side of St. Peter's Church, 6 or 7 ft. of Roman walling was uncovered running at a slight angle under the wall of the church. The wall had a double course of bonding-tiles and would appear to be in a line with the transverse wall found in 1921-2 near the top of Gracechurch Street [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, N.S. V, 49]. The wall is described by Dr. P. Norman as follows:—"The top of it, as far as it remained, was about 9 ft. 6 in. below the pavement. The builders' excavations only went a little lower; a special hole was therefore dug in order to find a short stretch of the northern face

of the wall down to its foundations which were met at a depth of 17 ft. Its thickness could not be ascertained, as the southern face is under St. Peter's. In construction—four or five courses of squared rag-stone alternating with two to five courses of tiles—and in direction this wall corresponds closely with those found under Leadenhall Market in 1880–1, and with the wall found in Gracechurch Street in November, 1921. The Cornhill wall, indeed, appears to be a western continuation of that already described. It has been remarked that the southern face of this was plastered; on the Cornhill wall a tiny piece of plaster was left, showing traces of red paint" [*Antiq. Journ.*, II, 260; *Journ. Rom. Studies*, XI, 219].

About the same time on the demolition of No. 36 at the E. angle of Birchin Lane (Plan A 83), a wall was found 4½ ft. back from the frontage and passing under Ball Court; the top was about 9 ft. below the pavement, but there was some doubt as to its Roman date. It was stated at the time that a second wall had been found running diagonally across the extreme N.W. angle of the site [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, N.S., V, 49].

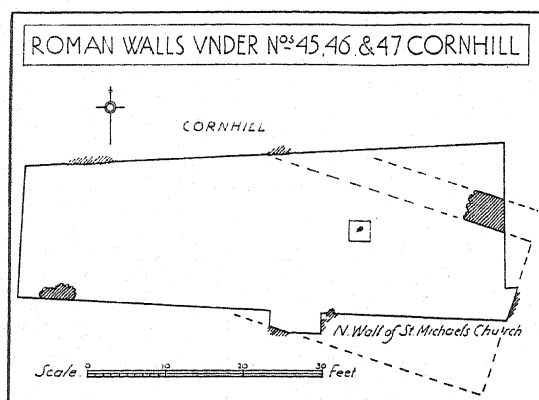


FIG. 36.

In 1923–4, on the demolition of the houses between St. Michael's church and the road (Plan A 82), considerable fragments of Roman walling (Fig. 36) were found, the largest of which was apparently part of a thick wall (about 5 ft.) running diagonally across the site in a north-easterly direction, and apparently continuing towards the porch of the church. In the E. half of the site were found portions of three walls forming three sides of a rectangular apartment. The northern wall was composed of four courses of brick with four or five courses of rag-stone below; the southern wall was of similar construction; the brick courses in the eastern wall were not at the same level as those in the northern wall; above the bricks in the eastern wall was a course of ashlar. A shallow sinking near the middle of the site passed through the base of a wall perhaps of earlier date.

A brick stamped P.P.BR.LON was found loose in the excavations [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, N.S., V, 189, with plan, and A.C.].

In 1926, on clearing the site of No. 15 Cornhill (Plan A 87), a wall was found running N. by W. under Cornhill. The wall was about 4 ft. thick, and stood on gravel 14 ft. below the street-level; it was of rag-stone with some tiles and a double bonding-course of tiles; the wall remained standing to a height of 3 or 4 ft. [R.E.M.W.].

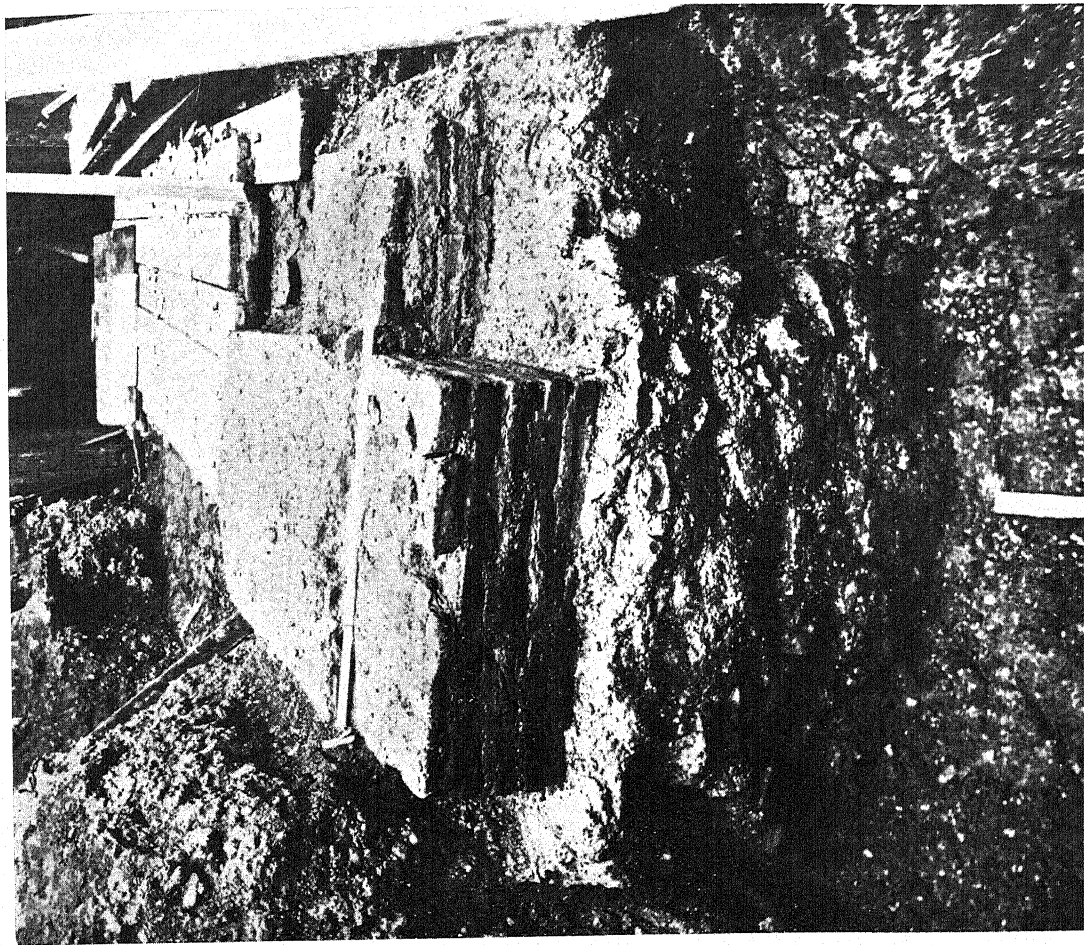
CROSBY SQUARE, BISHOPSGATE. Part of a tessellated pavement (Plan A 49) was found in March, 1836, about 13 ft. below the surface, under a house (No. 3 Crosby Square) at the S.W. angle of the Square, with guilloche-pattern of red, white and grey *tesserae* (another account says scrolls in red, yellow, white and black). From the style of workmanship it appeared to be of early date (Antonine period?). Below it was a layer of coarse mortar, on a bed of hard ground 2 ft. thick. The site is said to be intersected by ancient foundations 12 ft. or 14 ft. down, running N. and S. [*Gent. Mag.*, 1836, I, 369; *Rom. Brit. Rem.*, I, 193; *Arch.*, XXVII, 397; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 182; *Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. XXXVII*, 67].

CRUTCHED FRIARS. A pavement, now at the Society of Antiquaries, was discovered in Northumberland Alley (Plan A 4), at a depth of 12 ft., in July, 1787 [*Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. XXII*, 281; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 179; Allen, *Hist. of Lond.*, I, 29; *Arch.*, XXXIX, 491; *Way's Cat.*, 1847, 12].

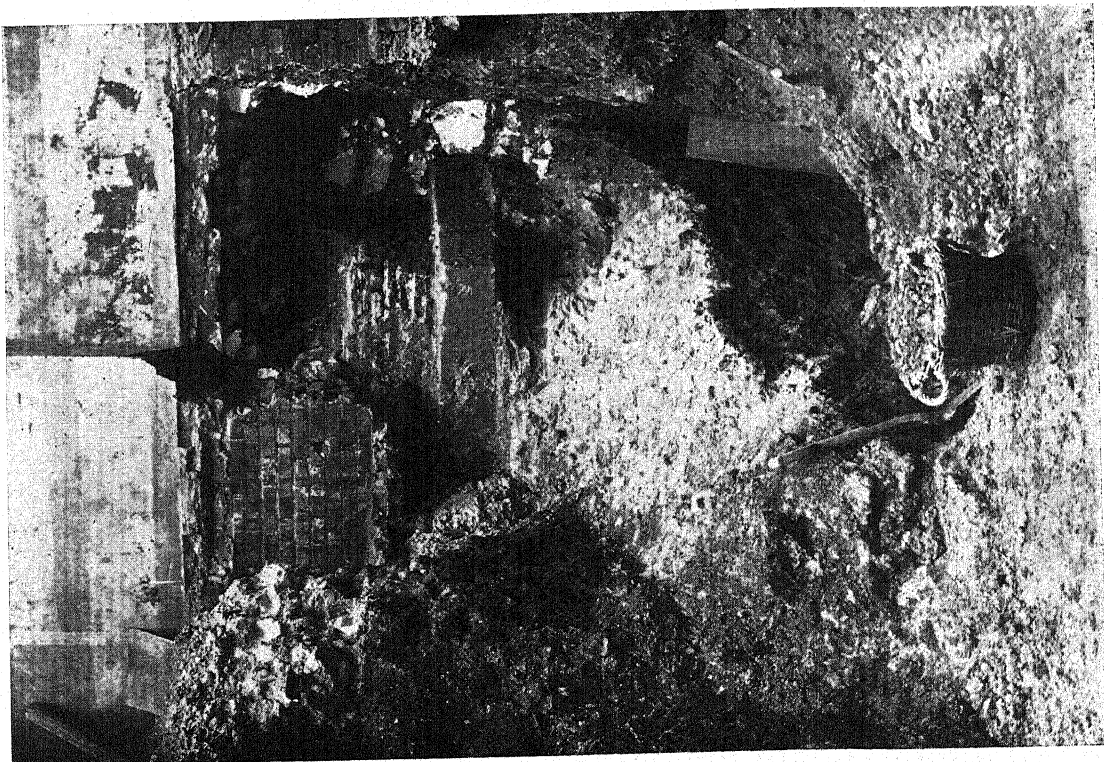
Previous to 1805 a pavement was found in digging foundations for the East India Co.'s warehouses, Northumberland Alley (Plan A 4); it is said to have been at a depth of about 7 ft. [*Gent. Mag.*, 1807, I, 415–7].

DOWGATE HILL (Plan A 118). Remains of a large edifice and pavement were discovered after the Great Fire [Archer, *Vestiges of Old London*, II; Allen, *Hist. Lond.*, III, 508; Wren, *Parentalia*, 265].

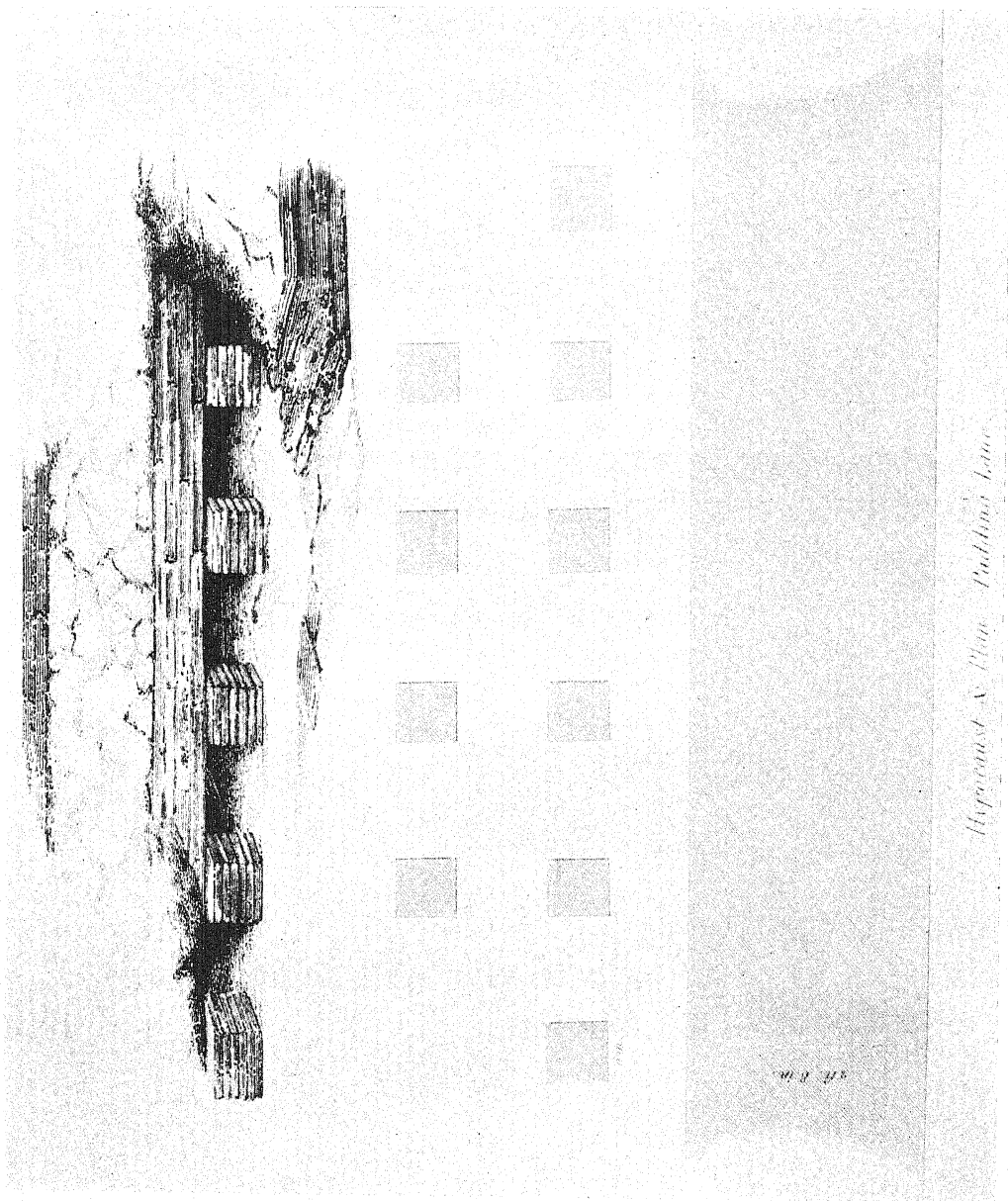
EASTCHEAP. A road (Fig. 37) was uncovered in 1831 in making a sewer across Great Eastcheap to Gracechurch Street (Plan A 27) 3 ft. below the present pavement; it was 16 ft. wide and 7½ ft. thick, of gravel-concrete on a bed of loam, with supporting walls of rag-stone and tiles. In direction it "apparently tended from Cannon Street in the direction of Little Eastcheap," but another authority says it tended N.E. of this line [*Arch.*, XXV, 602; *Gent. Mag.*, 1833, II, 421; Herbert, *Hist. of St. Michael, Crooked Lane*, 20]. On the other side of Gracechurch Street at the top of Crooked Lane, in excavating for the sewer under the N. approach to New London Bridge, a raised



LOMBARD STREET and GRACECHURCH STREET.
Central brick pier exposed 1925. See p. 129.
By permission of Dr. W. Martin.



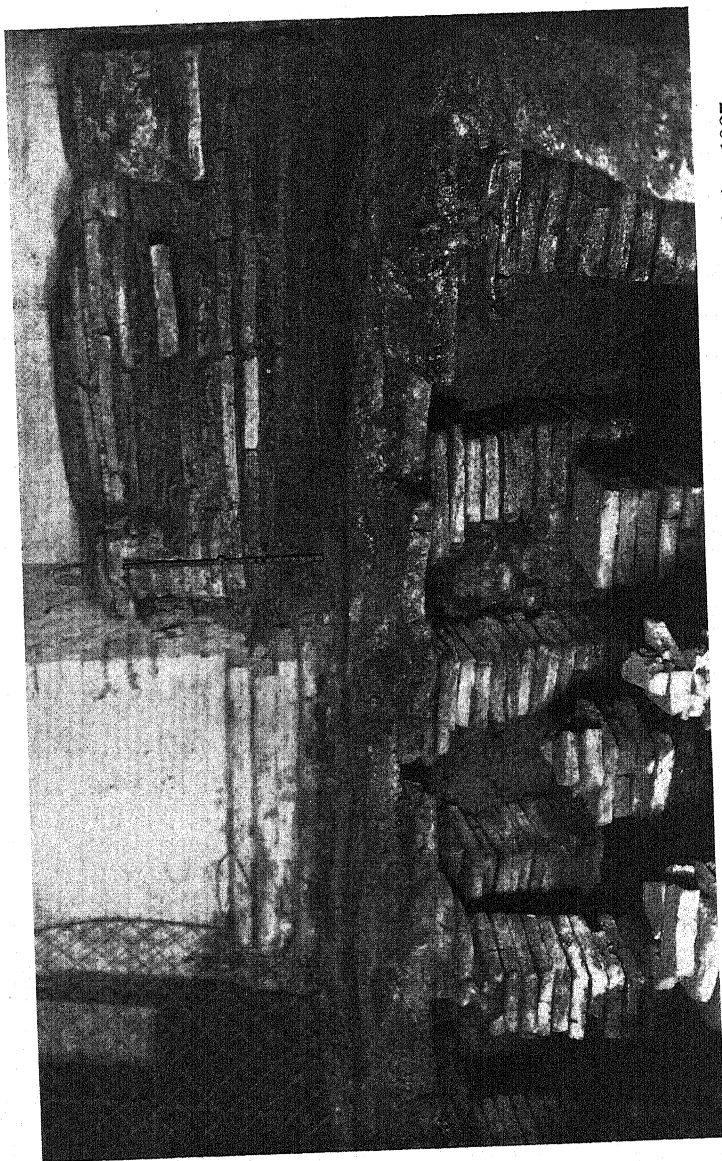
No. 50, CORNHILL. Pier below corner of St. Michael's Church
as exposed 1891. See p. 115.
By permission of the Soc. of Antiquaries.



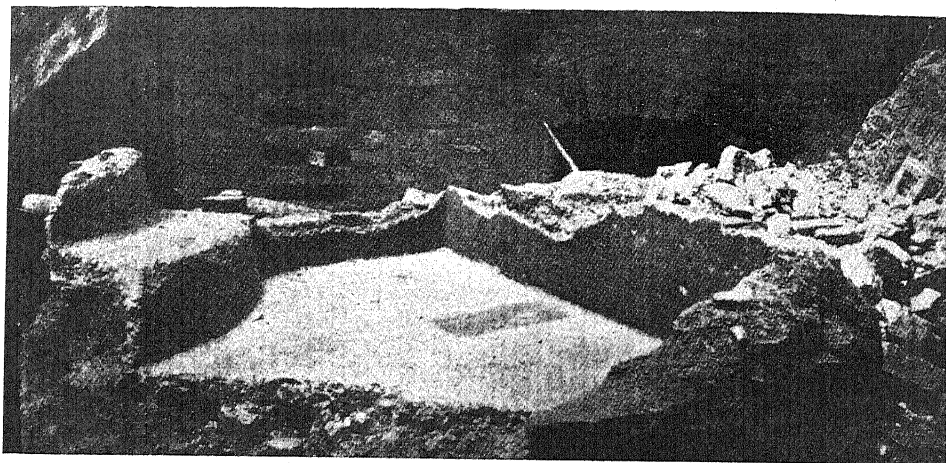
PUDDING LANE. Hypocaust exposed 1836-41.

See p. 136.

From *Archæologia*, XXIX, by permission.



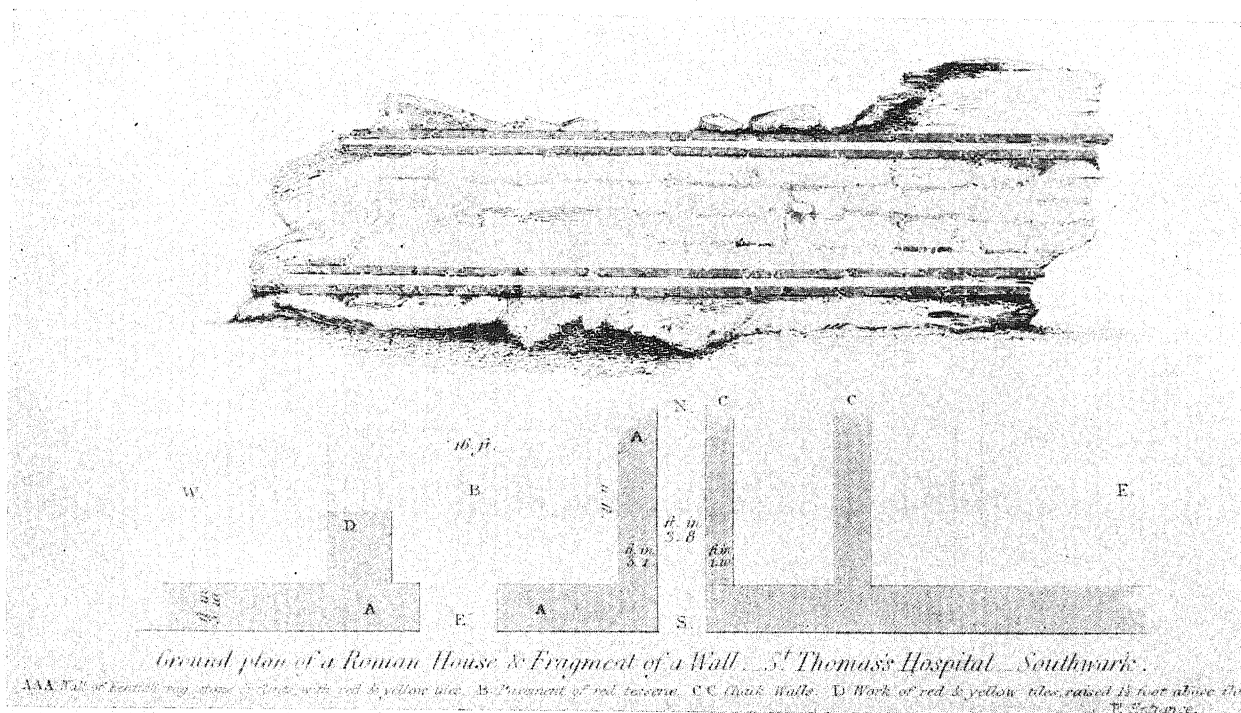
THAMES STREET (LOWER). Hypocaust at the Coal Exchange as existing 1927.
See p. 142.



No. 63, THREADNEEDLE STREET. Roman bath exposed 1849.

See p. 144.

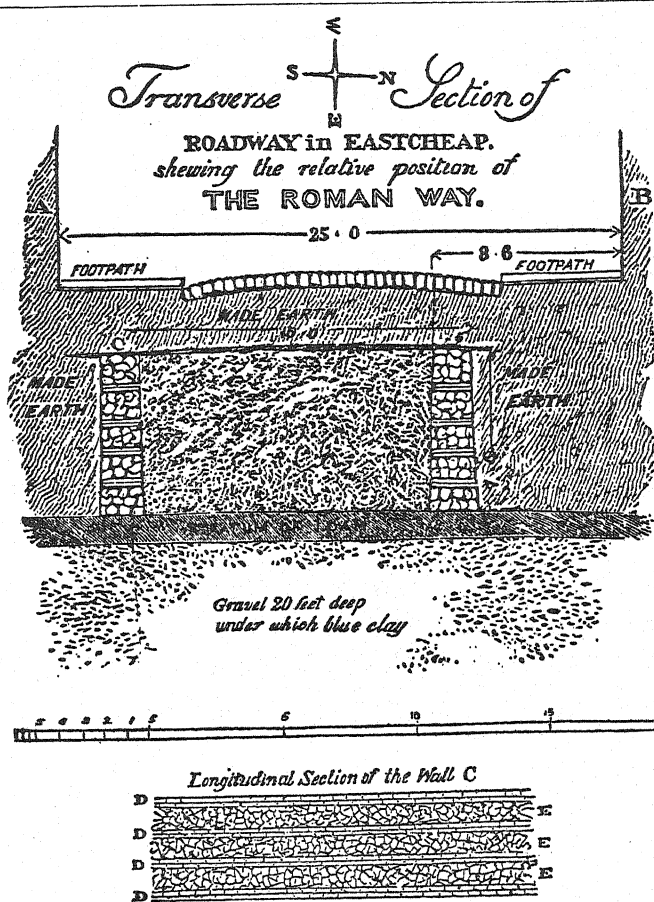
From *Archæologia*, LX, by permission.



ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL, SOUTHWARK. Walls of a Roman house exposed 1840.

See p. 150.

From *Archæologia*, XXIX, by permission.



Measured & Drawn by William Knight. — Engraved by G. Darlington 1831

A, B, Frontage line of modern houses; C, Roman wall supporting road;
D, D, Layers of Roman tile; E, E, Kentish ragstone

FIG. 37. From *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1836.

bank of gravel 6 ft. deep and 18 ft. wide and 5 ft. below the modern pavement was also noted, and at the N.E. corner of this street was found a wall, a little in advance of the line of modern houses, of rag-stone 2 ft. thick, with a double course of white-clay tiles, in which were a flue-tile with four apertures and two coins of Claudius. Mr. Kempe also saw in 1831 a massive architectural fragment, which he took to be the architrave of some building, and a floor of coarse *tesserae*, just under St. Michael's church, about 14 ft. square. A little to the N. were two wells. Piers and an arch of chalk and a floor of coarse *tesserae* were found in clearing for new buildings at the N.E. corner of Eastcheap [*Arch.*, XXIV, 191; *Gent. Mag.*, 1836, I, 135; *Rom. Brit. Rem.*, I, 191].

In 1833 a report speaks of discoveries at the S.E. corner of Great Eastcheap; these included the lower part of Roman walls of flint, much Gaulish pottery and coarser ware, coins of Claudius, and a well, steined with squared chalk, the top

10 ft. below street-level [*Gent. Mag.*, 1833, I, 69; II, 421, ff.]. Another wall is mentioned in 1834, about 4 ft. N. of the N. wall of the Roman road (Plan A 27); it was of the usual type, 3 ft. thick, receding upwards, as if supporting some structure. Coins of Vespasian were found here, also one of Julia Augusta [*Ibid.*, 1834, I, 93, drawing; see also *Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. XXXVI. 337, 401*].

In Little Eastcheap in 1836 traces of Roman work were noted in the foundations of the church (Plan A 26) of St. Andrew Hubbard (destroyed in the Fire); and fragments of pottery were found [*Gent. Mag.*, 1836, I, 135]. Roach Smith says foundations of houses were found at every step all along the street at 12 to 20 ft., and mentions a head of a Bacchante in green glass found there [*Arch.*, XXIX, 153-4].

FENCHURCH STREET. Walls were found in digging a sewer in 1833 near the end of Mincing Lane, and near the bottom of Cullum Street (Plan A 8), at a depth of 12 ft., also two pavements, one

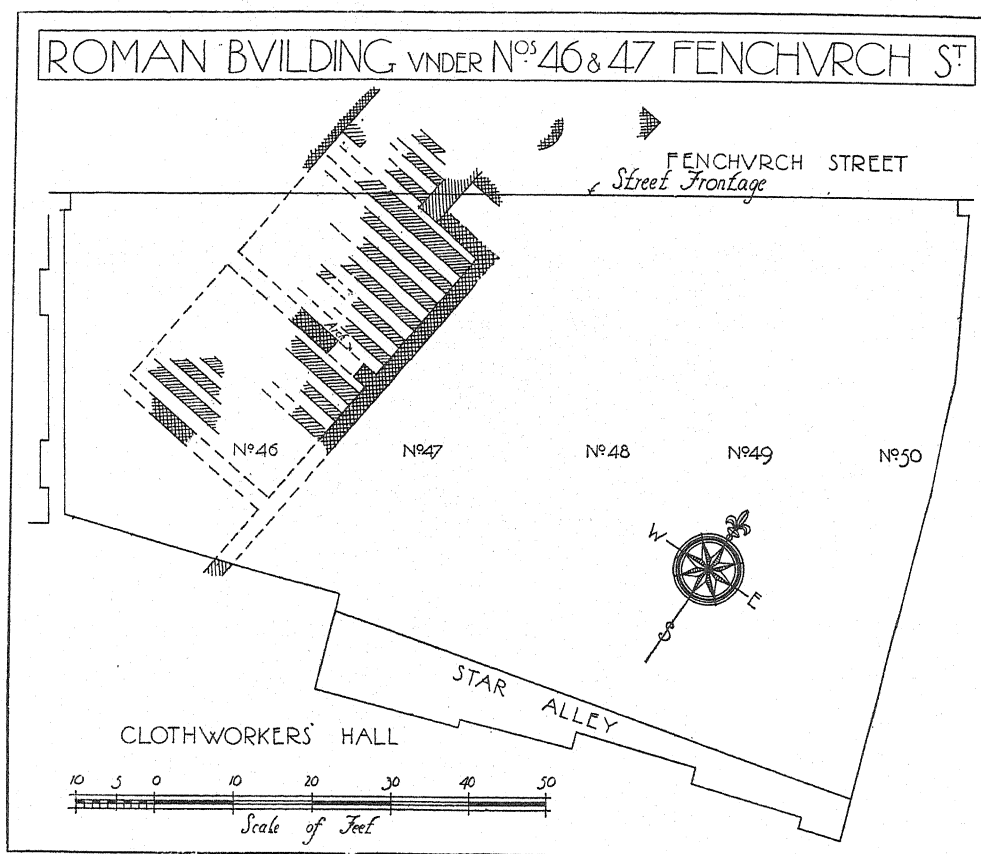


FIG. 38.

with geometrical patterns of red, grey, and white *tesserae*, the other of red *tesserae* only, but large and perfect, under the footpath opposite the entrance of the house No. 36; also fragments of plaster, painted bright vermillion. Between Mincing Lane and Billiter Street, 16 ft. deep, were found "abundance of tiles, mortar and fresco, with pottery, a terra-cotta female head and mill-stone." At the entrance of Lime Street from Fenchurch Street the ground was thickly intersected with walls as far as Cullum Street and heaps of fresco-painting were found [*Gent. Mag.*, 1834, I, 156; *Arch.*, XXIX, 153; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXIII, 205]. In the same year were found, on the site of St. Gabriel's Church (Plan A 32), part of a hand in bronze (Plate 3) of large dimensions [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXIV, 75, with plate].

A note on a City Sewers Plan of 1853-4 (III, 66), records the discovery of a stone wall, running diagonally across the street, between London Street and Billiter Street (Plan A 6).

Another pavement was uncovered in 1857, in digging foundations of a house (No. 37) opposite Cullum Street (Plan A 9) at a depth of 11½ ft., measuring 2 ft 4 in. by 2 ft. 6 in., with a richly

coloured design (Plate 40) on a white ground, representing a peacock and vase within a guilloche and plain border [*Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 58 (fig.) ; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), XVII, 322; Roach Smith, *Retrospections*, II, 200; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 191]; this is now in the British Museum.

Rubble walls and a rough flooring of red tile were revealed in 1911 in trenches cut at the back of No. 80a (Plan A 5). Evidently other foundations exist on this site, but they have not been explored [*Arch.*, LXIII, 320].

In November, 1921, in making a tunnel for telephone wires, a wall was discovered running approximately E. and W. towards the N. side of the street, some 60 ft. to the E. of Gracechurch Street (Plan A 30). The S. face of the wall had been destroyed by a previous excavation for a sewer, but three courses of flint surmounted by three courses of bricks were observed [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, N.S., IV, 333].

In November and December, 1923, the remains of an important building (Fig. 38) were uncovered under Nos. 46 and 47 (Plan A 7) on the S. side of Fenchurch Street, between that thoroughfare and

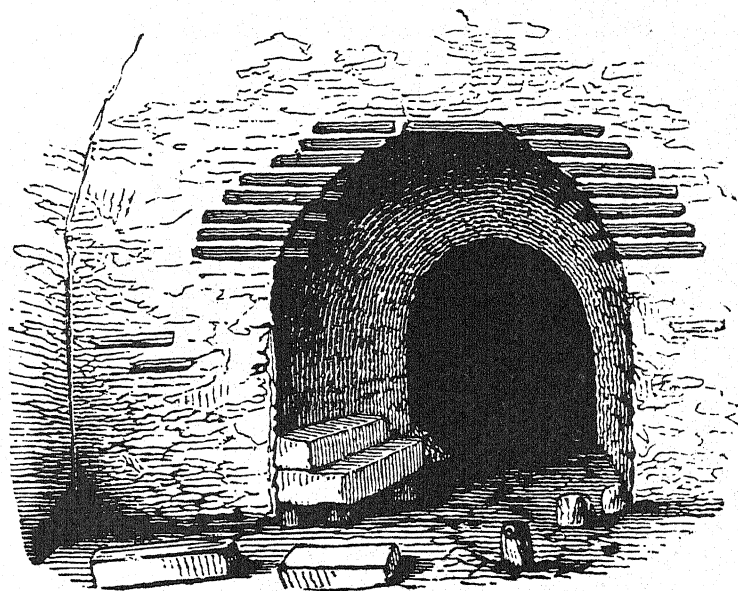


FIG. 39. Arch in Old Fish Street Hill. From *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, I.

the N. Side of the Clothworkers' Hall. The complete plan could not be recovered as the whole area was not excavated, but remains were found of several apartments. The main structure rested in the natural gravel and consisted of a chamber about 40 ft. by 25 ft. internally, running nearly N. and S., and divided by a cross-wall into two equal rooms. The outer walls were entirely of brick, 2 ft. thick and four courses to the foot. The whole was paved with tiles about 9 in. square, and appeared (though there was no trace of *pilae*) to have been originally a hypocaust, for the floor-level was 4 ft. lower than the original surface, and the outer face of the containing walls, against undisturbed gravel and brick-earth, was not faced. Later, sleeper-walls of rag-stone and bonding-tiles about 4 ft. 6 in. high, 18 in. thick and 18 in. apart had been built across the chamber. The intervals had been filled with rubble, and a cement floor, supporting a double layer of bonding tiles, had been laid over all. In the cross-wall was the respond and part of the springing of a low arch under the floor. There were indications of adjoining rooms, N. under the street and S. under Clothworkers' Hall, but on the E. the site had not been built on, the ground being undisturbed ballast [*Journ. of Rom. Studies*, XII, 257, and A.C.].

In 1927, excavations on the site of Nos. 15-17 Fenchurch Street (Plan A 31) revealed traces of three habitation-levels, near the middle of the site. No structural remains were found [R.E.M.W. and A.C.].

FINCH LANE. Part of a tessellated pavement was found in 1844-5 between this lane and the Royal Exchange (Plan A 85), representing a female

head, in red, white, black and green *tesserae*. Fragments of other pavements and indications of buildings were also noted [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, I, 64]. In 1847 the walls of houses were noticed running across Finch Lane and Birchin Lane and into Cornhill and Lombard Street, together with remains of tessellated pavement. On the right of Finch Lane going S., about midway (Plan A 84), at a depth of 13 ft., traces of a very extensive tessellated pavement were found; the only portion preserved was a double guilloche in black, red, yellow and white, enclosing a square [*Ibid.*, II, 205]. See also BIRCHIN LANE.

FISH STREET HILL (OLD). In December, 1845, during excavations made for a sewer in Old Fish Street Hill, near the entrance into Thames Street (Plan A 170), walls were found at a depth of 16 ft.; one wall, 3 to 4 ft. thick, ran parallel to the street towards Thames Street, and another crossed it at right angles. In the latter was an arch (Fig. 39) 3 ft. wide and 3½ ft. high. The walls were built on large hewn stones laid on wooden piles. By the side of the wall which ran parallel to the sewer, about 16 ft. from the arch, were several tiers of tiles each 2 ft. by 1½ ft. placed upon massive hewn stones, one being 4 ft. 5 in. long [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, I, 45, with illustration]. The position of one wall, crossing the street, is indicated on a City Sewers Plan [I, 139].

FRIDAY STREET. A large piece of coarse tessellated pavement was found in 1844, 16 ft. to 18 ft. below street-level, also some "Roman wells or cesspools," on the site of the old Saracen's Head Inn (Plan A 150) adjoining St. Matthew's Church on

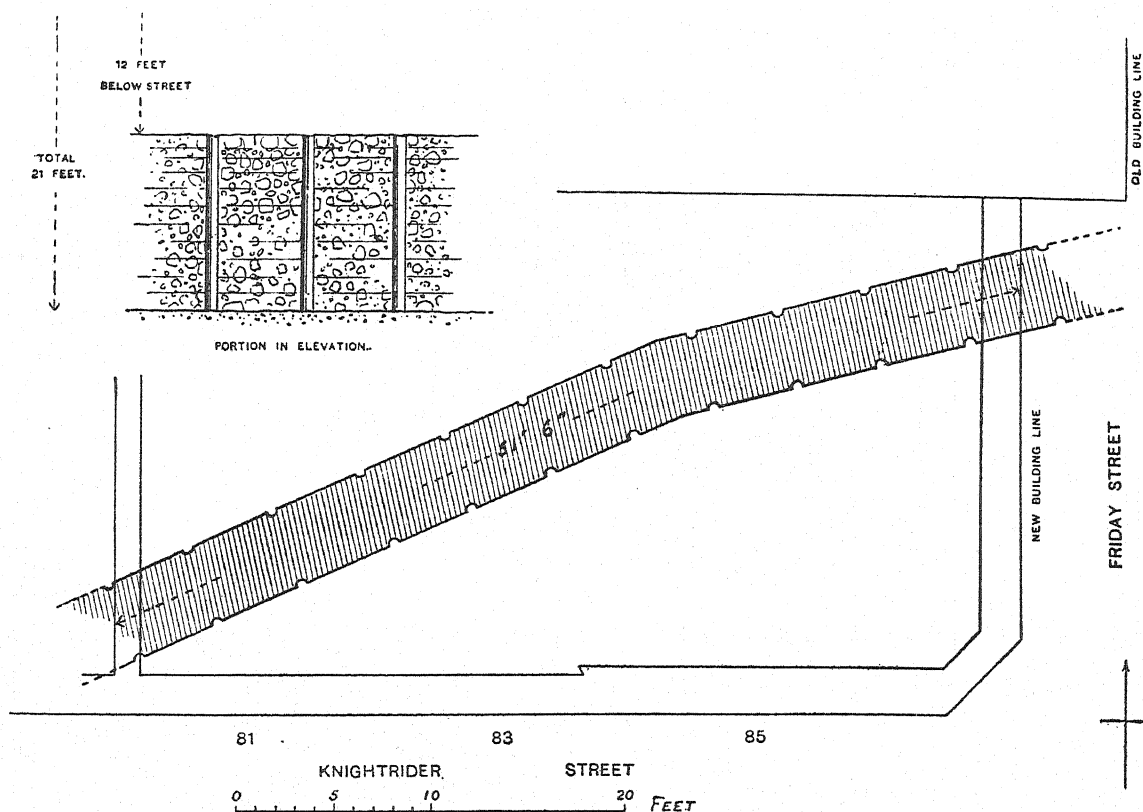


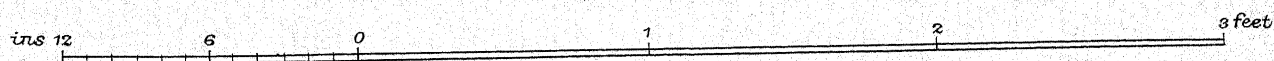
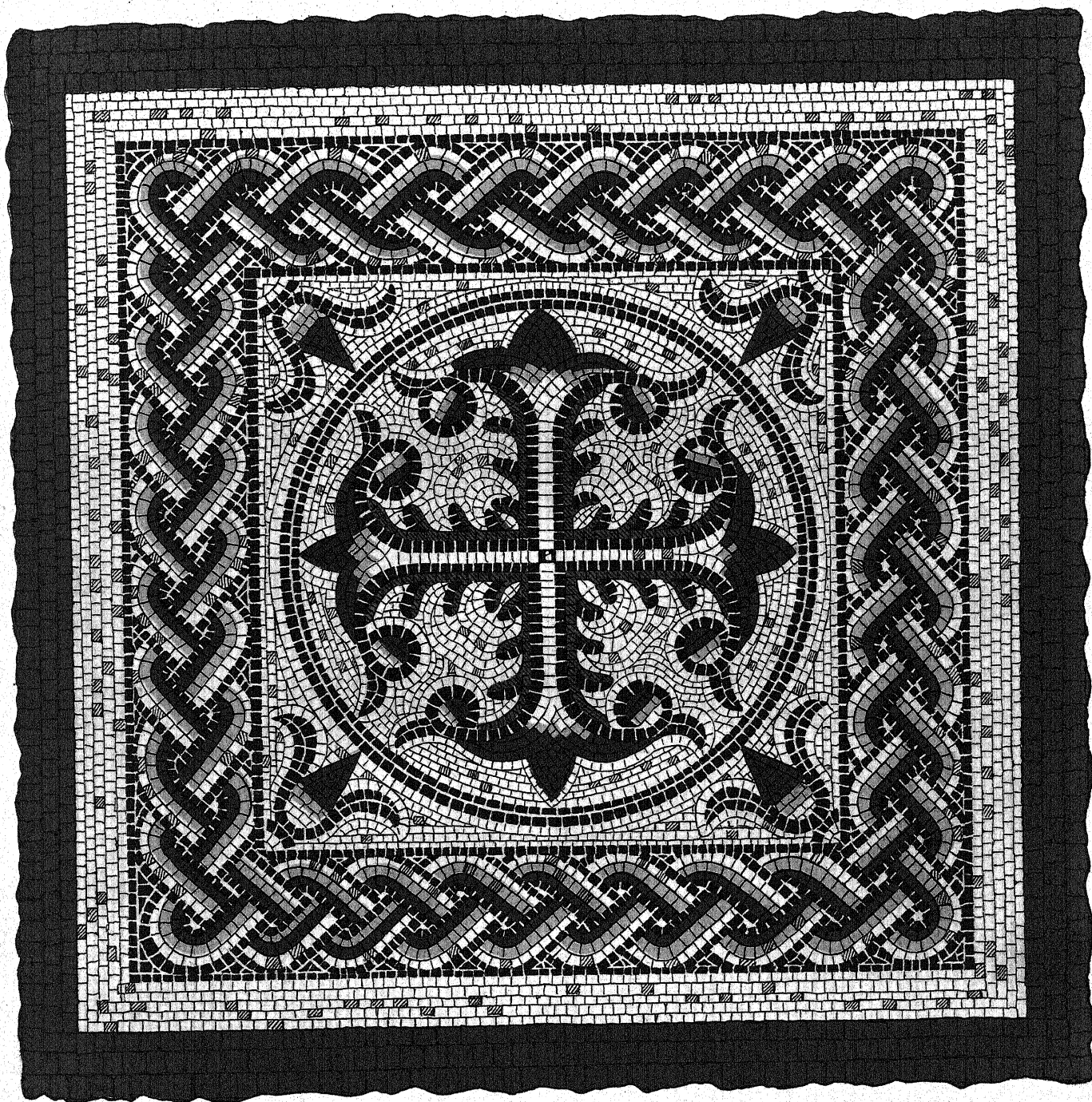
FIG. 40. Wall between Friday Street and Knightrider Street. From *Archæologia*, LX.

the S. side [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, III, 339]. When the church of St. Matthew was pulled down in 1886, part of the same or another pavement was discovered "in a very dislocated condition, sloping from N. to S."; it lay at a depth of about 14 ft. below the present street-level; the fragment was about 3 ft. square and lay at about 13 ft. from the E. wall of the church and at a similar distance from the S. wall. It was composed of rough red tile *lesserae*. A portion of this pavement, "re-arranged for preservation" in 1888, is preserved on the N. side of the church of St. Vedast, Foster Lane. According to the accompanying inscription, it was found about 18 ft. below the ground-level. [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XLII, 435; *Reliq.*, N.S., I, 108].

A wall (Fig. 40) crossing this street and Knightrider Street (Plan A 165) diagonally was found in 1906. It was 4 ft. thick and 9 ft. high. It had been built between boarding with upright posts 4 ft. apart on the inner or wall-side of the boarding. The matrices of these posts and the imprint of the boarding remained on both sides of the wall. The foundation rested on the ballast at a depth of 21 ft. below the street-level. A continuation of this wall was found, at an earlier date in constructing a sewer in Friday Street [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, XXI, 229; *Arch.*, LX, 219 (Plan); cf. *Arch.*, XL, 49].

GOLDSMITHS' HALL, FOSTER LANE (Plan A 148). For the altar found on this site, see p. 43 and Plate 12. One writer speaks of "strongly cemented masses of stonework" on the site where this altar was found, more like natural rock than masonry, and so hard that it had to be blasted with gunpowder. The altar is preserved in the Goldsmiths' Hall [*Gent. Mag.*, 1831, I, 390, 452; Hartridge, *Coll. Newsp. Cuttings, Old Lond.*, I, 21; *Arch.*, XXIV, 350 (Fig.); *Coll. Antiq.*, I, 134, pl. 45; *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, pl. 2, fig. 4, p. 48; Archer, *Vestiges of Old London*, pl. 9; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. XXXVI, 128; and for the supposed inscription, *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* VII, 21].

GRACECHURCH STREET. In 1834, massive and substantial masonry was found at the N. end of the street, from Corbet's Court to the end, and in the angle of Lombard Street (near Half Moon Court) were coffins with human remains, probably mediaeval [Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 100]. Opposite St. Benet's Place (Plan A 28), in digging foundations of two houses, pavements of houses were found (evidently on the W. side of Gracechurch Street) in 1841 [*Arch.*, XXIX, 154]. In the sewer excavations, at the N. and S. walls of St. Benet Gracechurch (Plan A 29), walls 4 ft. thick and 22 ft. from the surface, continuing down to the depth



PAVEMENT AT BANK OF ENGLAND.
British Museum.

Malby & Sons, Lith.

of the sewer, were found running under Gracechurch Street. To the N. of Lombard Street, excavations passed under a burial-ground filled with interments, and beside other remains of buildings, walls of 6, 7 and 11 ft. in breadth, extending E. and W., were found at and near Half Moon Passage (now the central avenue of Leadenhall Market: these were evidently the continuations of the walls of the great building (Plan A 37) found when the Market was reconstructed, see LEADENHALL MARKET) [*Cat. Antiq. Roy. Exch.*, p. XII].

In 1866-8 finds were made in Spread Eagle Yard (Plan A 39) of a pavement of considerable extent, and the left hand (Plate 2) of a bronze statue [Guildhall Mus., *Cat.*, p. 70, No. 21; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXIV, 76; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), X, 93]. In 1906 a wall of tiles was brought to light at the corner of Leadenhall Avenue [*Arch.*, LX, 225].

In 1908, in sinking an artesian well at No. 85, on the E. side of Gracechurch Street (Plan A 40), a Roman wall $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick was found, 21 ft. from the surface and standing 5 ft. high; at the top was a triple bonding-course of tiles. The wall ran parallel to the street [*Arch.*, LXIII, 320].

In September, 1912, the buildings on the W. side of the street, between Corbet Court and Bell Yard (Plan A 34) were demolished. In the northern part of the site was found a Roman wall, $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick and with the base 27 ft. below the surface; it was built of rag-stone bonded at 3 ft. intervals with double layers of tiles. The wall ran from S. to N. then turned at right angles and passed under the street. On the S. side of Bell Yard (Plan A 33) was another Roman wall, 2 ft. thick and with the base $16\frac{1}{2}$ ft. below the surface. The base was of rag-stone with two courses of tiles at the top. Below the wall was a mass of flint and mortar more than 4 ft. thick [*Arch.*, LXIII, 320, with plan]. See also CORBET COURT.

In January, 1922, "the excavations for telephone wires having been continued along Gracechurch Street, two Roman walls were found in the roadway, E. of St. Peter's Church, Cornhill (Plan A 41), and opposite its northern portion. The more important one ran E. and W. It was 4 ft. 6 in. or more in thickness, and the base was not reached (by probing) at a depth of 16 ft. At a depth of 10 to 11 ft. below street-level were five rows of tiles between courses of squared rag-stone, and some feet higher up were two rows. The upper part of the S. side of this wall was plastered and painted. The plaster was badly damaged, but it seems to have had by way of decoration square or oblong panels in black outline on a yellow ground with touches of red. The other wall stood at right angles. It was clearly later, for the plaster on that first described continued behind the junction. It was 2 ft. 9 in. thick, and built entirely of rag-stone except for a double lacing-course of tiles about 12 ft. 6 in. down. At this level

on its W. side were traces of a white cement floor several inches thick. The footings of this wall did not seem to go deeper than 14 ft. 6 in. Both sides had been plastered and painted, but only the W. side could be examined. This was decorated like the S. side of the first wall, but only the lower part of the panels could be seen. The ground-level on the W. side of the second wall had been raised later to a height of 4 ft. above the original floor, and a rough brick tessellated pavement laid. As regards dating it is clear that there are three periods; (1) the first wall, which is not very early, (2) the second wall, and (3) the tessellated pavement" [*Antiq. Journ.*, 1922, II, 140; *Journ. of Rom. Studies*, XI, 218; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, N.S., IV, 339].

GRESHAM STREET (formerly MAIDEN LANE, LAD LANE AND CATEATON STREET). In excavations for the sewer in Gresham Street (Plan A 141) in 1843 a red brick pavement was found near the W. end of Lad Lane; a little W. of this near Wood Street was a herring-bone pavement (bricks 4 in. by 2 in. by 1 in.), and another on the W. side of Wood Street, with a border of white and grey *tesserae*; this pavement extends beneath St. Michael's church. In October, 1844, white *tesserae* were observed at the corner of Maiden Lane and Wood Street. The pavement found on the N. side of St. Michael's Church, was now traced on the other side of the church. The relative position of these pavements is recorded on two plans (Fig. 41) by Roach Smith in the Guildhall Library [*Add. Prints*, p. 61]. The plans do not entirely agree with the description quoted above. A portion of one of these pavements is preserved at the Society of Antiquaries [*Gent. Mag.*, 1843, I, 22, 190; II, 81; *Rom. Brit. Rem.*, I, 197 ff.; cf. II, 556; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), II, 184]. Another pavement was recorded in 1848 [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), II, 126].

In 1908 several Roman rubbish-pits were found on a site at the E. corner of Gresham Street and Aldermanbury (Plan A 140). They extended to a depth of 19 ft., and contained a few fragments of pottery and many oyster-shells [*Arch.*, LXIII, 314].

Mr. F. Lambert, writing in 1923, records that at the N.E. corner of Wood Street and Gresham Street (Plan A 142) the lowest courses of a brick wall were found, under the present building line and running almost N.W. and S.E. Adjoining it, and within the site, were the remains of a pavement of bonding-tiles, of the usual size and type, which must have been the floor of a shallow cellar or a hypocaust, for it lay 4 ft. below the surface of the brick-earth which formed the Roman surface [*Journ. Rom. Studies*, XII, 257].

GROCCERS' HALL, PRINCE'S STREET (Plan A 131). A pavement of concrete with coating of thin red earth was found, at a depth of 17 ft. 6 in., in 1834 [Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 112].

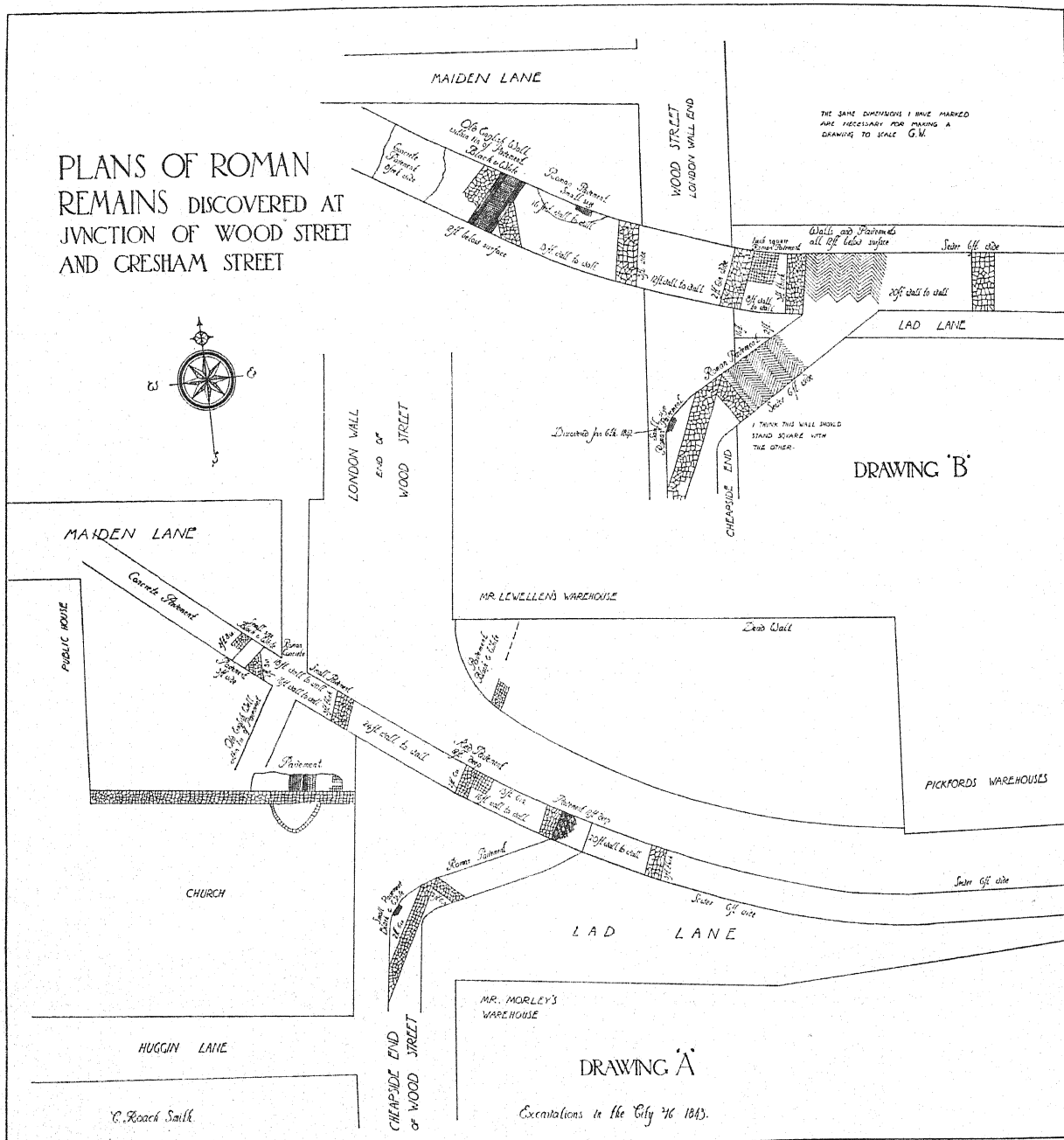


FIG. 41.

GUILDHALL. In excavating for the Sewers' Office, at the back of the Guildhall (Plan A 138), in 1861, a pavement of grey slate and white marble was found [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XVII, 325].

HONEY LANE. In 1861, on the site of Honey Lane Market (Plan A 144) in front of the City of London School and facing Bow church, in making trenches for new walls at a depth of 17 ft., the

workmen came upon a tessellated pavement which appeared to run parallel to the road. The portion uncovered was 6 to 7 ft. long and 4 ft. wide, and was formed of red and yellow *tesserae*. Some 30 ft. N. of this pavement were remains of a thick wall, apparently Roman. Fragments of wall-paintings were also found [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, II (Proceedings at Meetings), 68. See also *Arch. Rev.*, I, 278].

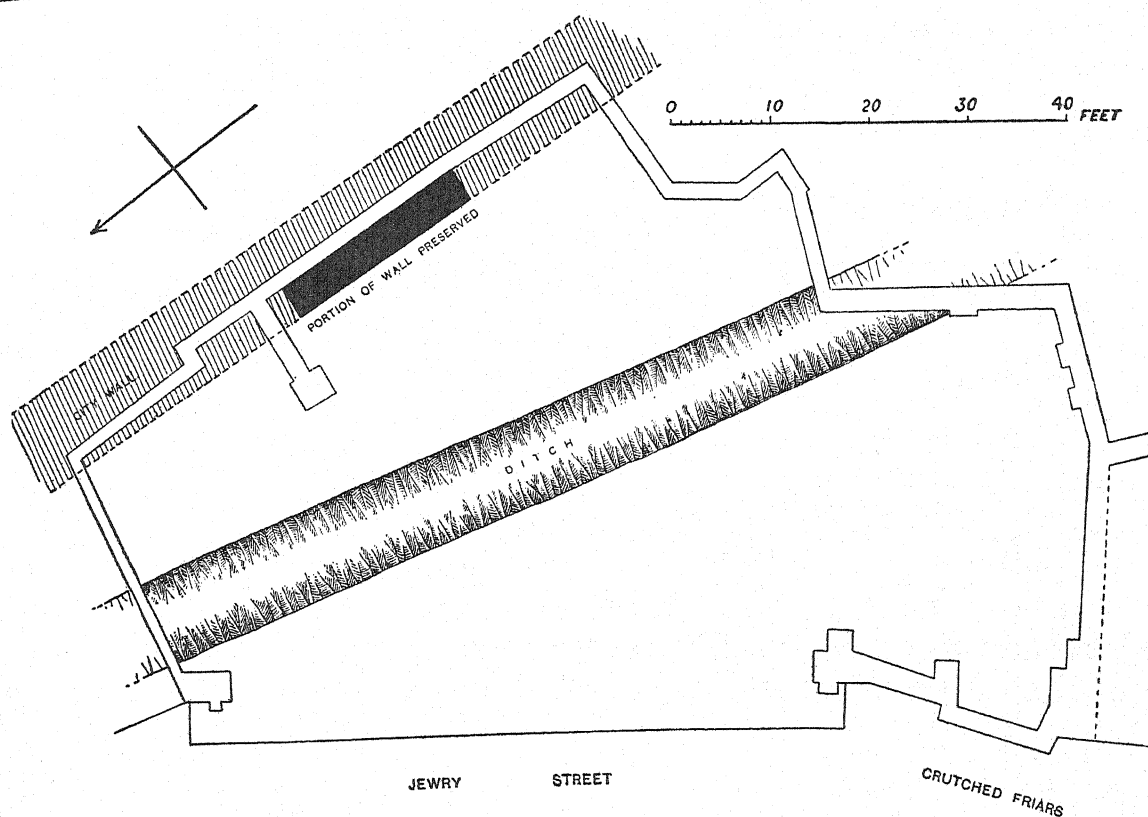


FIG. 42. Ditch between Jewry Street and City Wall. From *Archæologia*, LX.

HUGGIN LANE, THAMES STREET. Between Queen Victoria Street and Thames Street (Plan A 163) two walls are indicated, crossing the lane, on a City Sewers Plan of 1845 [I, 139].

HUGGIN LANE, WOOD STREET (Plan A 143). Fragments of pavement were found in 1851, of grey and white *tesserae* [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), II, 184]. See also GRESHAM STREET.

JEWRY STREET. In 1905, on clearing the site of Nos. 18–20 Jewry Street and No. 1 Crutched Friars (Plan A 3), a ditch (Fig. 42) was found, cut in the ballast. It was about 8 ft. wide, 6 ft. deep and filled with dark earth. Its line was not parallel to the town-wall, but converged towards the N. [*Arch.*, LX, 193].

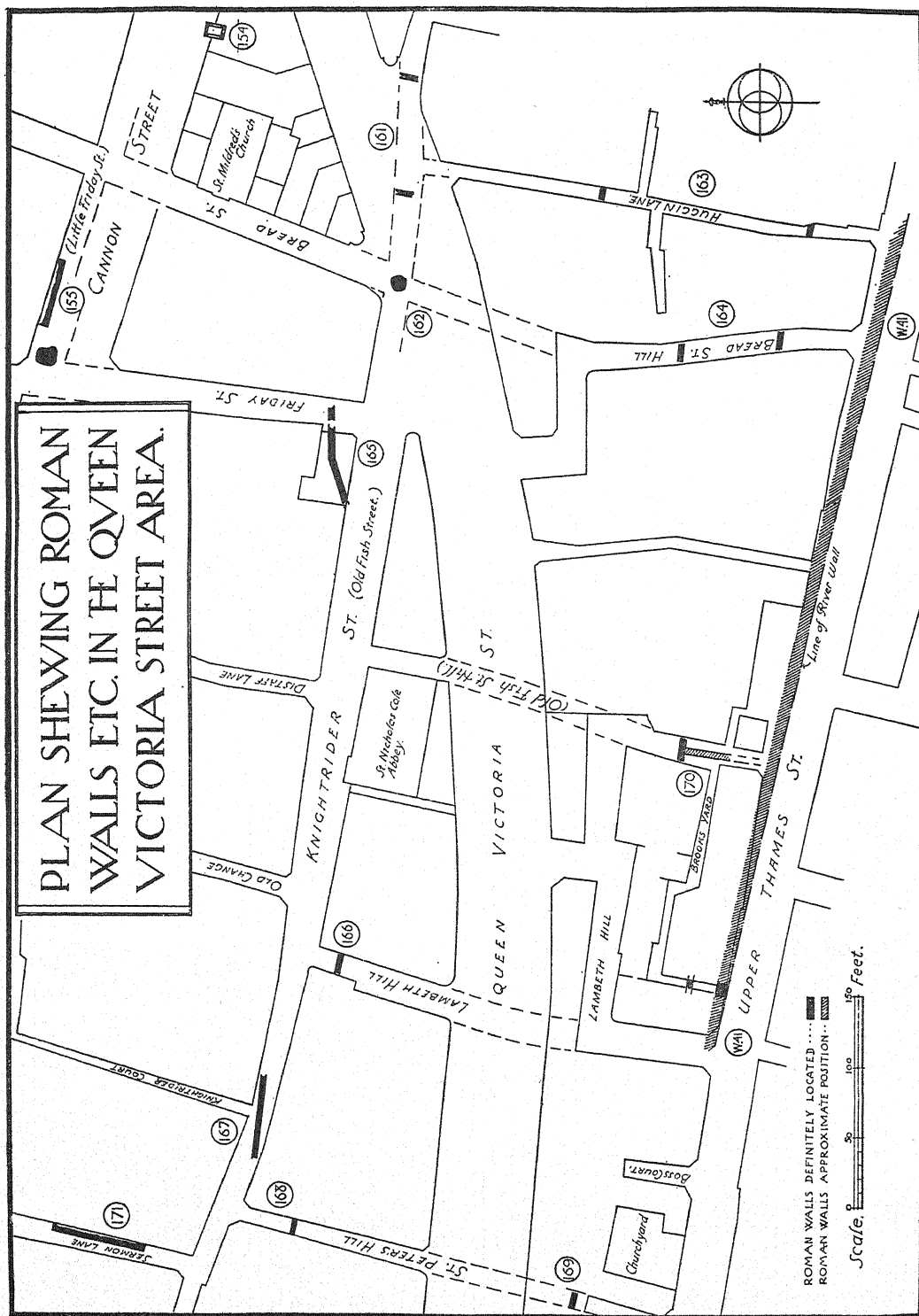
KING EDWARD STREET (formerly BUTCHER HALL LANE). Immediately in front of the tavern at the N. end of Butcher Hall Lane (Plan A 182), 12 to 14 ft. deep, a portion of a wall was found, mainly of chalk, crossing the lane, and apparently about 5 ft. thick [*Gent. Mag.*, 1843, I, 21; II, 81, 416; *Rom. Brit. Rem.*, 197].

KING'S ARMS YARD MOORGATE STREET. E. B. Price records the discovery in 1843, at the corner of King's Arms Yard (Plan A 137) on the E.

side of Moorgate Street, of part of a tessellated pavement of red, white and grey *tesserae* [*Gent. Mag.*, 1843, I, 520].

KING STREET. In 1926–7, in re-building Nos. 7 and 8 King Street, Cheapside (Plan A 145), remains of early Roman occupation were discovered. The excavation revealed seven or eight occupation-levels between 14 and 18 ft. below the surface and containing pottery, none of which appeared to be later than the reign of Trajan. There was evidence of two fires one over the lowest occupation-level, and one over the fourth level. On the original gravel surface were fragments of pre-Flavian Samian including one stamped MVRRANVS, coarse pottery and the stumps of bushes [G. Home in *Morning Post*, Jan. 27th, 1927, and *Discovery* VIII, 35]. On the S. side of the site was evidence of a small natural water-channel, running, apparently, N.N.W. and E.S.E.

KING WILLIAM STREET. Roach Smith adduces "numerous evidences of Roman habitation on either side of this street: (a) walls of rough unhewn pieces of chalk, often mixed with flints and cemented by firm mortar, ran under or partially intersected the street, which seems to have been



closely occupied with dwelling-houses; (b) wells of chalk filled with earth mixed with tiles, pottery, bones, were often opened; (c) quantities of fragments of earthen vessels and Samian pottery were found; (d) adjoining St. Clement's Church, 12 ft. beneath present level, was a tessellated pavement composed of pieces of red brick. . . . (e) near the same church many vessels of brown and black earth, small earthen lamps, much Samian ware, rings of base metal, and coins . . . chiefly Claudius, Vespasian, Domitian, with base *denarii* of Severus, Caracalla, Alexander Severus, and Julia Mamaea." Towards the Bank the Roman level was much deeper, and numerous wooden piles were observed, also walls intersecting the street; "many dwelling-houses on its line, but no trace of a high road" [*Arch.*, XXVII, 140; cf. *Gent. Mag.*, 1835, I, 82]. Between London Bridge and Arthur Street was found a bed of oyster-shells, 7 ft. thick, and Stow supposes this to be the site of the "Oyster Gate" [Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 95; Herbert, *Hist. of St. Michael, Crooked Lane*, 14].

In May, 1914, excavations took place on the site of Nos. 3-6 King William Street between Sherborne Lane and Abchurch Lane (Plan A 97). No Roman buildings were found on the site but a series of rubbish-pits were disclosed, the largest extending under Sherborne Lane, and containing at the bottom objects which seemed to belong to the third quarter of the 1st century [*Arch.*, LXVI, 264-5, with plan of site]. Other sites on both sides of the street produced evidence of an extensive fire in this portion of the town early in the Roman occupation, indications of which had already been observed on the site of Nos. 3-6. On the site of Nos. 61-66 (excavated in 1920) at the angle of the street (Plan A 98), N. of William IV's statue three Roman walls were found running N. and S. The two eastern were of squared rag-stone with one double bonding-course of brick, remaining; between these walls at the base was a cambered layer of chalky mortar, 6 in. thick, and along the eastern side were traces of tiles laid as though to form a drain. The space above the cambered layer was filled with pebbles and fragments of tile packed tightly with the layer stones at the bottom, in red earth; the whole was capped by a horizontal white flooring at the level of the top of the bonding-courses; this flooring was $9\frac{3}{4}$ ft. below the pavement-level. The third wall, further to the W. was, at its southern end, built entirely of rag-stone and under the pavement its base rose as though to admit a broad arch. N. of this stretch, after a gap of some feet, was a 20ft. length of wall of an entirely different type. It was rather more than 3 ft. thick with four courses of squared rag-stone between each double bonding-course of bricks. It apparently extended completely across the site [*Arch.*, LXXI, 60].

In October, 1924, in making a sewer from the N. part of Nicholas Lane at a depth of 19 ft. chalk

foundations were met with in King William Street (Plan A 94). The foundations were exposed to a depth of 6 ft. but neither the top nor the bottom was reached; they appeared to belong to a wall running at right angles to King William Street [Q.W.].

KNIGHTRIDER STREET. For the wall found near the top of St. Peter's Hill, see under ST. PETER'S HILL. For the wall found in 1906 at the corner of Friday Street, see under FRIDAY STREET.

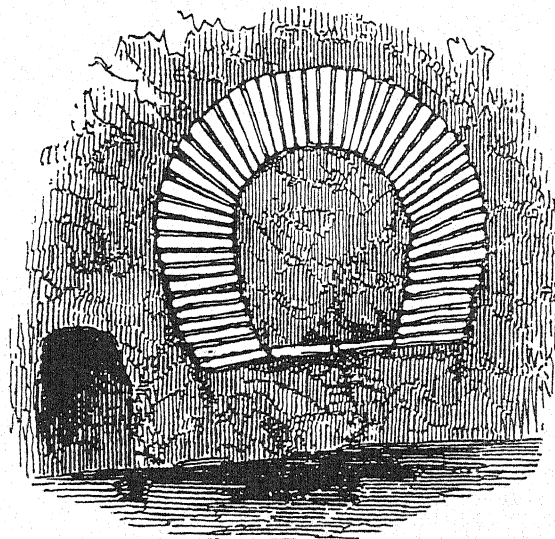


FIG. 44. Sewer in Little Knightrider Street. From *Journ. B.A.A.*, I.

In August, 1844, an arch (Fig. 44) was found on the S. side of the excavation for a sewer, in front of No. 15, Little Knightrider Street (Plan A 167), resembling closely that in Old Fish Street Hill. It was of horseshoe form, of tiles 12 in. long, in a wall of Kentish rag, and was filled in with earth [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, I, 253, sketch of arch].

LAMBETH HILL. The position of a wall (Plan A 166), found in this street is indicated on a City Sewers Plan of 1845 [I, 139].

LAURENCE POUNTNEY LANE. In 1846, in making a sewer, walls built of *tegulae sesquipediales* (18 in. by 12 in.) were discovered. A large space was covered by a pavement of coarse red *tesserae*. From the churchyard (Plan A 107) to Cannon Street the ground at short intervals bore the remains, at unequal depths, of dwelling-houses and of walls of greater thickness, one opposite the churchyard, formed of rag-stone and flints with tiles in masses and layers was discovered 3 ft. from surface and descended to 10 ft. Opposite the houses numbered 26 and 3 were bases of two columns, at a depth of 8 ft. and of a diameter of 15 in. and 19 in., embedded in a thick layer of debris of buildings. At the entrance to Church Passage at a depth of 3 ft. was a

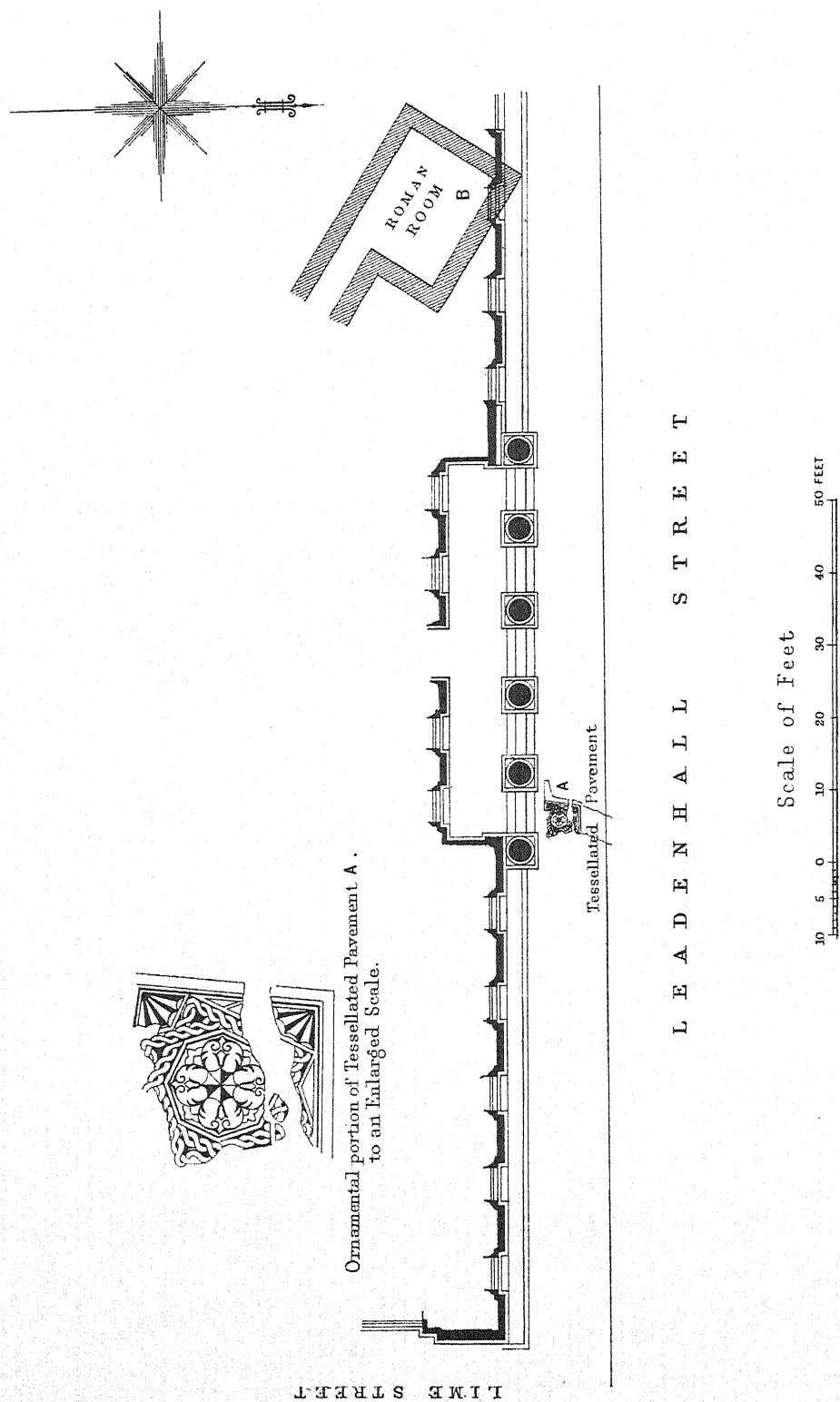


FIG. 45. Remains under East India House.
From *Archæologia*, XXXIX, by permission.

wall $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick and bonded with tiles. Opposite No. 27 at a depth of 3 to 4 ft. were remains of common red tessellated pavement. Nearer to Cannon Street mill-stones formed part of a wall; they were of a kind of hard lava from the neighbourhood of Andernach [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, II, 340, 345].

LEADENHALL MARKET. A general consideration of the architectural features of the building (the Basilica) found on this and adjoining sites has already been given together with illustrations (Figs. 3 to 7) on p. 35 of the Introduction.

The foundations on the site of Leadenhall Market (Plan A 37), planned and drawn by H. Hodge in 1881, appear to indicate a building over 400 ft. in length with a width of about 40 ft. and an apse at the E. end. To the S. of the apse are rectangular compartments of indeterminate extent, and on the N. side of the main S. wall is a smaller apse which may have been a foundation-arch only. The foundations obviously represent the work of at least two periods, distinguished from each other by the more liberal use of brick, with comparatively thin mortar-joints, in the one case and by a larger admixture of stone and by wider joints in the other. The general plan bears a strong superficial resemblance to that of a basilica. The main S. wall, again partly uncovered in 1906 [*Arch.*, LX, 225], appears to be double, representing the work of two periods; the N. half may have been a sleeper-wall carrying an arcade and the S. half may represent a later enclosing wall. The fragment still visible (in the cellar of a shop at the N. angle of the Central Avenue and Gracechurch Street) consists of a rectangular mass of concrete, 6 in. thick, carrying a course of ashlar 6 ft. broad and visible to a length of 10 ft.; on this is a brick wall, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high and 5 ft. broad, ending on the E. in a square jamb, which may have been rebated to the extent of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. at the N.E. angle. The pavements of this building are described by Loftus Brock as follows:—"A Roman pavement of ordinary brick *tesserae* has been found over a large part of the surface and covered with the ashes of some great fire. Above this is concrete of a second floor, while below the remains of walls 5 ft. thick have been found" [*Builder*, 1881, I, 110; *Plans* by H. Hodge in Guildhall Library, *Add. Prints*, p. 96, and *Arch.*, LXVI, 225, with plan and drawings]. For other walls connected with this building, see **GRACECHURCH STREET** and for a fuller discussion of the architectural features of the building see p. 35. Fragments of fresco-paintings (now in British Museum) with foliage in green on a red ground were also found [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXXVII, 84, 90; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2) VII, 524]. In April, 1888, "a beautiful specimen of a Roman floor" was reported [*Antiq.*, XVII, 175]; this is probably the one now in the Guildhall [*Cat.*, p. 72, Nos. 10-15].

In 1883-4, on the clearing of the site between St. Peter's Alley and Corbet Court (Plan A 36) on the W. side of Gracechurch Street, the continuation of the main wall of the supposed Basilica was traced for about 90 ft. W. of the roadway; another small apse was found, presumably also a foundation-arch, and about 33 ft. to the S. another wall was found not quite parallel to the first, but extending completely across the site. For the cross-walls, etc., found at the same time, see plan p. 40, Plate 5 [*Plan* by H. Hodge in Guildhall Library, *Add. Prints*, p. 27].

In November, 1924, in sinking a shaft in the floor of the basement of shop No. 7 (Plan A 38) on the N. side of the Central Avenue, Roman concrete was cut through for a depth of $11\frac{1}{2}$ ft. The basement is 15 ft. 4 in. below the ground-floor level. This masonry equates with the second cross-wall W. of the apse shown in Mr. Hodge's plan, taken when the Market was built [Q.W.].

LEADENHALL STREET. The chief discovery in this street has been the pavement (now in the British Museum), found in December, 1803, in searching for a sewer, below the carriage-way pavement opposite the easternmost columns of the portico of East India House (Plan A 42), at a depth of $9\frac{1}{2}$ ft. It formed the floor of a room more than 20 ft. square, the central square, which is now all that remains, measuring 11 ft. The design (Plate 49) consists of a figure of Bacchus riding on a tiger, with thyrsos and drinking-cup, within a triple border; in the angles are drinking-cups and plants; the whole was surrounded by a plain red border 5 ft. wide. Under one corner was found part of an urn containing a jaw bone, and on the opposite side of the street were foundations of tile and Kentish rag-stone [T. Fisher, *Gent. Mag.* 1804, I, 83; 1807, I, 415; *Arch.*, XXXIX, 493; Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 53; Soc. Ant. MS. Min. XXX, 181; Hughson, *Hist. of Lond.*, I, 34; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 179].

A red tessellated pavement was noticed in 1846, on the site of the premises then built for the Peninsular Steam Navigation Company (Plan A 48) on the site of the old King's Arms Tavern. It was said to extend over a large portion of the area [*Arch.*, LXIII, 321; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, II, 340]. This site was apparently on the N. side of the street between St. Mary Axe and Shaft Alley.

In 1863 the India House was pulled down and many discoveries (Fig. 45) were made. Below the portico (Plan A 43) a room was found paved with red *tesserae*, with walls of Kentish rubble and chalk bonded with tiles, plastered and coloured in fresco. This was thought to be a small room adjoining the larger one in which was the pavement of 1803; but it is stated to be at a much greater depth (19 ft. 6 in.), and must, therefore, be of earlier date. At the depth of the other pavement (9 ft. 6 in.), but to the N. under the street, another mosaic pavement was found in 1864, and is now

in the British Museum, to which, with other antiquities from the site, it was presented by Sir W. Tite in that year [*Arch.*, XXXIX, pl. 21, p. 500; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XIX, 63; *Arch. Journ.*, XX, 177; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 192, 193; *Illus. Lond. News*, March 12th, 1864, 267].

Two portions of pavements are reported in 1882 from the site of Rochester Buildings (Plan A 44), opposite that of the India House, and possibly belonging to the same building, at 11 ft. below street-level [*Arch. Journ.*, XL, 107]. A plan showing the approximate position of the pavements (Plan A 47) found in the street, opposite East India House, is preserved in the Guildhall Library.

Two portions of pavement, one of herring-bone type to the W., and one of *tesserae* to the E., were found on the site between Whittington Avenue and East India House (Plan A 46) at some uncertain date [Plan in Guildhall Library, *Add. Prints*, p. 96].

In December, 1924, a small excavation in the basement of No. 77 (Plan A 53) exposed a wall of concrete, apparently Roman. The portion visible was 16 to 18 ft. below the street-level, and ran in a direction parallel to Mitre Street [Q.W.].

In 1925, in excavating the site of Lloyds, in the W. angle of Leadenhall Street and Lime Street (Plan A 45), Roman foundations and the lower courses of partition-walls were found [D. Buxton in *Times*, Aug. 24th, 1925]. These walls were on the W. side of the site; a Roman tiled floor was also found.

A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1825 (II, 633), states that on the Roman level "a Roman road was discovered." Roach Smith speaks of this street as "abounding in the debris of buildings" [*Arch.*, XXIX, 153].

LOMBARD STREET. In 1785 considerable remains of a pavement of coarse red *tesserae* came to light at a depth of 10 to 15 ft., bedded in coarse mortar; the site was at the W. end of the street, nearly opposite St. Mary Woolnoth church. In laying the sewer in 1785, a series of remains of buildings (Fig. 46) were discovered between the W. end of the street and Birchin Lane (q.v.). Starting from the W. end the remains (Plan A 88) in the sewer-trench were as follows:—Between Nos. 82 and 85, at a depth of 9 ft., a pavement of rough stones and 3 ft. lower another pavement of "small irregular bricks," red, black and white and mostly 2 in. by 1½ in.; the pavement was about 20 ft. from E. to W. Farther E. was a wall about 10 ft. high and 18 ft. long and in it two flues, one semi-circular and one rectangular; the top of this wall was 10 ft. from the surface. Between the houses 72 and 82 were large fragments of tessellated and other pavements, with channelled tiles and coloured stucco. Near

the post-office, on the N. side of the sewer, at a depth of 14 ft. was a Roman wall, with 2 ft. of "rough work" at the top and then regular layers of flat bricks at smaller intervals. Near this wall but not more than 9 ft. below the surface, was a pavement of flat tiles. Opposite the house No. 64, on the S. side of the sewer, at a depth of 20 ft. was "a piece of solid archwork composed of stones of irregular form." Walls of the same material as that opposite the post-office were found on the S. side of the sewer nearly opposite the end of Birchin Lane, and on the N. side, near the houses Nos. 59, 57 and 55. Opposite the houses numbered 55 and 58 two walls composed of the same materials crossed the sewer; they were about 2½ ft. thick [*Arch.*, VIII, 117, with sketch-plan; *Gent. Mag.*, 1785, II, 845; 1807, I, 415; Allen, *Hist. of London*, I, 26]. The lower pavement at the W. end of the street was again uncovered in 1840 [Price, *Nat. Safe Dept.*, 25].

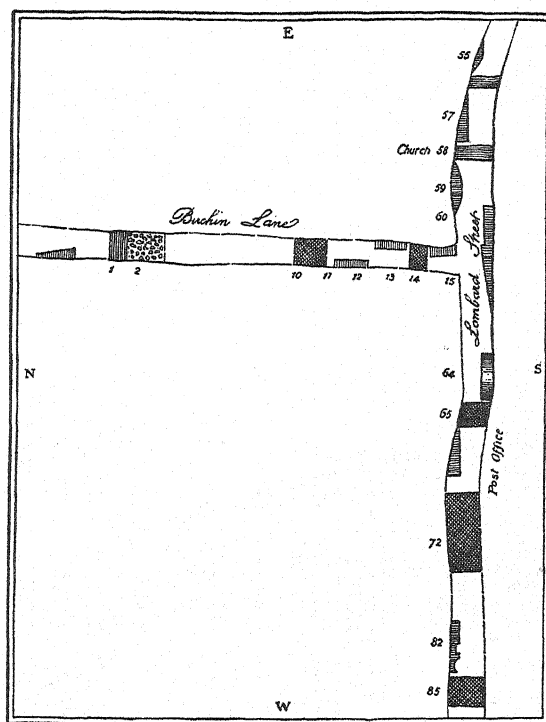
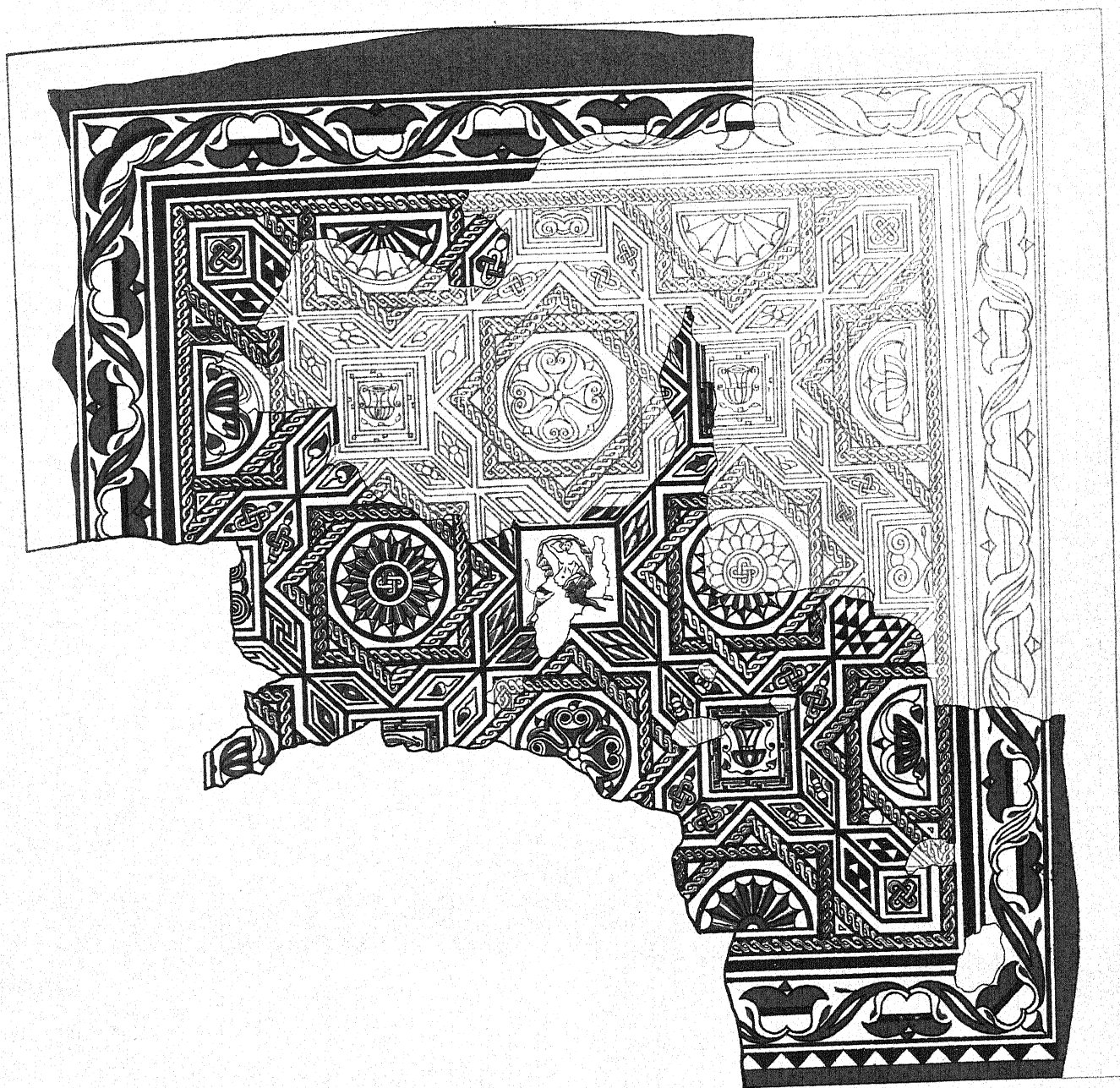


FIG. 46. Remains found in Lombard Street, 1785.
From *Arch.*, VIII.

In 1839 a tessellated pavement was observed at a depth of 8 ft. running under the present street, Roman remains extending beneath it [*Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 59]. In 1868 a pavement 17 or 18 ft. below the street-level was found on the site of No. 25 Lombard Street (Plan A 90), above which were *dupondii* "of the Fabia Gens" (*sic*), Nero, and Antoninus Pius (the latter dating A.D. 144, with figure of Britannia) [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXIV, 178, 294]. In 1873, various Roman walls



ins 12 6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 feet

PAVEMENT, BROAD STREET.

of rag-stone and tile were traced in Plough Court, on the premises of Allen, Hanbury and Co. [Price, *Rom. Antiq. Nat. Safe Dept.*, 26].

In the autumn of 1925, on a site at the N. angle of Lombard Street and Gracechurch Street (Plan A 91) was found, about 13 ft. below the modern ground-level, a series of walls (Plate 43 and Fig. 47) running at a slight angle with the N. frontage of Lombard Street. The building uncovered consisted of a corridor or gallery with a wall, apparently solid, on the S. side and a series of rectangular brick piers on the N. side, the distance between the two lines being about 8½ ft. and the piers being about 16 ft. from centre to centre. One pier had a short length of broken wall adjoining it about the middle of the N. face; a further piece of wall running approximately N. and S. was found a short distance to the N. and under Gracechurch Street; this wall had

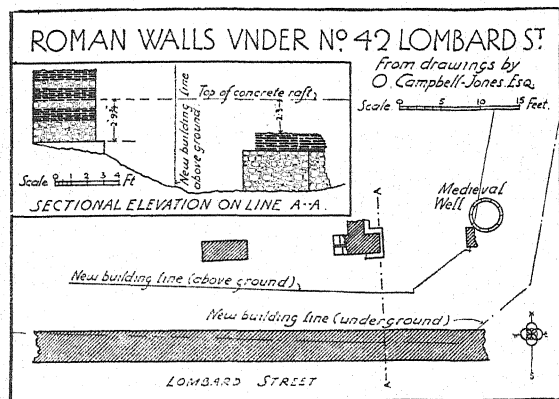


FIG. 47.

been plastered and painted. Two complete piers and part of a third were found; they were entirely of brick set in red mortar and stood on rubble foundations. The southern wall was of rubble alternating with courses of brick on the N. face and was set in yellow mortar. There were slight traces of a mortar bed, probably for a pavement, in the area of the corridor and a few inches above the level of the footings of the piers. There is some doubt if the solid wall and the series of piers were parallel or not, but it seems evident that they co-existed and the divergence was in any case not great [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, N.S., V, 317, plan]. What was perhaps a continuation of this solid wall was encountered in 1921 in the middle of Gracechurch Street; it was 4½ ft. thick [*Ibid.*, N.S., IV, 332]. N. of the wall were a series of what were probably floor-levels.

LONDON BRIDGE APPROACH. In making sewers in 1831 under the line of approach to new London Bridge the "transverse section commenced of the eminence which rises from Thames Street towards the heart of the city." The excavation was as deep as low-water mark, 50 ft. below the present surface

of the rest of the hill. "In the course of the above operation, and of preparing for the construction of the northern land arches of the new bridge, three distinct lines of embankment were discovered . . . one of the lines of embankment, lying 20 ft. under the S. abutment of the Thames Street land arch of the new bridge (Plan A 101), was of a peculiarly massive character being formed of the trunks of oak trees and roughly squared with the axe, and in all probability the work of the Romans." On the hill, about 100 yards N. of this work, the following discoveries were made: ". . . When the labourers had penetrated through a factitious accumulation of soil to the depth of about 17 ft. they came to a stratum of argillaceous nature earth about 2½ ft. in depth, in which numerous marks of Roman occupation began to make their appearance; sinking 20 ft. still deeper, thro' a stratum of fine red gravel, they came to the bed of clay in which are found the fossil remains. . . . The first discovery of Roman remains which I personally witnessed, was on 21st April last, when the excavation had arrived at the wall with the lancet windows, the S. boundary of St. Michael's churchyard. The singularly formed urn [Pl. XLIV, 8—indented urn, no base, bad fig.] was then taken out of the stratum of native loam and two coins of Vespasian, one of which is in tolerable preservation. As the labourers proceeded with their task they found the native gravel bed and its superstrata intersected by numerous holes and square pits, probably ancient cesspools or cisterns; in these as in surrounding soil, were many Roman potsherds" (figs.). "As the excavations drew near the line of the street of Eastcheap, the fragments of . . . Samian, became plentiful" (mortaria, jugs, amphoræ, etc.); "and party walls, composed of rag-stone, of buildings which had evidently aligned with the present street, were discovered; these walls were covered with wood ashes, and about them were found many portions of green molten glass and of the red Samian wares discoloured by fire." A "piece of plain red tessellated pavement, about 14 ft. square, laid open just under church (Plan A 100) in Crooked Lane." In the old wall with the lancet windows were "some massive fragments of Roman architecture, being of a sort of sandstone, the surface of which had been painted . . . a bright red" [A. J. Kempe in *Arch.*, XXIV, 190-96, see also *Gent. Mag.*, 1831, I, 387; 1832, II, 516; and Herbert, *Hist. of St. Michael, Crooked Lane*]. A fuller description of the "embankments" is given by William Knight; he states that the ancient embankment of the Thames was of Kentish rag and Purbeck stone, similar to the piers of Old London Bridge, and backed by chalk and "madrepore." Within this embankment, for nearly 100 ft., were several small jetties forming docks and quays. "Proceeding northwards the ground was found to be a mass of marsh from the

river's edge about 300 ft. onwards. . . . It shelved up towards Thames Street and was excavated from 10 to 12 ft. deep at that part," for the S. abutment of the arch over Thames Street; "here the first timber embankment (Plan A 101) was discovered . . . about 10 ft. below the surface of the ground. It was traced to a depth of more than 20 ft. and was formed of large solid trees of oak and chesnut, about 2 ft. square, roughly hewn, having strong timber waleings spiked to the piles. . . . The second embankment (Plan A 102) was discovered about 60 ft. beyond the N. side of the Thames (presumably should read Thames Street), towards the site of Crooked Lane and was of a completely different character from the one just described. It was composed of elm piles, from 8 to 10 ft. long, closely driven together and being farther inshore than the former, and of a totally different description, must have been constructed at some other period" [*Arch.*, XXV, 601].

LONDON WALL. In 1866 a large area (Plan A 61) was excavated, under the observation of Gen. Pitt-Rivers, in which great quantities of bones of animals were found in a layer of peat about 10 to 13 ft. below the surface, including remains of *Bos longifrons*, red deer, wild boars, and wild goats. A number of roughly-cut piles (Fig. 48) with decayed tops were also found in the peat, some in rows, others in groups, bound together by planks, one of which had nails in it. Here were found tiles (one with P.PR.BR), much Gaulish pottery, Upchurch ware, bronze pins, *styli*, iron knives, leather shoes and sandals, and coins of Vespasian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius. The explanation of these discoveries involves some difficulties, but it has been supposed that they represent pile-dwellings [*Times*, Oct. 20th, 1866; *Anthrop. Rev.*, V (1867), p. LXXI, ff., with plan and sections; *Arch. Journ.*, XXIV, 61; Munro, *Lake-Dwellings of Europe*, 494].

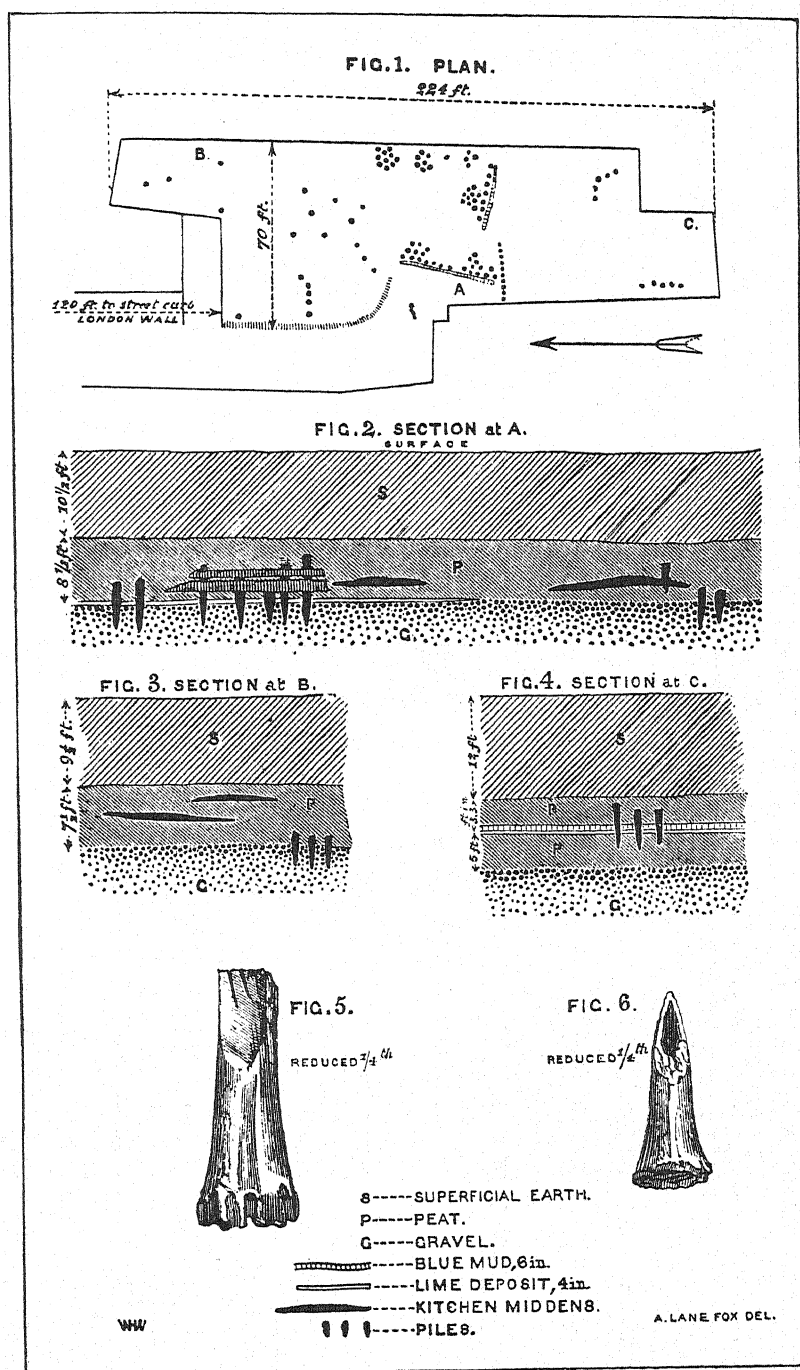
In 1880 a supposed Roman road was unearthed at the top of Throgmorton Avenue (Plan A 60), crossing it diagonally (presumably *inside* the Wall), together with various remains: a bronze statuette, an unknown implement, fragments of various sorts of pottery, glass, sandals, keys, nails, spindle-whorls, bones of animals, and shells [*Arch. Journ.*, XXXVII, 331].

LOTHBURY. About 1834, remains of a tessellated pavement were found opposite Founders' Court (Plan A 67), at a depth of about 11 ft., also various iron tools; and at a lower level a leather sandal, black and red pottery, coins of Domitian and Antoninus Pius, and wooden piles as in Prince's Street. Kelsey states that about 90 ft. of the sewer in Lothbury "was tunnelled between the walls of a very ancient passage, the floor of which was paved with coarse red *tesserae* the whole lying on [the] layer of bog-earth . . . Masses of piling,

with the wall-planking still on the face next to the channel, were cut through, and at the S.E. angle of Grocers' Hall (where the manhole now is) a bed of very hard concrete pavement, covered with a thin coat of red earth, was found at a depth of 17ft 6in." [*Arch.*, XXVII, 147; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 181; Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 112]. Freshfield (*Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, XVI, 36) states that a Roman pavement was found under Lothbury opposite the church (Plan A 66) at a depth of about 16 to 17 ft. In 1843, at the S.W. corner of Tokenhouse Yard (Plan A 65), and at a depth of from 12 to 18 ft., were found curiously-fluted piles, with fragments of Gaulish pottery including CACAS.M., coins of Vespasian and Nero, etc. [*Gent. Mag.*, 1843, II, 532; *Rom. Brit. Rem.*, I, 203].

Remains (Fig. 49) of a Roman building were discovered in March, 1927, during excavations for the extension of Messrs. Brown, Shipley and Co.'s premises in Founders' Court, Lothbury (Plan A 68). The remains consisted of part of a tessellated pavement discovered at a depth of 19 ft. 8 in. beneath the arched entrance to the main premises at the N. end of Founders' Court. The fragment inspected consisted of a border 3½ ft. wide, incomplete, at both ends of a pit 6½ ft. long and made of red *tesserae*, each about 1 in. square. At the S.E. corner of the pit was visible a fragment of the margin of a mosaic pattern of black or dark *tesserae*, each about ½ in. square. Close inside the western margin of the pit the red border came to a well-defined end indicating the former presence of a wall here running approximately from N. to S., but inclined slightly more towards the N.E. than the main lines of the modern structure. The width of the wall could not be ascertained. Immediately adjoining this piece of pavement on the E. side another fragment had been found and destroyed earlier in the month. It certainly belonged to the same floor. When pulled up by the workmen the fragment first described was found to consist of about an inch of fine pink cement in which the *tesserae* were set above 2 in. or more of rough gravel concrete, all very hard.

The area (about 20 sq. ft.), which had been effectively sealed by this pavement, was then excavated under supervision. It was found to consist of nearly 3½ ft. of alluvial deposit containing much Roman rubbish in the shape of burnt and broken animal bones (including a horn of *Bos longifrons*), oyster shells and about 25 pieces of pottery of 1st and early 2nd-century date. Most of the pottery was certainly of the 1st century (Samian forms, 18, 15/17, early 27 and either 29 or transitional 37; and plain pottery with graphite-coated surface. A few fragments were of the period Trajan-Hadrian, namely, form 46, 37 with tripod ornament; and a black mortarium of late 1st or early 2nd-century type). None of the pottery is likely to have been later than c. A.D. 125, and it



ANTH. JOURN. VOL. V, p. lxxi.

FIG. 48. Pile-structures S. of London Wall. From *Anthrop. Rev.*, V.

was sufficiently abundant to suggest that the pavement was built not later than the first half of the 2nd century—probably before, rather than during, the Antonine period.

Towards the W. the ground dipped from the direction of the pavement towards what had

apparently been the bed of a feeder of the Walbrook. The black alluvium here went down to an even greater depth and produced pottery also mostly of 1st-century date. A few feet to the S.W. of the site of the building another pit revealed remains of a pile-structure within an area about

40 ft. by 10 ft. The stumps of upwards of a dozen piles were found apparently in position in this area, but their position was unfortunately not recorded. They stood in the black alluvium which goes down to a depth of about 22 ft. below the present street-level, and is here in some cases about 6 ft. thick.

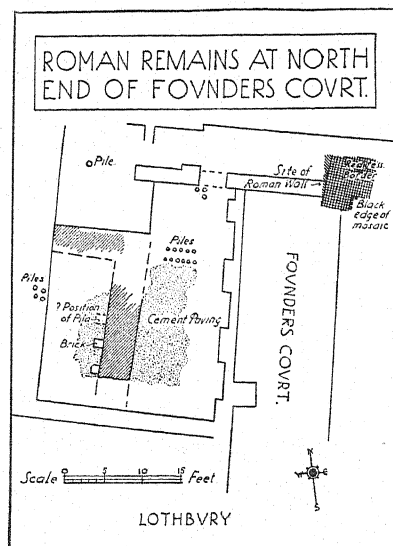


FIG. 49.

On the W. side of the site a certain amount of rubble (chalk and flint) foundation was found standing on the black sludge, it included the rough base of a wall about $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick, running approximately N. and S. and having a pink cement pavement on either side $13\frac{1}{2}$ ft. below the modern pavement-level and a further pink pavement capping the wall 7 in. higher up. There were probable indications of the *pilae* of a hypocaust on the W. side of this wall, which appeared to turn W. about the middle of the site. A double row of piles continued the line of this return wall, towards the E. [R.E.M.W. and A.C.].

LOVE LANE, WOOD STREET (Plan A 139). In excavations at Messrs. Brown, Davis and Co., near the City Press, the discovery of a well was reported in 1881, "probably of Roman origin," but there is nothing to show that it is not mediaeval [Antiq., III, 184].

LUDGATE SQUARE (formerly HOLIDAY YARD, CREED LANE). Bagford, writing in 1714-15, says: "Such another [Roman Aqueduct] was found after the fire by Mr. Span an ancient Citizen in Holyday Yard, Creed Lane (Plan A 173), in digging the foundations for a new Building, and this was carried round a Bath that was built in a round Forme with Niches at an equal Distance for Seats" [Leland, Coll. (ed. Hearne), I, LXVI; see also Stow, Survey (ed. Strype), II, App. V, 24].

MAIDEN LANE (GARLICK HILL). On a City Sewers Plan [II, 58] dated March, 1848, is a note of the discovery of a Roman pavement, with a plan of the position (Plan A 160), but no further particulars.

MANSION HOUSE. (Plan A 128). Objects have been found, from time to time, including a mosaic pavement, in 1870, now in the Guildhall.

In 1917 a wall of rubble was exposed in a cellar below the Mansion House. It was rendered in cement on the W. side and had, on the same side, a projecting shelf with a sloping top of tiles. The base of the wall was 17 ft. below the surface and apparently rested on piles [S. Perks, *Hist. of the Mansion House*, 3; pl. 1 and plan 1].

MARK LANE (Plan A 14). A letter of Mr. Bagford (1715) states that in Mark Lane, 40 years since, a brick was found 28 ft. below the pavement; it was the key-brick of an arch and had a relief on the front said to represent Samson setting fire to the foxes' tails. Near the same place were dug up many quarters of wheat burnt very black [Leland, Coll. (ed. Hearne) (1774) I, LXXI].

A Roman pavement (Plan A 15) was found in 1871, "at the back of the archway adjoining the premises situated at No. 27 Mark Lane." It was of common red *tesserae*, about 12 ft. square and 8 ft. below ground level and was left *in situ*. Another account says it was 7 ft. below the surface and measured 11 ft. by 6 ft. [Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc., XXVII, 514; *Illus. Lond. News*, May 13th, 1871, with illustration].

MILES LANE. About 1920-21, excavations on the site of Nos. 2-4 on the E. side of Miles Lane (Plan A 103), revealed considerable remains of Roman constructions (Fig. 50). On the northern part of the site was the southern end of a rectangular building 31 ft. wide and with external walls $3\frac{1}{4}$ ft. thick, entirely faced with brick work, but patched in places with rag-stone; the foundation was composed of 2 ft. of flints above 2 ft. of chalk. Within the building was a longitudinal wall enclosing a brick drain with a corbelled covering. The southern part of the site had considerable remains of an extensive timber-construction, in the nature of a wharf. The main line of this construction extended E. and W. some 23 ft. to the S. of the brick building just described, and consisted of solid barks of timber laid one upon the other, the lowest being 27 in. by 24 in. and the others about 21 in. by 16 in. This main timber wall had a series of similar timber walls at right angles both to the N. and S., those to the N. being probably spaced fairly regularly, some 7 to 9 ft. apart; the timbers of these subsidiary walls were of smaller scantling than those of the main line on to which they were jointed. To the S. of the main line two groups of piling, some camp sheathing

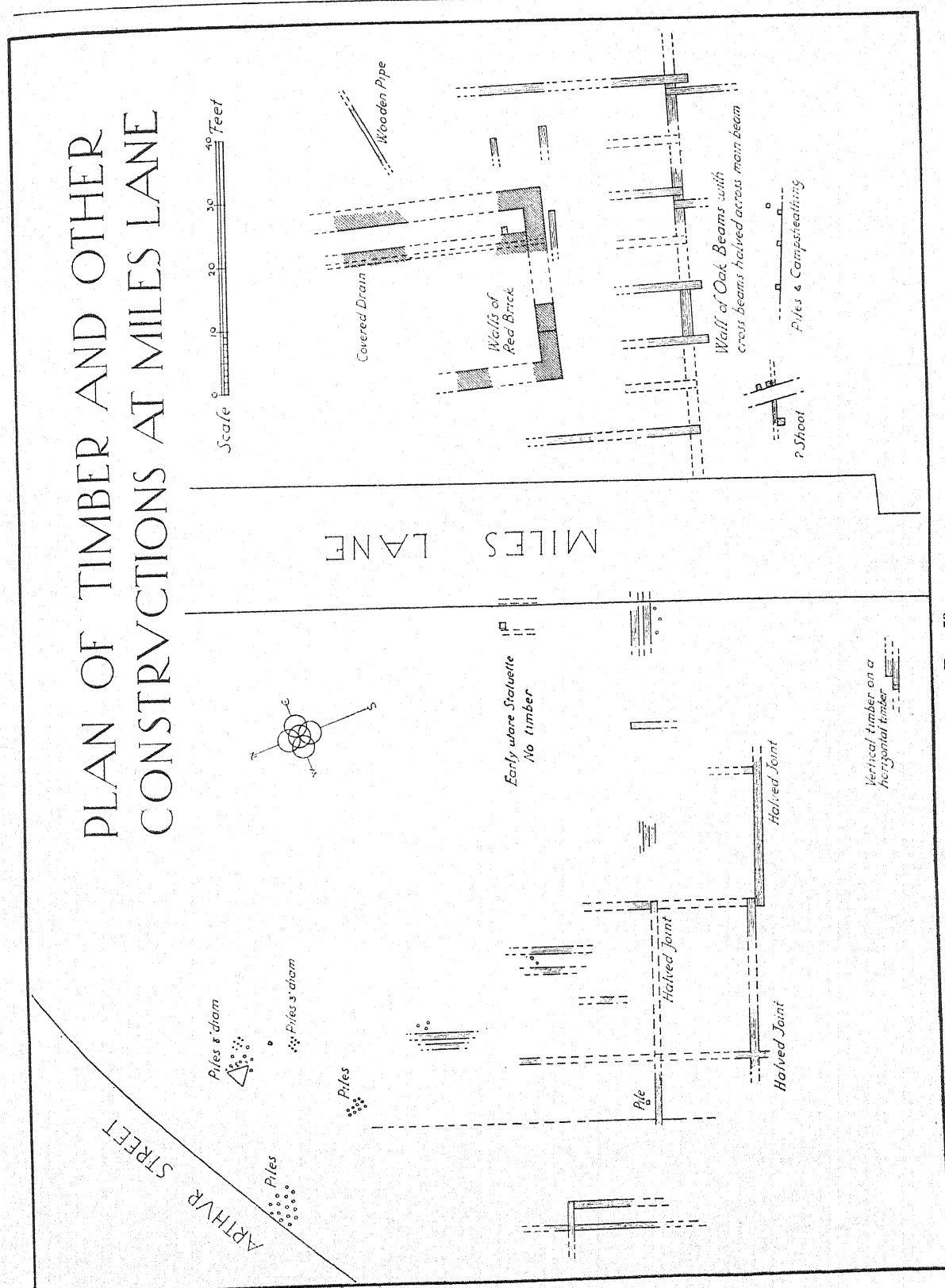


FIG. 50.

and what may have been a shoot were discovered. Traces of timber construction at the S. end of the brick building seemed to indicate that constructions of similar nature had been destroyed when the building was erected. The bulk of the datable pottery found within the main line of timbering, was of potters working before A.D. 100, and so far as could be observed later pottery extending to the middle of the 2nd century was found to the S. of the main line [*Arch.*, LXXI, 62-72].

In 1926, the corresponding site on the W. side of Miles Lane (Plan A 104), between that street and Arthur Street, was excavated. All over the site were found remains of timber constructions, one line of which was nearly continuous with the main line on the E. side of Miles Lane. The construction on this site, however, was of less heavy character and no general scheme could be made out. Traces were found, however, of a further line of timber-walling some 23 ft. in advance and to the S. of the main line [Q.W., R.E.M.W. and A.C.].

MINCING LANE. In 1824, in making a sewer, the remains of a hypocaust were met with, opposite the gateway (Plan A 10) into the Clothworkers' Hall, at a depth of 18 ft. The arrangement of the flues is described as being very perfectly preserved; in one of them a vase full of charcoal was found [Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 83].

Part of a stone mortar and the base and capital of a column were found on W. side of the lane (Plan A 11) in 1850, between two floors 2 ft. apart; the upper, 12 ft. below the surface, was a tessellated pavement, the lower was composed of gravel, lime, and pounded tiles [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, VI, 442, pl. 35, VII, 87].

Excavations for Capel's premises in Dunster Court (Plan A 12) in 1856 yielded, at a depth of 12 to 25 ft., chalk, rag-stone, and brick earth in four layers, supposed to belong to dwellings formed with "cob" walls, and with these, human bones and fragments of pottery; below, at a depth of about 20 ft., was a well and leading to it a curved pathway paved with pieces of tile or *tesserae* set in lime. In the well, were potsherds, probably mediaeval [*Arch. Journ.*, XIII, 274].

In 1891, during the rebuilding of the Commercial Sale Rooms (Plan A 13), a square "pot-hole" of Roman (?) date was discovered, constructed in regular layers of chalk about 7 ft. deep, in area 4 by 7 ft. It contained a green jug, a wooden bowl, a dog's skull, and eggs of a duck and a hen, both perfect. The "green jug" seems to be open to doubt [*Daily Graphic*, 21 October, 21 November, 1891, hence *Antiq.*, XXV, 21].

In June, 1927, a section of a Roman wall was discovered under the pavement on the W. side of Mincing Lane about 41 ft. S.E. of the junction with Fenchurch Street (Plan A 10). The wall was

2 ft. thick and ran approximately N. and S.; the foundation was of rag-stone and chalk and the wall had apparently a double bonding-course of bricks, 16½ ft. below the street-level. The wall probably belonged to the building with a hypocaust, discovered in 1824 [R.E.M.W. and A.C.].

MONUMENT. In 1833, the following discoveries were made in sinking a cesspool to the S. of the Monument, "and at the back of some newly erected fruit warehouses in Pudding Lane (Plan A 24). The depth of the cesspool about 22 ft. from the surface of the pavement at that part of the hill. After removing the old walls, most of which were evidently the original foundations of the buildings prior to the Great Fire, was found an encrustation which was spread over the surface of the ground, and consisted of stone and brick broken very fine and mixed with lime; it was about 9 in. deep and excessively hard. This was clearly an artificial footing on which the walls had been erected; beneath was a loose mixed ground; below this was discovered the remains of an aqueduct running towards the river Thames southward, and communicating with a bath or tank northward. The sides of the aqueduct were composed chiefly of yellow Roman tiles (some were red); they measured 16 to 17 in. in length by 11½ in. in width and were 2 in. thick; the bottom consisted of similar tiles turned up a little on each side, measuring in the clear 12 in. by 18 in. in length. The S. wall of the tank was built with similar tiles, was coated inside with plaster and lined with small pieces of stone ½ in. square, cemented together similar to tessellated work. . . . There was also a transverse watercourse on the E. side of the aqueduct, consisting of semi-circular tiles 17 in. long and 4 in. in the clear diameter, placed one on the other, forming a complete barrel. The joints between the tiles of the tank and aqueduct were an inch in thickness." "The sides and bottom of the cistern were tessellated with small cubes of alabaster or marble" [*Gent. Mag.*, 1834, I, 95].

MONUMENT STREET. In 1887, between Pudding Lane and Botolph Lane, about 150 ft. E. of the Monument (Plan A 25), in the course of demolitions for the new street from Fish Street Hill to Billingsgate Market, at a depth of 12 ft., a portion of an inscribed pavement was found. "The pavement was laid upon a bed of concrete 12 in. thick. . . . The plain surface was of ½-in. *tesserae*, and the letters of smaller black *tesserae*." The pavement measured 4 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in.; it broke in pieces when found and is now lost. A drawing by H. Hodge is preserved in the Library of the Soc. of Antiquaries [Brown portfolio] and is reproduced, Fig. 88, p. 176. [*Academy*, Aug. 13th, 1887, p. 109, Sept. 3rd, p. 155; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), XII, 128; *Arch. Journ.*, XLV, 184; *Ephem. Epigr.*, VII, 276, No. 817; for the inscription, see p. 176].

MOORGATE STREET. About 1835-36, near the Swan's Nest Public House in Great Swan Alley (Plan A 136) on the Coleman Street side of the excavation presumably that for the new Moorgate Street) a pit was discovered; it was 2½ to 3 ft. square, boarded on each side with planks placed upright but discontinued towards the bottom, where the pit became circular; it contained "a store of earthen vessels." They seem to have been closely packed in a horizontal position, and their capacity varied from a quart to two gallons, some larger but in fragments; some were of dark clay, with borders of reticulated patterns. With them was a small bowl of red ware, with leaf decoration in slip on the rim (form 35, Dragendorff), a small brass coin of Allectus, one iron hook, and a bucket handle, figured in *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 142 [*Arch.*, XXVII, 148; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, III, 506; *Soc. Antiq. MS. Min.* XXXVII, 57]. See also KING'S ARMS YARD.

NICHOLAS LANE (Plan A 93). A "sepulchral urn" of dark-coloured clay, containing burnt clay and animal matter (?) was found in 1847 about 16 ft. below the surface "in the immediate vicinity of a dwelling-house decidedly Roman, in the walls of which, at regular intervals, appeared openings, containing decayed wood, probably of joists, door-posts, etc." The urn "contained portions of charcoal and small pieces of iron and lead, besides portions of unburned bones of some smaller animal" [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, II, 341; *Coll. Antiq.*, I, 146, pl. 49].

In 1850, an inscription (see p. 170) was found at the depth of between 11 and 12 ft. (Plan A 96). A note on a City Sewers Plan (II, 119, with sketch of inscription) of July, 1850, reads: "When excavating for a sewer in Nicholas Lane we met with an old wall, 30 ft. from the line of frontage in Cannon Street, the quoin-end of which stood in Nicholas Lane, about 7 ft. thick, 9 ft. from the surface to the top of the wall, built of Kentish rag, chalk and flints. The foundation-stone of this wall, under the quoin-end, was 3 ft. long by 2½ ft. wide and 12 in. thick. . . . the lettered face of the stone lay flat upon the earth" [*Illus. Rom. Lond.* p. 29, No. 11; *Coll. Antiq.*, III, 257; Roach Smith, *Retrospections* II, 198].

About 1920, in repairs to a sewer in the S. part of Nicholas Lane (Plan A 95), a pavement of coarse red *tesserae* was cut through; below it was the burnt layer which extends over much of this part of the city [*Arch.*, LXXI, 58].

PANCRAS LANE (Plan A 127). Bones, burnt wood, and small pieces of pavement were found in making some cellars in 1794 [*Gent. Mag.*, 1795, II, 986; Allen, *Hist. of Lond.*, I, 29].

PATERNOSTER ROW (Plan A 176). About 1834-6 a shaft was sunk, opposite Paternoster Row, to a depth of 18 ft., until "operations were checked by

a stone wall of intense hardness running towards the centre of St. Paul's." Finds included coins of Vespasian and Domitian, a Gaulish dish with stamp OF. MODESTI (in British Museum) and iron tools. In the wall were cemented two large sea-shells [*Arch.*, XXVII, 150]. In 1839-41, at a depth of 12 ft., a pavement was found extending for 40 ft., with birds and beasts in compartments within a border of guilloche and rosettes; this was subsequently destroyed. With it were found amphoræ, glass vessels, and bone hairpins, and at a somewhat greater depth a skeleton in a framework of tiles as at Bow Lane [*Ibid.*, XXIX, 155; Roach Smith, *Illustrations*, 57-58]. In 1843 in erecting the Religious Tract Society's premises, at the corner of Canon Row (Plan A 177), "a small portion of a tessellated pavement consisting of the small white and grey *tesserae* was found at the N.E. corner and apparently extended beneath the road," with pottery including the stamp ADVOCISI and coins (Claudius, Faustina, Commodus) [*Gent. Mag.*, 1843, II, 81; *Rom. Brit. Rem.*, I, 200].

A piece of red tessellated pavement has been re-set in front of No. 27, Ivy Lane.

PATERNOSTER SQUARE (formerly NEWGATE-MARKET. In rebuilding the premises of Messrs. Kegan, Paul, Trench and Co. at the (W.) corner of Paternoster Square and Rose Street (Plan A 179), in 1883, in excavating for the foundations of party walls in the Paternoster Square frontage "a quantity of Roman pavement was discovered at a depth of 17 ft. below the ground line" [*Builder*, 1883, II, 226].

At the N.W. corner (Plan A 178) were found in 1884, at a depth of 16 ft., part of a plain pavement and various forms of tiles, including flue tiles and hypocaust pillars; some of the flat tiles were scored with patterns [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XL, 123, 210].

An excavation in May, 1925, on the site of Nos. 26 and 27 (Plan A 180) exposed, in the western portion, a Roman rubbish pit, apparently dating from the end of the 1st century [Q.W.].

POULTRY. On the site of the Union Bank in St. Mildred's Court (Plan A 129), in 1867, part of a pavement was found 18 ft. below the surface. "It comprised a square enclosing a circle; the central ornament was a vase . . . around the vase there appeared portions of a tree with foliage, also an object resembling an archway, with embattled figures and other objects . . . ; around the whole were two simple bands of black *tesserae* separating the circle from an elaborate scroll with foliage and flowers . . . at each corner a rose or other flower, with eight petals; from the centre of each flower there springs in opposite directions two branches which unite with a leaf possibly a lotus . . . the entire design is bordered by the guilloche in seven intertwining bands of black, red, brown and white *tesserae*." The pavement was laid on concrete with

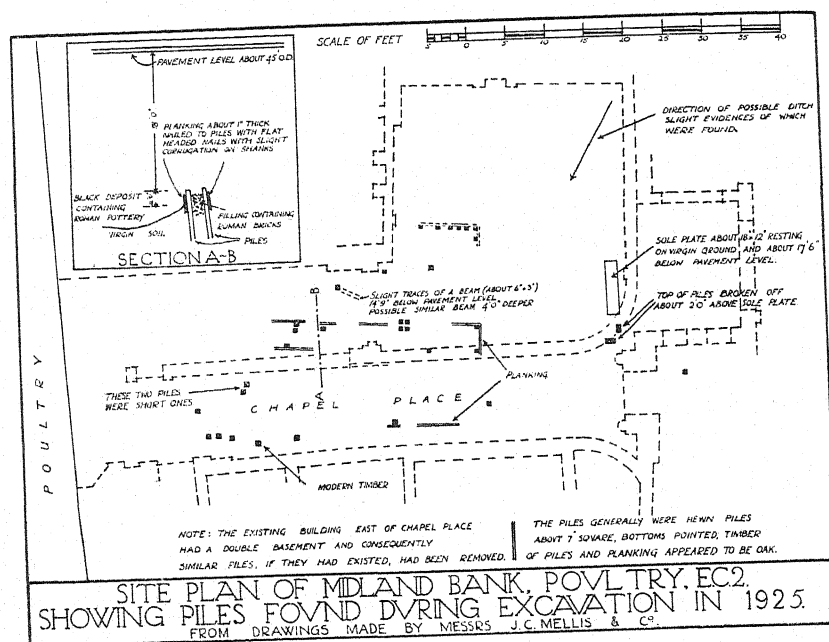


Fig. 51.

a hypocaust. Morgan, [*Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 193; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, III, 217; Price, *Bucklersbury Pavement*].

A fragment of another pavement with the figure of a monster is preserved at the London Museum. It is stated to have been found in Poultry, but there seems little or no doubt that it is modern work.

In August, 1925, in clearing a site on the W. side of Chapel Court, Poultry (Plan A 130), remains of an extensive series of pile-structures (Fig. 51) were uncovered. The majority of the piles on the southern part of the site were not sufficiently regular in position to give any indication of their purpose, but farther N. was a series of groups which appeared to represent long rectangular structures enclosed with boarding or sheathing. The northern line of these structures was about 52 ft. back from the frontage line in Poultry, and the three of which remains survived were regularly spaced at about 12 ft. from centre to centre. It was obvious from the deep deposit of black mud that the site had been formerly occupied by the bed of a stream; the piles were roughly squared, pointed at the ends and were driven into the blue clay below the mud deposit. The regular spacing of the structures would seem to imply something in the nature of a bridge, leaving space for the passage of water between the piers. In the black mud were found some pieces of Samian, including one with the stamp MAJOR. I, part of a wooden bowl, fragments of leather, etc. [A.C.].

PRINCE'S STREET (Plan A 132). Wooden piles found in this street appear to belong to the ancient embankment of the Walbrook [*Arch.*, XXVII, 143; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, VIII, 57].

PUDDING LANE (Plan A 23). A wall of tiles and rag-stone and a hypocaust (Plate 44) were partially exposed in 1836-41. "In the middle of Pudding Lane, running to the bottom, and, as the workmen told me, even across Thames Street, is a strong wall, formed of layers of red and yellow tiles, and rag-stones, which appear to have appertained to a building of considerable extent. The hypocaust belonging thereto was partly laid open as shown with the adjoining wall in the engraving" (Pl. XVIII, shows a wall 2 ft. 8 in. thick and about 8 ft. from it 10 pillars in two rows parallel to it—of brick) [*Arch.*, XXIX, 154 pl. 18].

QUEEN STREET (Plan A 158). In excavations for a sewer in Queen Street in July, 1842, at a short distance from Watling Street, a fine piece of Roman wall running directly across the street, was exposed to view . . . built of flat red tiles, embedded in solid and compact mortar. Several others lower down the street were also discovered." Near this wall was found a fine bronze figure of an archer, now in the British Museum [*Arch.*, XXX, 543, pl. 22; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXIV, 75; *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, pl. 20, p. 71; Fairholt, *Miscell. Graphica*, pl. 8]. E. B. Price records that: "In June and July last (1843), a new sewer was carried through Queen Street between Thames Street and Watling Street. Of the remains of the Roman period which came



ins 12 6 0 1 2 3 4 5 feet

PAVEMENT, LEADENHALL STREET.

British Museum.

Malby & Sons, Lith.

under my own observation I may briefly enumerate the following. There were numerous fragments of fresco painting, chiefly red and yellow but remarkably brilliant, some portion in blue or bright slate colour, a fragment of the latter exhibiting the lower part of the human figure. Cinerary urns of a very rude style of art; in one of them the remains of human bones adhered so firmly as to have the appearance of being part and parcel of the vessel. . . . Among the remains, when forcibly separated from the vessel, was easily recognized a portion of the nasal bone. There were five other jars. Of the contents of the other four, when first found by the workmen, I have no means of judging—there was nothing remaining but mud and fragments of charcoal. A portion of a tessellated pavement, composed of small *tesserae*, white, red and slate-coloured, and which evidently formed part of a pavement of some elegance, belonging, in all probability, to an edifice of importance, judging from the remains of an immense wall with its layer of bond-tiles (15½ in. by 10¼ in. by 1½ in.)." Much pottery, etc., and a few coins, including a second brass of Nero, were also found [*Gent. Mag.*, 1843, I, 21; *Rom. Brit. Rem.*, I, 196]. Roach Smith in 1841 records the finding of a pavement of red *tesserae* opposite Well Court, 14 ft. square, at a depth of 13 ft., and two gold armlets [*Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 127]; he mentions that several walls cut right across the street [*Arch.*, XXIX, 155; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, II, 93].

QUEEN VICTORIA STREET. Numerous discoveries were made in 1872–73, during the construction of this street, the most noteworthy being those on the premises of the National Safe Deposit Company, No. 1 at the angle of Walbrook (Plan A 126). Mr. Price states that finds of pottery and coins were made at a depth of 32 ft., 2 ft. beneath an oaken frame-work 3 ft. square, above which was much wooden piling. He also mentions a perfect globular amphora (*see* his pl. 4), 5 ft. to the S.W. In a trench "parallel to Charlotte Row there appeared, at a depth of about 25 ft. from the surface level, a timber flooring supported by huge oak timbers, 12 in. by 12 in. square and running parallel with the stream [the Walbrook]. This was at the S. corner and may have indicated a stage or landing-place at this portion of the line. Adjoining this were evidences of a macadamized roadway which extended in a line with Bucklersbury until it reached the apparent course of the brook. Upon the opposite side similar indications appeared and the remains possibly indicate a roadway which here crossed the stream. . . . In the trench parallel with Bucklersbury a seam of ballast was discovered at a depth of 35 ft. In this were quantities of wooden piles, many of which had been driven into the clay prior to the silting up around them of this sand and shingle. The greatest depth from which these

piles were drawn was upwards of 40 ft. from the street-level. Near to the spot marked F upon the plan (Fig. 52) the greatest number of the antiquities were seen. Here appeared fragments of bricks, tiles, and other indications of buildings, associated with a vast number of coins, pottery, and personal objects both of iron and bronze. All bore indications of fire: portions of metal and glass were collected

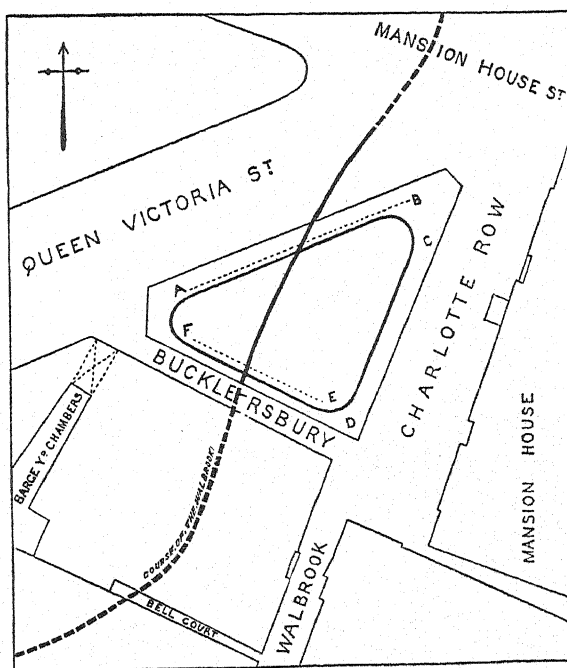


FIG. 52. From *Rom. Antiq. Nat. Safe Dep. Premises*, J. E. Price.

which by extreme heat had been fused and melted into misshapen forms. At this spot there was also discovered a large quantity of wheat. This, though retaining the form of the grain, was blackened, and much of it completely carbonized by fire. In the trench A to B was observed a portion of a coarse description of flooring composed of broken tiles made up by Roman concrete; from its situation it apparently belonged to the buildings connected with the tessellated pavement discovered some three years ago" [J. E. Price, *Nat. Safe Dep.*, p. 53]. *See also* BREAD STREET HILL, BUCKLESBURY, TRINITY LANE and WATLING STREET.

ROYAL EXCHANGE (Plan A 73). Excavation on the site in 1841 is described by Roach Smith [*Arch.*, XXIX, 267 ff.] as follows:—"On advancing to the centre of the area [of the site of the Royal Exchange] a more prominent feature was exhibited. Here the foundations of buildings were laid open in well-constructed walls, running in a diagonal direction from N.E. to [S.W.]. At about 30 ft. farther W., with other remains (Fig. 53) of foundations, was

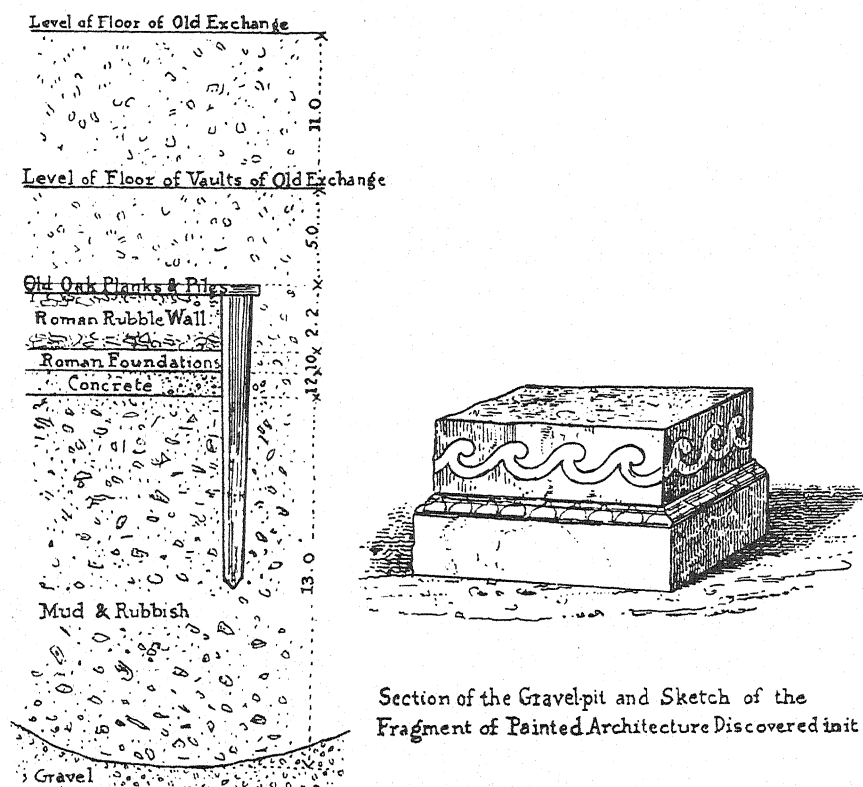


FIG. 53. Remains under Royal Exchange. From *Cat. Antiq. Royal Exchange*, Tite.

discovered a mass of masonry composed of tiles and mortar. Two sides of this fragment, when first found, still retained the paintings in fresco, with which they had been ornamented; they were laid on a thick coat of stucco . . . the ground of a pale pink colour, bordered by an egg-and-tongue pattern, surmounted by an elegant scroll . . . Beneath this masonry was a layer of gravel, 2 ft. thick (19 ft. from the street-level) . . . this layer of gravel, being taken away, the subsoil to the extent of 40 ft. by 50 ft. and to the depth of 19 ft. was found to be wholly foreign to the locality. It was composed almost entirely of animal and vegetable matter, apparently thrown in as refuse, from adjacent shops and houses. In one part of the pit were loads of oyster-shells, in another dross from the smith's forge, bones of cows, sheep and goats, matted together with ordure and interspersed with abundance of broken pottery, pieces of leather, portions of sandals, fragments of glass, lamps, instruments of iron, fibulae, a strygil, coins and other objects. . . . The coins discovered in this pit . . . are chiefly of the second brass of Vespasian and Domitian, to the amount of nearly 12, with only a solitary instance of a later date in a plated denarius of Severus; these coins must necessarily have been deposited previously to the pit having been covered in for building on." Two of the knives found in this

pit bore respectively the names OLONDVS.F. and P.BAS. . . ILIF, with the small figure of a man in the middle of the name [see Roach Smith, *Illus. of Rom. Lond.*, p. 140, pl. 37, corrected from Tite and for inscriptions see p. 175]. Tite adds the following items of information:—(1) the eastern portion of the site first excavated, supplied "very few relics of any considerable antiquity" whereas the middle and west yielded them in great quantity; (2) with regard to the coins found in the Roman rubbish-pit, he states that "those of Vespasian and Domitian are the most numerous, especially the latter; but though there are specimens of the coins of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius and also of the two Empresses Faustina, there do not occur any pieces of the emperors of the 3rd century, excepting one of the third brass of Septimius Severus, which has been plated. There does not appear to be any reason for doubting that this coin was really found in the gravel-pit, from 20 to 30 ft. in depth, as the original title states, with three other pieces of Vespasian and Domitian, and if this be regarded as the latest coin enclosed there, that receptacle was, of course, covered over before A.D. 235. There is, however, a small coin of Gratianus capable of being positively assigned to A.D. 374, which was recovered after being taken away, and consequently bearing a more

particular title—which probably more accurately indicates the time when the gravel-pit was closed up and built over” [*Arch.*, XXIX, 267 ff.; XXXIX, 497; *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 12; Roach Smith, *Retrospections*, I, 129; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, VII, 82; *Archæologist*, I, 200; Tite, *Cat. Antiq. Roy. Exch.*, 1848 p. xliii; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. XXXVIII, 189, 195]. In the space (Plan A 74) in front of the Exchange, where Bank Buildings formerly stood, a Roman wall was found running in the direction of the Bank; near this was unearthed the fine vase now in the British Museum (see under CORNHILL).

ST. DUNSTAN'S HILL (Plan A 18). “Urns,” probably not cinerary, were found in 1824 under a pavement [Knight, *Lond.* (ed. Walford), I, 159]. In making a sewer (previous to 1840) some Roman pavement was cut through near to Cross Lane [Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 80; Herbert, *Hist. of St. Michael, Crooked Lane*, 19; said to be now in the Guildhall]. Part of a wall, on the premises of Messrs. Ruck, wine-merchants, was reported in 1863, of chalk and Kentish rag, 3½ ft. thick and 20 ft. below street-level [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XIX, 63]. In the same year was found a well “of uncertain date,” with chalk lining and fragments of pottery, wall-plaster, and flue-tiles. To the N.E., under the old wall of the churchyard, was found a “a mass of concrete and a cavity, which seemed to have been moulded upon a wooden coffin, and contained some human remains . . . the concrete was of great hardness and contained portions of pounded brick; some roofing tiles, similar in shape to the ordinary Italian tiles, were laid in a slightly arched form over the grave” [*Ibid.*, XX, 297, pl. 19]. This structure may well have been a Saxon burial as it closely resembles the tombs of the early archbishops found at St. Augustine's, Canterbury.

ST. HELENS, LITTLE (now ST. HELEN'S PLACE). In 1733, “was discover'd by some workmen a Roman pavement (Plan A 50), which by the inscription had been laid about 1700 years. The Work was Mosaick, and the Tiles not above an Inch square. Several human Bones of large size being found also, it seems to have been a burying Place of note” [*Gent. Mag.*, 1733, 436]. The bones may well have been mediaeval. This pavement is said to have had an inscription [*Arch. Journ.*, XXXIII, 269], but it was never copied.

ST. MARTIN LE GRAND (Plan A 149). The site was cleared in 1818 for the New Post Office, but the structural remains then found do not appear to have been of Roman date. A Roman tile inscribed P.P.BRI. LON was found here about 1845 [*Arch. Journ.*, III, 69; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XIV, 337]. When the site was again cleared in 1913 traces of a Roman house were observed in the S.E. corner of the site; they consisted of “broken

bricks, roofing-tiles, about 500 small pieces of painted plaster and a number of large pieces of clay-daub, burnt hard by the conflagration which had destroyed the building.” The house had apparently been built largely of wattle and daub. Near the site of this house the ground was covered with pits, which had possibly been dug for clay. They were filled with Roman rubbish, including coins from Claudius onwards. It was observed that the pits, as indicated by their contents, were generally earlier at the southern end of the site than at the northern end. A well and traces of a footpath were also found in this area [*Arch.*, LXVI, 246].

ST. MARY AXE. Tessellated pavement was found in 1849, while digging for sewers at the corner of Bevis Marks (Plan A 52) near the Blue Pig; since destroyed [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, V, 90]. A wall of rag-stone, bonded with tiles, was found in 1909 in the middle of the road, at the junction of St. Mary Axe with Camomile Street and Bevis Marks (Plan A 52). It ran parallel with and 40 ft. from the city-wall [*Arch.*, LXIII, 321].

ST. MARY-LE-BOW, CHEAPSIDE (Plan A 146). “The parochial church of *St. Maryle Bow* in Cheapside, requir'd to be rebuilt after the *Great Fire*:—Upon opening the Ground, a Foundation was discern'd firm enough for the new intended Fabrick, which (on further Inspection, after digging down sufficiently and removing what Earth or Rubbish lay in the Way) appear'd to be the Walls, with the Windows also, and the Pavement of a Temple, or Church, of Roman Workmanship, intirely bury'd under the Level of the present Street. . . . he sunk about 18 Feet deep through made-ground, and then imagin'd he was come to the natural Soil and hard Gravel, but upon full examination, it appear'd to be a Roman Causeway of rough Stone, close and well rammed, with Roman Brick and Rubbish at the Bottom, for a Foundation, and all firmly cemented. This Causeway was four feet thick. . . . He then concluded to lay the Foundation of the Tower upon the very Roman Causeway, as most proper to bear what he had design'd, a weighty and lofty structure” [Wren, *Parentalia*, 265]. The architectural remains, referred to, are no doubt those of the Norman crypt of the church.

In 1915, excavations made in the crypt of Bow Church brought to light remains of two lines of planking and piles, about 4 ft. apart and below the Norman work. They were considered to imply the near neighbourhood of a small subsidiary stream perhaps running parallel to the Walbrook [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, N.S., XXI, 281].

ST. MARY WOOLNOTH (Plan A 89). “Anno 1716, in digging Foundations of a new Church, to be erected where the Church of *St. Mary Woolnoth* in Lombard Street stood, at the Depth of about 15 Foot, and so lower to 22 Foot were found Roman vessels, both for sacred and Domestic Uses, of all

Sorts, and in great Abundance, but all broken. And with all were taken up Tusks and Bones of Boars and Goats. As also many Meddals, and Pieces of Metals, some tessellated Works, a Piece of an Aqueduct, and at the very Bottom a Well filled up with Mire and Dirt" [Stow, *Survey* (ed. Strype), II, App. V. 24; Allen, *Hist. of Lond.*, I, 25; Hughson, *Hist. of Lond.*, I, 34; cf. Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*, X, pt. 1, 91].

ST. OLAVE, OLD JEWRY (Plan A 133). Mr. F. W. Reader states that in 1888 a Roman pavement was found on this site at a depth of 16 ft., composed of red *tesserae*, and measuring 20 ft. by 3 ft. There was also a wall running parallel with the present line of frontage, 12 ft. below the surface, 12 ft. high and 3 ft. thick, but the foundations were not reached. Much of the soil was black mud, and contained Roman pottery and other relics [V.C.H. *London*, I, 124].

ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD. The most noteworthy discovery here was that of the Roman pottery kilns, found when digging foundations at the N.W. corner of the cathedral (Plan A 174) in 1672, described in a

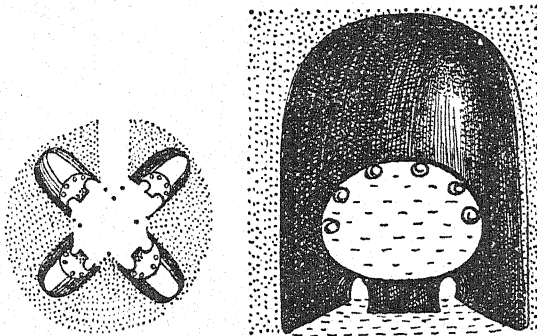


FIG. 54. From V.C.H. *London*, I.

MS. of John Conyers (Brit. Mus. Sloane MSS. 958, fol. 105). The depth is stated to have been 26 ft.; there were four kilns (Fig. 54) of the usual domical form, which are described as "made in the sandy loam, in the fashion of a cross foundation, of which only the one sketched was left standing. It was 5 ft. from top to bottom and of the same width, and had no other matter for its form and building but the outward loam, naturally crusted hardish by the heat burning the loam red, like brick; the floor in the middle supported by, and cut out of, loam, and helped with old-fashioned Roman tyles' shards, but very few, and such as I have seen used for repositories for urns, in the fashion of and like ovens. The kiln was full of the coarser sort of pots, so that few were saved whole, viz., lamps, bottles, urns and dishes." Drawings of some of these were given, and one jar at least, of a dark grey ware, appears to be of 1st-century date [Illus. *Rom. Lond.*, 79; *Coll. Antiq.*, VI, 185; Walters,

Ancient Pottery, II, 444; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), XVI, 42; XXVI, 225; Stow *Survey* (ed. Strype), II, App. I, 23]. Strype gives the additional statement, which, if trustworthy, is not without significance, that "likewise thereabouts were found several moulds of Earth, some exhibiting Figures of Men, of Lions, of Leaves of Trees, and other Things. These were used to make Impressions of those things upon the Vessels." He also states that on the S. side of the church were found "several scalps of Oxen, and a large quantity of Boars' Tusks, with divers earthen Vessels, especially Paterae of different Shapes." Camden refers to a similar discovery of ox-scalps or ox-heads in the reign of Edward I, and refers them to the Taurobolia celebrated in honour of Diana. He states that the precincts are called in the church records *Camera Dianae*, and it has always been a tradition that the site of St. Paul's represents that of a temple to that deity [Gough, *Camden*, II, 81; see also Malcolm, *Lond. Rediv.*, III, 509; Milman, *St. Paul's*, 1 ff.; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXVIII, 143, 237]. Malcolm, quoting from a MS. dissertation of Dr. Woodward, relates the discovery, to the S.W. of the cathedral, of a bronze statuette of Diana, 2½ in. high, in the habit of a huntress, with elaborately-plaited hair, and carrying a quiver [see also Allen, *Hist. of Lond.*, I, 22]. Wren's account of the finds described by Strype is as follows:—"The Surveyor gave but little Credit to the common Story, that a Temple had been here to Diana . . . meeting with no such Indications in all his Searches; but that the North-side of this Ground had been very anciently a great Burying-place was manifest, for upon the digging the Foundations of the present Fabrick of St. Paul's, he found under the Graves of the latter Ages. [Saxon, British, and Roman]. In the same row (with the British) and deeper were Roman Urns intermixed. This was eighteen feet deep or more, and belonged to the Colony when Romans and Britains lived and died together. The most remarkable Roman Urns, Lamps, Lachrymatories, and Fragments of Sacrificing-vessels, etc., were found deep in the ground, towards the north-east corner of St. Paul's Church, near Cheapside; these were generally well wrought and embossed with various Figures and Devices, of the colour of the modern red Portugal ware some brighter like Coral, and of a Hardness equal to Chinaware, and as well glaz'd. Among divers Pieces which happened to have been preserved are a Fragment of a Vessel, in Shape of a Bason, whereon Charon is represented with his Oar in his Hand receiving a naked Ghost; a *Patera Sacrificialis* with an Inscription PATER. CLO, a remarkable small Urn of a fine hard Earth and leaden Colour, containing about half a Pint; many pieces of Urns with the names of the Potters embossed on the Bottoms, such as, for instance, ALBVCI, M. VICTORINVS, PATER, F. MOSSI.

M, OF NIGRI, AOMAPILII.M, etc., a sepulchral earthen Lamp . . . supposed Christian; and two *lachrymatories* of glass" [*Parentalia*, 265 ff.].

At the N.E. corner of the churchyard (Plan A 175) in 1841, a "domestic building" of some size was "intersected by the channel cut for a sewer." At a depth of 18 ft. was a hypocaust with pillars of tiles, supporting a tessellated pavement (since destroyed) on a substratum of mortar. The pavement has a variegated pattern of rosettes on a white ground. Coins of Constans, Constantius, Magnentius, Decentius, and Valens, were also found "beneath the ruins" [*Arch.*, XXIX, 272; *Archæologist*, I, 220; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 185]. Another account states that the excavation "began at the N.E. corner of St. Paul's Churchyard (in front of the Cathedral Coffee House), and extended as far as Cannon Alley. . . . At the commencement was found, at a depth of 19 or 20 ft., a pavement consisting of about fifty tiles, varying from 7 to 8 in. square, and four or five large ones, 23 in. square, about 3 in. thick. . . . A curious old sword was also discovered, about 3 ft. long (at what depth I have not been able to ascertain). It had evidently suffered from the action of an intense fire . . . upon rubbing a portion of the blade near the hilt characters appeared. The only portions legible were, on one side IC, on the other SC." Other finds included a dagger, numerous fragments of Samian pottery, with the stamps REGALIS and BATERA, and copper coins of "Carausius, Constantius, Claudius, Nerva, Magnentius, Faustina, Domitian, Antoninus." Several fragments of mosaic pavement were also dug up, and vast quantities of human bones [E. B. Price, in *Gent. Mag.*, 1841, II, 263; *Rom. Brit. Rem.*, I, 216].

ST. PETER'S HILL, UPPER THAMES STREET. In June, 1863, workmen excavating for drainage turned up portions of Roman brick and concrete and found a wall (Plan A 168) "3 ft. 8 in. thick at the base, being rubble to the height of 3 ft. from the footing, which stood in the gravel and sand of the old bed of the Thames. Then followed Roman bricks, in courses, to the further height of 3 ft. 10 in.; then rubble again to the height of 2 ft. 2 in., diminishing in thickness from 3 ft. 6 in. to 2 ft. 9 in. at the top, which lay 5 ft. 10 in. below the surface of the ground, almost at the upper extremity of St. Peter's Hill. The wall, however, did not lie in a direction parallel to Knightrider Street, which bends somewhat northward at that place. Careful measurements were therefore taken, both across the 'hill' and northward, at both ends of the line of wall, to the front of the houses on the N. side of Knightrider Street, so that its direction might be traced eastward or westward, to any other point where it might afterwards be traced. A few days afterwards . . . a further portion was discovered on the northern side of the way in Great Knightrider

Street, exactly in the direction indicted by the former measurements. . . . From this spot we found the wall tend to the exact line of the front wall of the parish church a little to the eastward" [*Arch.*, XL, 48]. The position of these walls (Plan A 168) and of another at the bottom of St Peter's Hill (Plan A 169), is indicted on a City Sewers Plan of 1845 [I, 139], but the alignment of the two walls above described is not apparent from the plan. See also LAMBETH HILL, UPPER THAMES STREET.

ST. THOMAS APOSTLE. A pavement was seen by Roach Smith, in 1846, 7 ft. below street-level, a few yards from Queen Street (Plan A 159); it had a pattern in red, white, yellow, and black *tesserae*, and probably formed the border of a large pavement; it was subsequently destroyed [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, II, 350].

Towards the close of 1848 in Little St. Thomas Apostle (Plan A 156), in sewer digging, the remains of massive walls of chalk, stone and flat bricks, stucco with red and green frescoes, drain tiles and *tegulae* . . . broken flue pipes, hand-mill, Samian, etc., oysters, and animals' horns were found. At depth of 16 ft. was a considerable quantity of charred wood and ashes [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, X, 195].

SEETHING LANE. Tessellated pavements were recorded in 1839-41, near St. Olave's Church (Plan A 16) and throughout the street, and lying on one of these was found the lower part of a sculpture (Plate 6) of the mother-goddesses [*Arch.*, XXIX, 154].

SERMON LANE. On a City Sewers Plan of October, 1844 [I, 5], is plotted a wall encountered in excavating a sewer (Plan A 171). No particulars are given but the wall was parallel to the road and extended about 70 ft. apparently turning under the houses on the E. side at either end of the wall. The sewer was at a depth of 14 ft.

SISE LANE, BUDGE ROW. In cutting Queen Victoria Street E. from Sise Lane (Plan A 124) and 14 ft. from the surface a portion of Roman flooring of plain red *tesserae* was found, fragmentary but *in situ*; adjoining it were remains of a wall, in the debris of which were many potsherds and painted stucco; the pavement had been destroyed by later wooden piling [Price, *Bucklersbury Pavement*, 1870, 69].

SUFFOLK LANE. In 1848, "Mr. C. Roach Smith reported the discovery of very extensive Roman remains in Suffolk Lane, city, opposite Merchant Taylors school (Plan A 108) . . . and exhibited a coloured drawing . . . of a very beautiful piece of mural painting found there, representing a winged youthful head. . . . The excavations which brought these and many other Roman remains to light were for a sewer. . . . It could also be ascertained

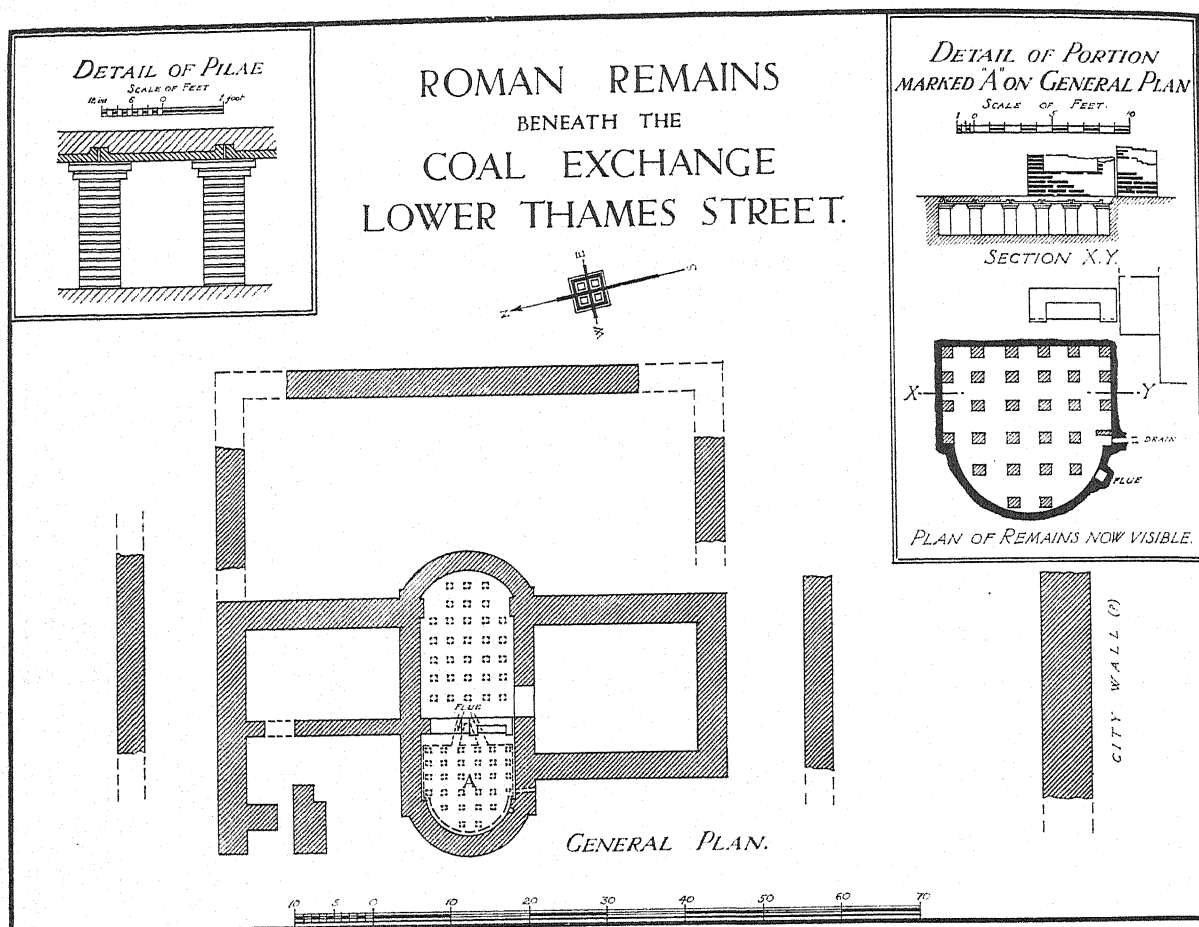


FIG. 55.

that the excavators cut through the foundations and debris of a Roman dwelling house of the better class. . . . The pigments used in the composition of the paintings were chiefly vermilion, yellow ochre, colcothar, terra vert, and lime for white" [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, IV, 338; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), II, 19]. Part of a pavement from this site was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in 1855 [*Proc.* (Ser. 1), III, 194]. At or near the S.E. angle of Suffolk Lane in 1863 was found a wall (Plan A. W 46) regarded as part of the River-Wall of the Roman town as described by Roach Smith and Tite [*Arch.*, XL, 48].

THAMES STREET, LOWER. In excavating for the new Coal Exchange (Plan A 19) in January, 1848, and later in 1859, the foundations of a Roman building (Fig. 55) were found at a depth of 12 ft. and a small portion of them is still visible in the basement of the Coal Exchange. The visible remains consist of a small chamber, 10½ ft. wide with an apse at the W. end. It was heated by a pillared hypocaust (Plate 45), the pillars being built of bricks 8 in. square to a height of 2 ft. ;

the two uppermost bricks are somewhat larger, and carry flanged roofing tiles which support the cement floor. At the E. end of the compartment is the lower part of a brick recess, apparently a seat, the back wall of which was probably carried up as a partition-wall but was not bonded into the S. wall of the room. Opposite the back of the seat the S. wall is squared off to form the jamb of a doorway. The walls are entirely of bricks with the average dimensions of 18 in. by 12 in. by 1½ to 1½ in. The mortar is white, and the mortar-joints average 1¼ to 1½ in. in thickness. Plans made when adjacent foundations were open show that a doorway immediately N. of the seat opened into a western, slightly longer chamber with an eastern apse and hypocaust, and N., S. and E. of these apsidal compartments were rectangular rooms of uncertain extent. W. of them was a drain or gutter composed of hollowed logs, several of which are now preserved in the Coal Exchange. When the foundations were laid bare, fragments of a stone cornice, a column-capital, window glass and coins of Nero, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius were found [*Journ. Brit.*

Arch. Assoc., IV, 38 ff., with plan and illustrations, 75; XXIX, 77; see also *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), I, 236, 240; *Arch. Journ.*, V, 25 ff.; Morgan, *Rom.-Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 186; *Gent. Mag.* 1848, I, 293; *Rom.-Brit. Rem.*, I, 217; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXIV, 295, with plate; *Builder*, 1859, 389, with sketches].

In making a sewer in 1834, nearly the whole line was found to be full of oak and chestnut piles but much closer and larger at the end of Botolph's Wharf gateway and warehouse (Plan A 21) than in other places; and westward, at the foot of Fish Street Hill (Plan A 22), were remains of substantial masonry (at the point where old London Bridge abutted) [Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, 90]. Some years previously, in Thames Street (whether Upper or Lower is not stated), an ancient culvert, 2 ft. 6 in. wide by 2 ft. high, was found 18 ft. below the surface, formed of oak planks; many bone pins or bodkins were also found [*Ibid.*, 71]. David Laing mentions timber embankments discovered at the Custom House (Plan A 20) in 1813 "at the several distances of 53, 86 and 103 ft. within the range of the existing wharf. At the same time about 50 ft. from the campshot or outer edge of the wharf-wall, a wall was discovered, erected E. and W., built with chalk-rubble and faced with Purbeck stone, which was considered to be either some part of the ancient defence of the city or some outwork of the Tower extending westwards. There was not, however, a trace of any important structure met with throughout the whole of the enormous area then laid open; but between the embankments were found the remains of buildings intermixed with pits and layers of rushes in different stages of decomposition" [D. Laing, *Description of the New Custom House*, 1818, 5-6; *Cat. Antiq. Roy. Exch.*, XXIII; cf. Herbert, *Hist. of St. Michael, Crooked Lane*, 14].

For the portion of town-wall found in 1911 under No. 125, see p. 93.

THAMES STREET, UPPER. The labourers employed in making sewers in the early part of the last century affirmed the existence of "an ancient paved causeway," 20 ft. below the present level [*Gent. Mag.*, 1832, II, 10]. Roman remains have been reported in the neighbourhood of Queenhithe, including fragments of pavements, tiles and other evidences of buildings opposite Vintners' Hall (Plan A. W42) [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, III, 409]. J. T. Smith records the discovery of part of the town-wall opposite Vintners' Hall [*Streets of London*, 380, see p. 93. For Roach Smith's discoveries of the town-wall in this street, see p. 93].

In 1927 a tunnel for electric-power cables was driven along the N. side of the street from Cannon Street station to Arthur Street. Opposite the block of buildings between Bush Lane and Little Bush

Lane (Plan A. W45) a foundation of chalk blocks was encountered; an indeterminate edge on the S. side seemed to trend more N. of E. than the line of the trench. This foundation may represent either the foundation of the river-wall or the débris fallen outwards. Material of a somewhat similar nature was found in a shaft S. of the W. frontage of Arthur Street, which again may represent fallen material; this latter deposit did not extend any farther E. in the tunnel which turned up the E. side of Arthur Street nor was any trace of walling or other construction encountered in passing up Arthur Street, though the southern part of this tunnel was driven through the river mud at the Roman level. On either side the foot of Suffolk Lane (Plan A 106) two heavy composite balks of timber were cut through; they were 20 ft. apart and between 15 and 20 ft. below the pavement-level. One of the timbers employed was 26 in. by at least 24 in. and the construction was said to slope towards the river. The suggestion that they formed slips appears to be negatived by the fact that they were not at the same level. About 18 ft. farther E. a flint wall was encountered crossing the trench; it was set in white mortar and 2½ ft. thick. Some 17 ft. E. of this wall another timber construction was encountered, of lighter type than the first and consisting of timbers running both across the trench and longitudinally. Projecting into the trench at this point was the drum of a stone column 2 ft. in diameter and roughly fashioned. Another timber was cut through (Plan A 105) about 34 ft. W. of the W. corner of Arthur Street [R.E.M.W. and A.C.].

THREADNEEDLE STREET. In 1841, traces of a coarse red tessellated pavement were found under the ruins of the French Protestant Church (Plan A 76), opposite Finch Lane; the position was immediately opposite and proximate to the entrance to the church from the street and on either side but not in the same line were coarse red pavements running under the street, at a depth of 12 ft.; it measured 6 ft. by 5 ft., being the pavement (Plate 50) of a passage (6 ft. wide) and had patterns of squares and lozenges in white and black, filled with rosettes, "labyrinths," and other devices. "The stratum of pavement, noticed to the extent of 7 or 8 ft. on the left on entering the ruins, had evidently been considerably disturbed . . . the regular portion with its substructure remaining, was about 2 ft. higher than the variegated part which again was not on the same level with a piece composed of 1 in. square *tesserae* lying about 4 ft. on the right." Another pavement (Plate 50) was unearthed about 6½ ft. to the N. of the first pavement; it is a square design with an extreme dimension of about 13½ ft., but the outer border may well have been much deeper than allowed for in this dimension; it was in variegated *tesserae*, with a rosette in the centre. The two

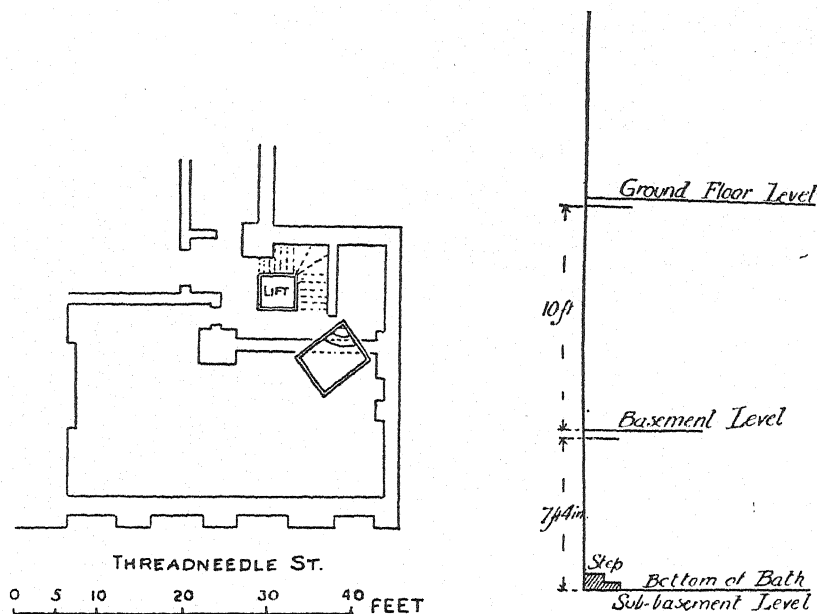


FIG. 56. Bath under No. 62 Threadneedle Street. From *Archæologia*, LX.

pavements are now in the British Museum. "Vestiges of other floorings and of passages were noticed but the walls had entirely disappeared. from the remains of wall-paintings the rooms had been decorated in a superior style: the ground of some of the paintings was red bordered with green, blue, black and yellow; other fragments were painted with flowers and foliage in red, yellow, white and green upon a black ground." A considerable quantity of charcoal and some charred barley found on the pavements indicated that the building had been destroyed by fire [*Arch.*, XXIX, 400; *Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. XXXVIII*, 149; *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 55, pls. 9, 10; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 183, 184]. A third pavement was found in 1844 "in Threadneedle Street not far distant from Merchant Taylors' Hall at a depth of about 12 ft. from the surface" [Morgan, *loc. cit.*]. A lead pipe found near by was supposed to have been connected with the baths of this house or villa [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, II, 2].

A note on a City Sewers Plan (II, 98), dated December, 1849, says: "while excavating for a branch in Threadneedle Street we met with an old Roman wall built with Kentish rag and chalk and standing in front of Crown Court (Plan A 78), about 10 ft. from the surface to the top of the wall and 12 ft. thick, running in a parallel line with Threadneedle Street."

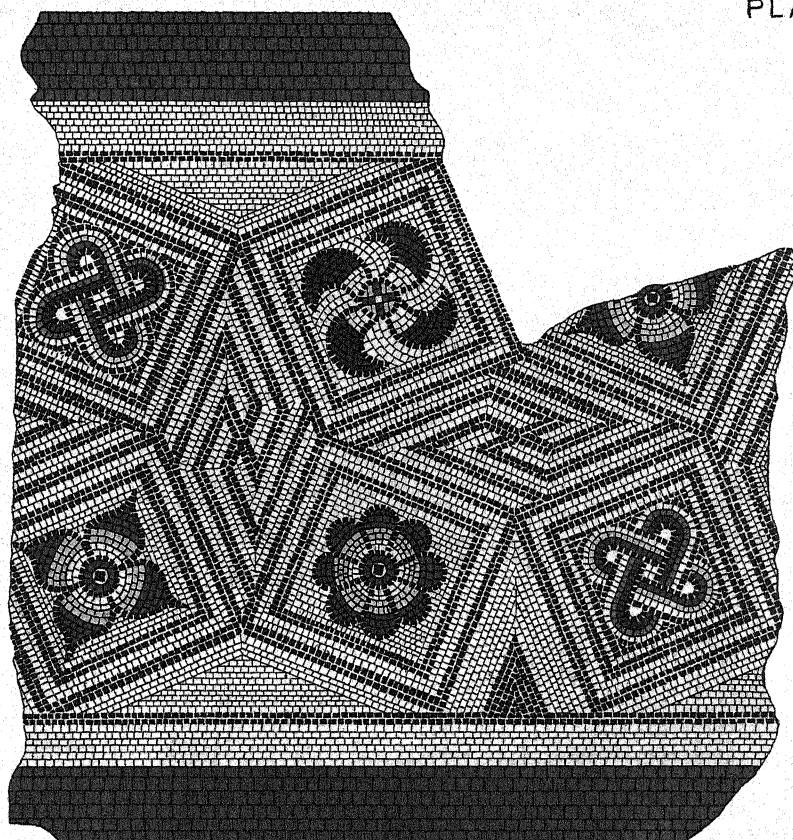
In 1895, excavations were made at No. 62 (Sun Fire Office) on the N. side of the street (Plan A 75). At 27 ft. was a shallow bath (5 ft. 3 in. by 5 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft.), reached by two semi-circular steps

(Plate 46 and Fig. 56); it was formed of rough stone mixed with broken tiles, and had a floor of *opus signinum*. The walls were plastered, and the whole rested on a substructure of concrete [*Arch. Journ.*, LII, 198; *Arch.*, LX, 218].

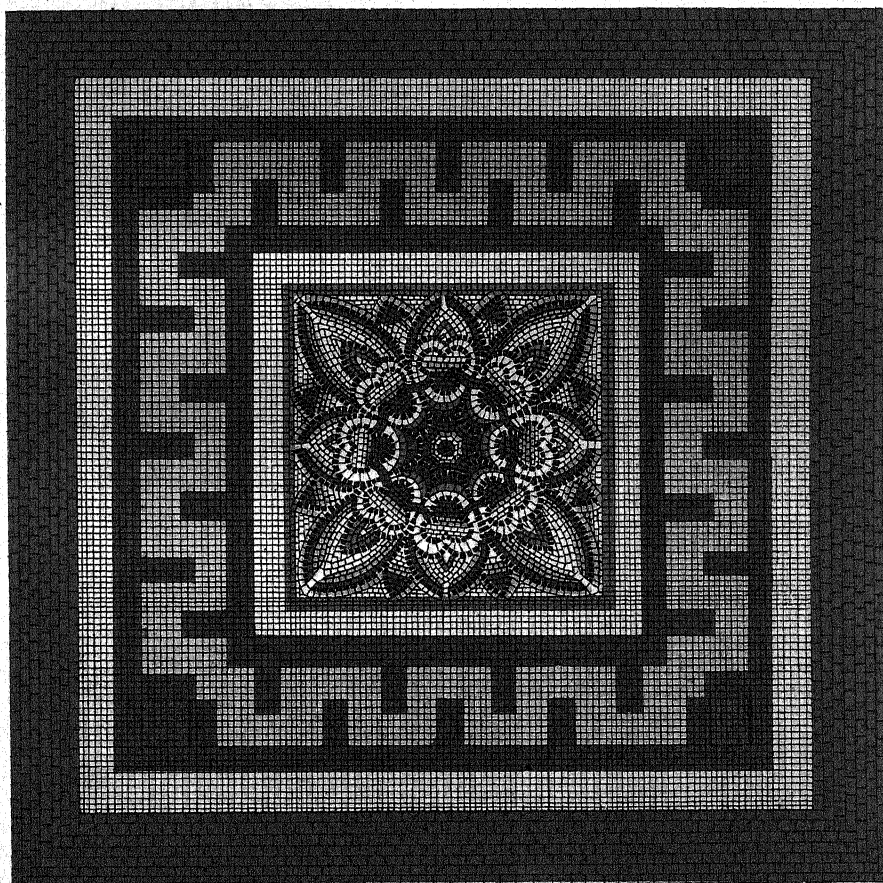
A floor (Fig. 57) of *opus signinum* on a foundation of rough pieces of rag-stone and white mortar was found in 1910 between the street and the N. side of Merchant Taylors' Hall (Plan A 77), just inside the parish of St. Martin Outwich. A small Roman drain of stone ran underneath the floor [*Arch.*, LXIII, 323, with plan].

THROGMORTON STREET. At the corner of Bartholomew Lane near the Ancient Mart (Plan A 64), the gravel was reached at about 12 ft. below the surface in 1856; "in Throgmorton Street several discoveries were made; a deep ditch crossed the N.E. angle, in which remains of cask-hoops had become petrified; the springs through the gravel of the site were generally strong and had been made available by means of oaken wells, like large casks without top or bottom." A Roman well was also found, formed of squared chalk, containing charred wood 3 ft. thick [*Arch. Journ.*, XIII, 274].

TOKENHOUSE YARD (Plan A 63). General Pitt-Rivers (then Col. Lane-Fox) in 1867 reported the finding of piles connected by "camp-sheathing" (? part of the embankment of the Walbrook) [*Anthrop. Rev.* V (1867), LXXVI]. He does not say whether there is any evidence of these being Roman. In 1889, the bed of the Walbrook was reached hereabouts at a depth of 20 ft., and a few coins of the early Empire and pieces of pottery were found [*Arch. Rev.*, IV, 292].



ins. 12 6 0 1 2 3 feet



ins 12 6 0 1 2 3 4 feet

PAVEMENTS, THREADNEEDLE STREET.

British Museum.

Malby & Sons, Lith.

THE TOWER. Near the Cold Harbour Tower (Plan A 1), on the S.W. of the White Tower, Roman remains, including masonry, tiles, and part of a hypocaust flue, were found in 1899 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* (N.S.), V, 351; VI, 26 ff].

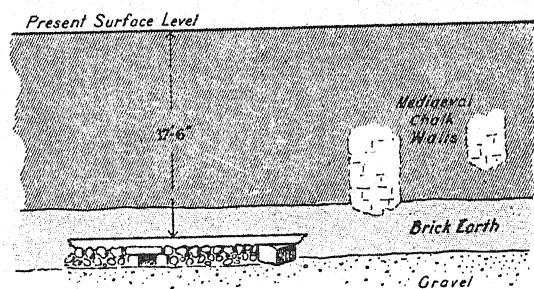
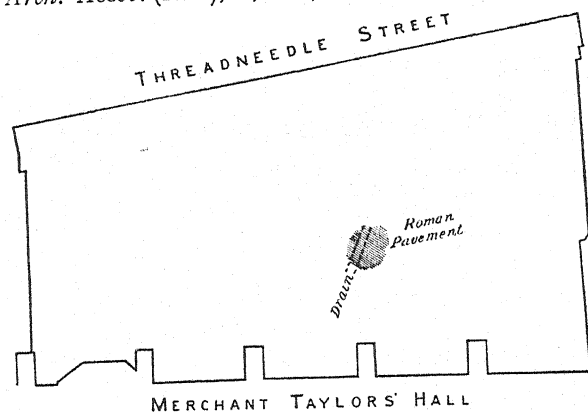


FIG. 57. Remains near Merchant Taylors' Hall. From *Arch.*, LXIII.

TOWER HILL. In 1882, a length of 73 ft. of the town-wall was removed in making the Inner Circle Railway (Plan A 2) and foundations of buildings and a red tessellated pavement on a bed of concrete with a substructure of oak piling were unearthed [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXXVIII, 447; *Arch. Rev.*, I, 355].

TRINITY LANE, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET (Plan A 161). During the making of a sewer "portions of immense walls with occasional layers of bond-tiles" were met with, and some exhibited remains of fresco-painting [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, I, 254]. The position of these walls is indicated on a City Sewers Plan of 1845 [I, 139]. The site is now covered by Queen Victoria Street.

WARWICK SQUARE. Roman remains were found in 1881 on premises of Messrs. Tylor (Plan A 181) at a depth of about 19 ft.; the plan of the site indicates several pieces of a wall, a well, a brick pavement, and the spots where lead coffins, a tiled grave, leaden jars, and urns were found [*Arch.*, XLVIII, 221 ff., with plates 10-12; and *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXXVII, 88. The coffins and other finds have been deposited in the British Museum by Messrs. Tylor].

WATER LANE (LOWER THAMES STREET). A small shaft sunk in the lower part of the road (Plan A 17) in May, 1927, cut through a rag-stone wall set in light brown mortar, running N. and S. and perhaps turning W. at the lower end. The top of the wall was $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. below the road surface; the age of the wall is uncertain but is probably Roman [R.E.M.W. and A.C.].

WATLING STREET (Plan A 151). About 1833, in making a sewer, a roadway was found at a depth of 20 ft., with a substratum of chalk and a pavement of flint [*Gent. Mag.*, 1833, II, 422].

In making Queen Victoria Street in 1869, a hard road or causeway was found in crossing Watling Street (Plan A. 152) and nearly in a line with that street, $10\frac{1}{4}$ ft. from the surface. It was of rough stones and gravel, cambered on the surface, and in the upper part were found quantities of broken Roman pottery [Price, *Descr. Rom. Tess. Pavement in Bucklersbury*, 77].

WOOD STREET (Plan A 141). Pavements of tesserae found in 1843 and 1848, see under GRESHAM STREET.

(C) STRUCTURES OUTSIDE THE WALLS.

(a) North of the River.

ALDRSGATE STREET. A wall was found in 1887 on the N. side of St. Botolph's churchyard, the substructure of which was thought to be Roman [*Arch.*, XXX, 522; Soc. Ant. MS. Min. XXXVIII, 206].

BISHOPSGATE STREET (WITHOUT). A City Sewers Plan of 1852 (III, 12) has the following note of discoveries in Montague Court:—"While excavating for a new sewer 30 ft. from the frontage of Bishopsgate Street we met with an old wall 9 ft.

from the surface to the top of the wall; it was 3 ft. thick, built with Kentish rag and mortar with two courses of flat tiles every foot in height; it ran in a parallel line with Bishopsgate Street. Twenty feet farther up the court we met with another wall parallel with the last and built in the same manner, 8 ft. to the top of the same and 3 ft. thick."

BLOMFIELD STREET. In 1901, considerable remains of pile-structures (Plate 53 and Figs. 58-61, were discovered on the W. side of the street

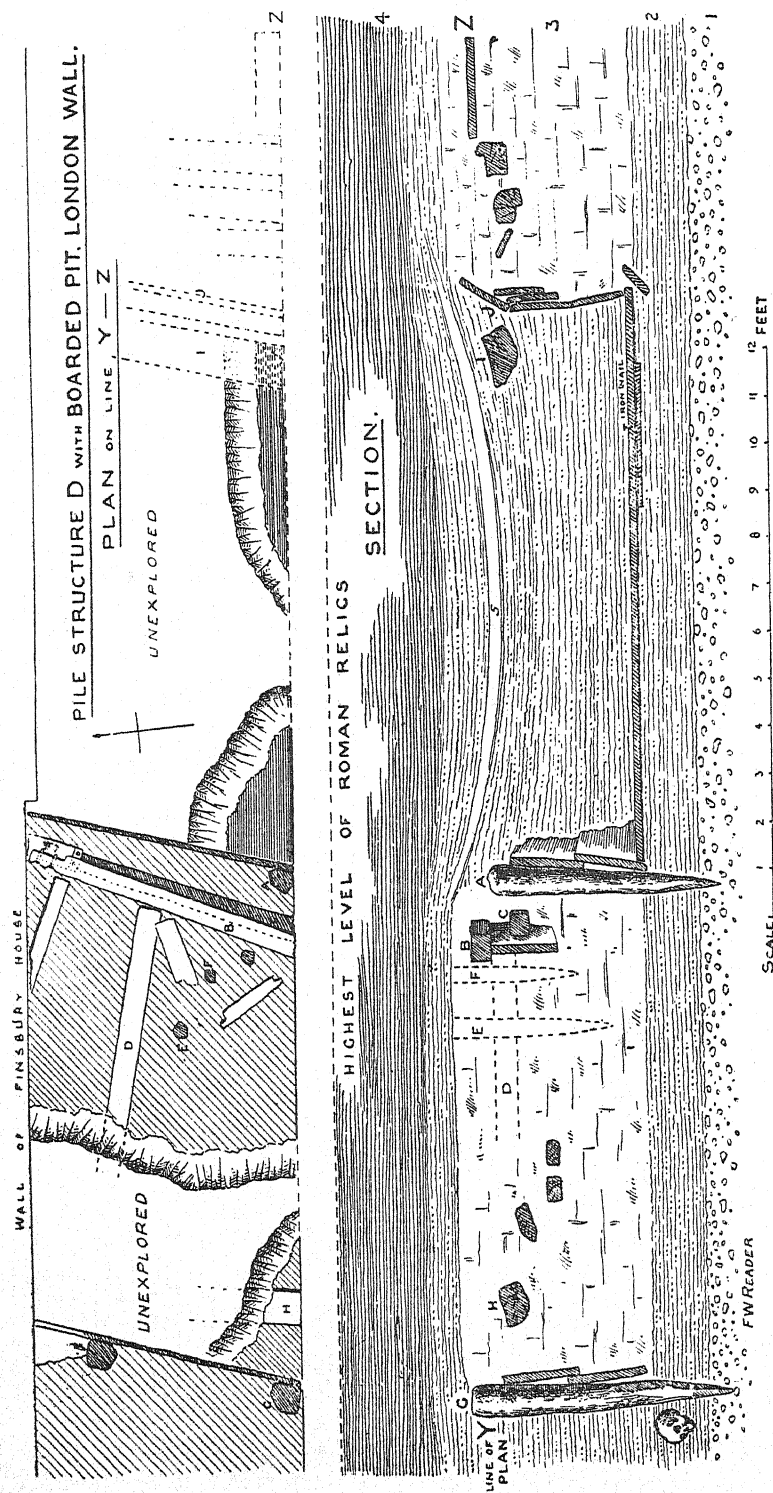


FIG. 58. Pile-structure, Blomfield Street.
From *Archæological Journal* LX, by permission.

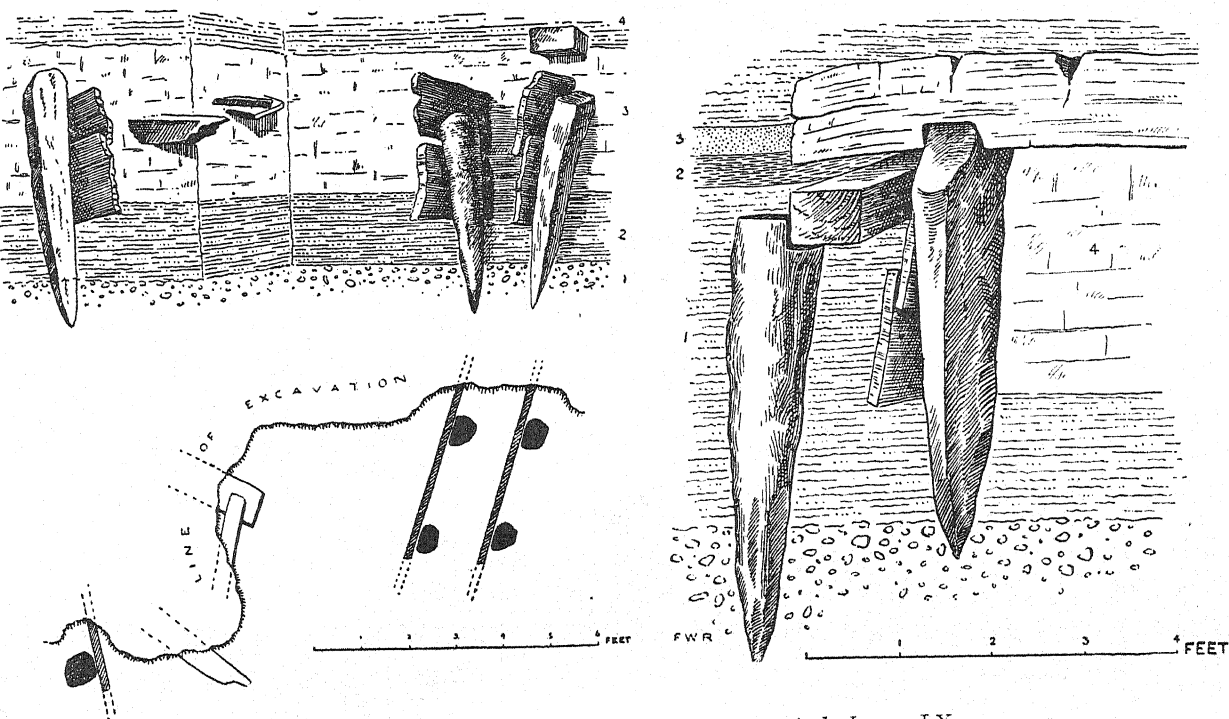


FIG. 59. Pile structures, Blomfield Street. From *Arch. Journ.*, LX.

and on the W. side of the bed of the Walbrook. The structures consisted of piles and cross-beams and planking; some of the beams were grooved and tenoned. The space between the boarding was apparently rubbish brought from elsewhere to form a platform and perhaps added to during the occupation. The evidence from all these structures was consistent and showed that 18 in. of sand and silt had been deposited on the original gravel surface of the river-bed before their erection. The objects found on the site afforded direct evidence of Roman date, none of the pottery figured being assignable to a date later than A.D. 130. The pottery was found in, and mostly at the top of, the filling forming the platforms. The discoveries were fully reported on by F. W. Reader [*Arch. Journ.*, LX, 137-204 and 313-335].

In 1925, when the site of Nos. 13 and 14 on the E. side of Blomfield Street was excavated, Mr. Q. Waddington observed a number of piles, perhaps forming part of the eastern embankment of the stream. Some 1st-century pottery was also found.

HOLBORN. A fragment of geometric pavement in black, red, and white was found in the 17th century near St. Andrew's Church. It was taken up, given to the Royal Society, and long preserved in the Museum at Gresham College [N. Grew, *Museum Regalis Societatis* (1681), 380].

HYDE PARK. The original Ossulston Stone, said to have been a Roman "geometric stone," formerly

stood near the N.E. corner of the Park on the S. side of Oxford Street; it is marked on Rocque's map as "milestone." The stone was subsequently dug up and placed against the Marble Arch, but has now disappeared [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, IV, 62].

LONG LANE (SMITHFIELD). Mr. T. Fisher records the discovery, before 1805, of a pavement in this locality, but no further particulars are given [*Gent. Mag.*, 1807, I, 415-7].

OLD BOND STREET. In March, 1894, a stone culvert with joints of brick, set in cement, was found, running southwards [*Antiq.*, XXIX, 244].

ST. MARTIN IN THE FIELDS. During the excavations for the building of this church, 1722, "a Roman brick arch was found with several ducts, 14 ft. underground, and Sir Hans Sloane had a bell-shaped glass vase that was found in a stone coffin among ashes in digging the foundations of the portico." Stukeley described it as "an arch built of Roman brick and at the bottom laid with a most strong cement. . . . There was a square duct in each wall its whole length, of 9 in. breadth; there were several of these side by side." [Gough, *Camden*, II, 17, 93; Brayley, *Beauties of Engl. and Wales*, X, Pt. I, 91; Allen, *Hist. of London*, I, 25; Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. I, 151, 170; *Arch. Rev.*, I, 356].

STRAND LANE, E. side. About 80 yards S. of the Strand, is a plunge-bath of brick with a round N. end, 15½ ft. by 6¾ ft. This bath was formerly lined with modern marble slabs, and has only recently

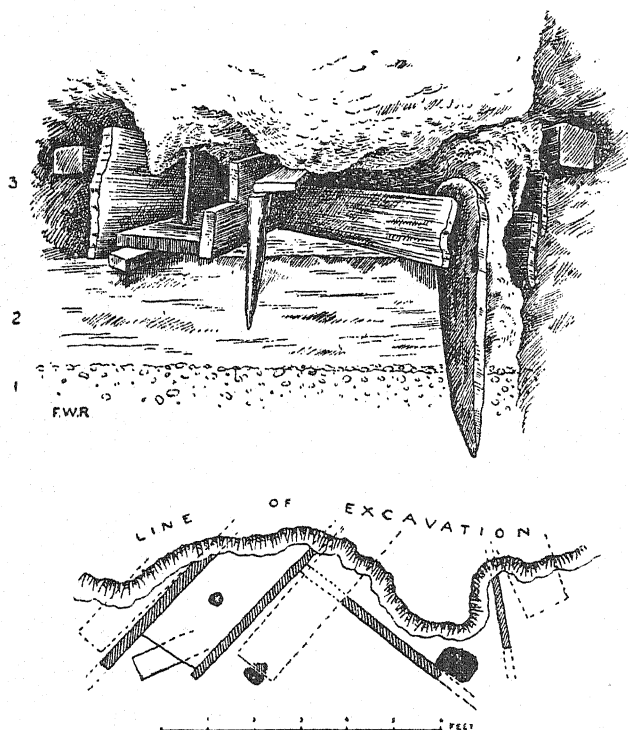


FIG. 60. Pile-structure, Blomfield Street.
From *Arch. Journ.* LX.

been stripped; the actual walls and floor, where they can be tested, are built of red bricks, 9 in. by 4½ in. by 1½ in. The bath is fed by a spring which now enters at the S.E. corner, and there are remains of the former feed-pipe or overflow in the middle of the S. end. The date of the bath is at present uncertain; the bricks are unlike any Roman bricks yet discovered in this country, but, on the other hand, they do not resemble in form or texture the normal bricks of the 17th century, which seems to be the alternative date.

WATER STREET. A note on a City Sewers Plan in 1849 reads: "In this spot (the N. part of Water Street extending into Tudor Street) we met with a row of oak piles 3 ft. apart, with oak planking nailed on the front of them, 12 in. wide and 1½ in. thick. The piles were 12 in. square and 10 ft. from the surface to the top of do—50 ft. in length." There was apparently no evidence of the date of this structure.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY PRECINCTS. In digging the foundations of new Canons' houses in the Abbey garden in 1883, remains of a Roman "dwelling" were found at a depth of 14 ft.; they consisted of slabs of concrete flooring, roof-tiles and other rubbish. Similar remains to those last described are said to have been discovered also in the cloister [*Arch. Journ.*, XLII, 274]. In 1878,

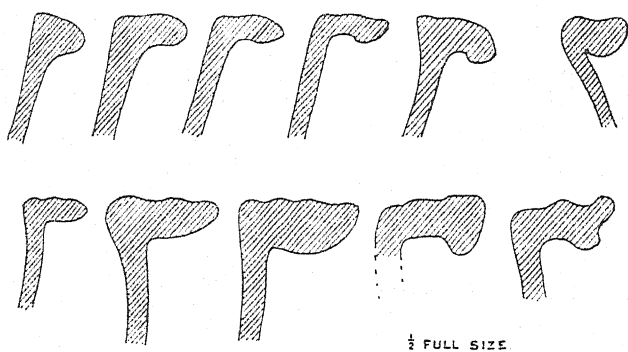


FIG. 61. Pile-structures, Blomfield Street.

Sections of coarse pottery-rims found.

From *Arch. Journ.* LX.

when digging the grave of Sir Gilbert Scott, Roman building material was found under the nave of the Abbey church, said to have been remains of the pilae of a hypocaust. A Roman sarcophagus of Oxfordshire oolite was found in 1869 on the N. side of the Abbey church; it is now in the chapter-house vestibule. It measures 6 ft. 10 in. by 2 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 10 in. (see p. 173).

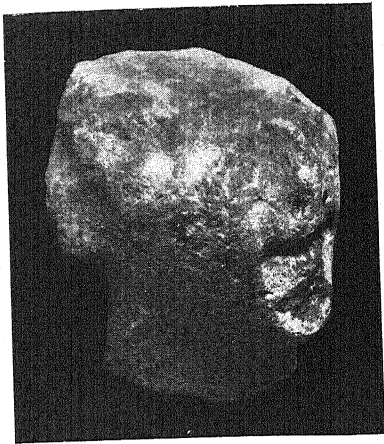
(b) *South of the River.* (See Plan B. p. 150)

CASTLE STREET, SOUTHWARK. Brock's map marks "hypocaust flues marked Px Tx" between this street and Barclay and Perkins' Brewery. The find is probably identical with one recorded by Taylor as on the latter site [*Annals of St. Mary Overy*, 10; see PARK STREET].

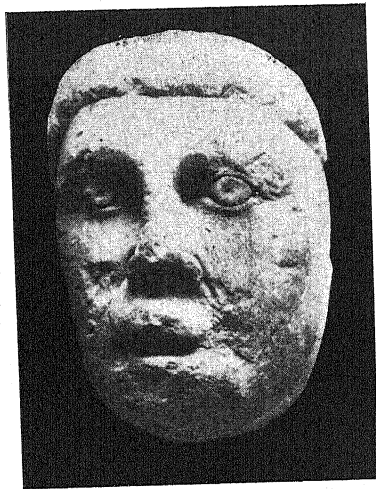
DEVERELL STREET, KENT ROAD. A Roman "hypocaust or flue" was found about 1825 near the Dissenters' burial-ground [*Gent. Mag.*, 1825, II, 633].

GUILDFORD STREET, SOUTHWARK. Numerous piles were found here about 1867 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXIII, 87].

HIGH STREET, SOUTHWARK. In making the Southwark approach to New London Bridge about 1830, a Roman pavement of coarse *tesserae* was found in the middle of Borough High Street [*Arch.*, XXIV, 198].



Guildhall Museum.

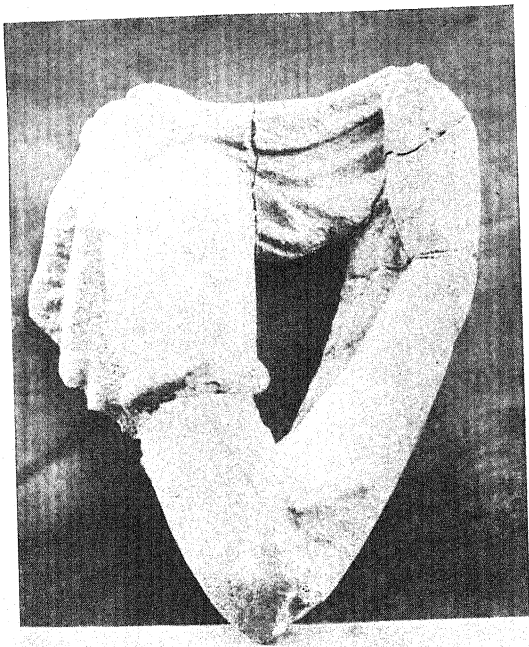


British Museum.



British Museum.

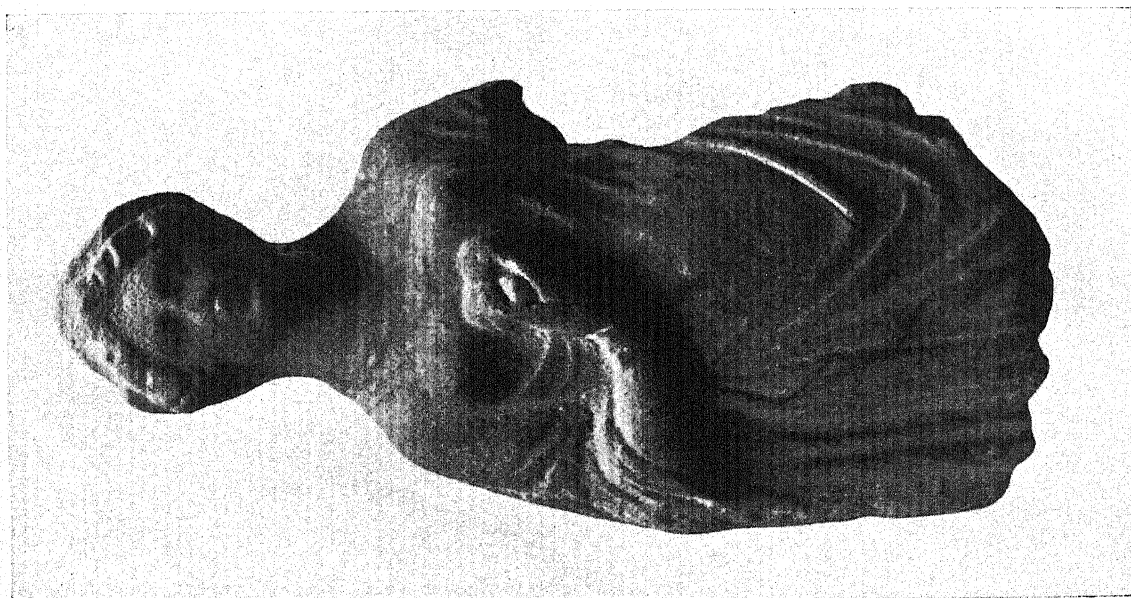
SCULPTURED STONES found in London.
(About 1/4).



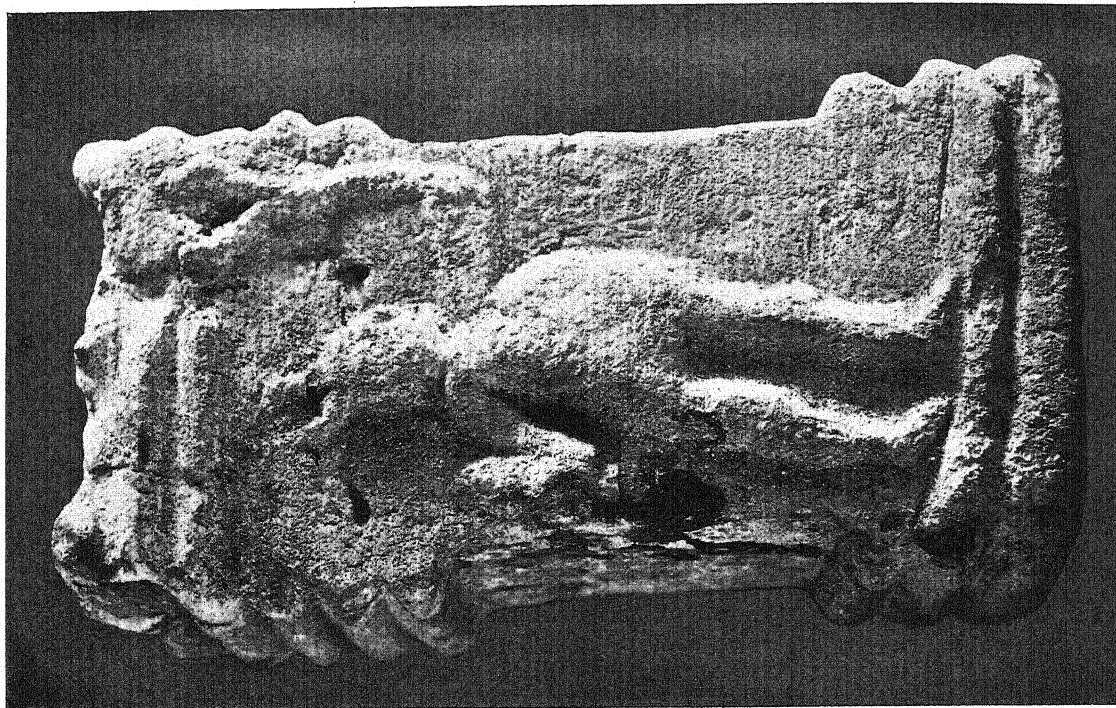
GREENWICH. Part of a statue found 1902.
(About 1/4). See p. 151.



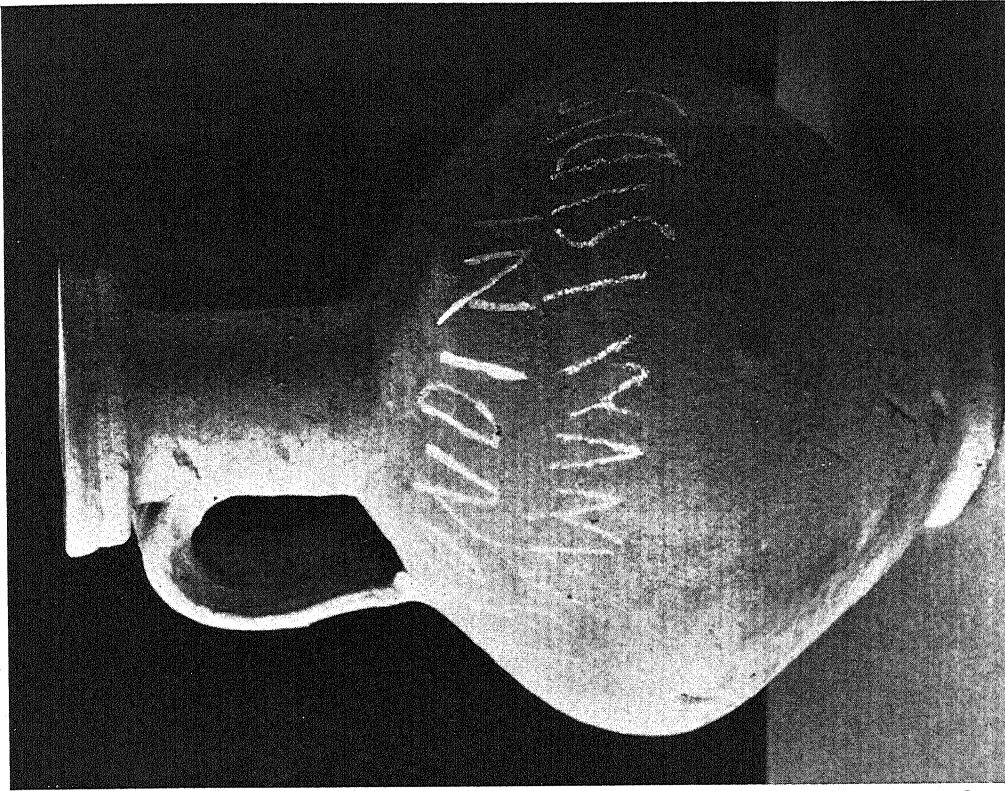
TOWN WALL (41), UPPER THAMES STREET
Fragment with trellis-ornament found 1841.
British Museum. (About 1/4). See p. 93.



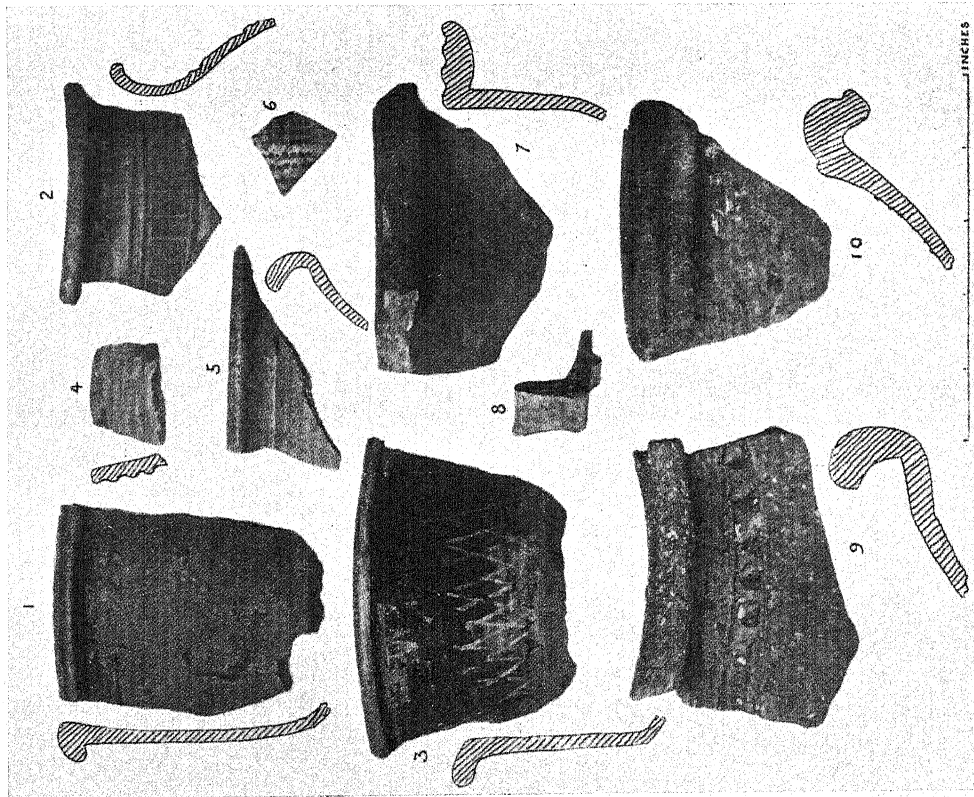
LIVERPOOL STREET. Fragment of a terra-cotta figure found 1872. *Guildhall Museum*. (13½ in. high).
From *Archæologia*, LXIII.



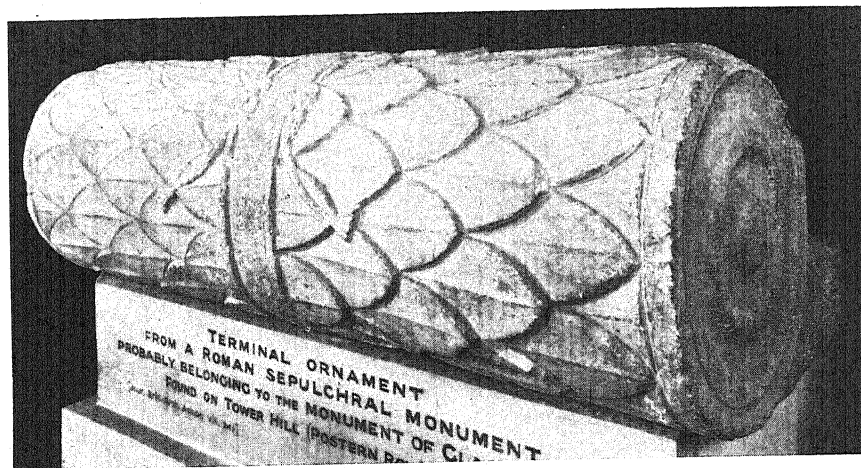
ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL. Roman Altar found 1907. *London Museum*. (10 in. by 5 in. by 5 in.).
From *Archæologia*, LXIII.



SOUTHWARK. Flagon with inscription. *London Museum.*
(About 1 1/2). See pf. 43 and 177, Inscription No. 104.



BLOMFIELD STREET. Pottery-fragments found 1901, with the
pile-structures. See p. 145.
From *Arch. Journal*, LX, by permission.



Terminal Ornament. (5 ft. 1 in. long by 1 ft. 9 in. diameter).



Part of inscribed stone. (About 1/12). See p. 171, Inscription No. 6.
BASTION (2), TOWER HILL. Portions of a sepulchral monument found 1852.
British Museum.

In 1840, on the W. side about 100 yards N. of St. George's Church (Plan B 1) were found flue and roof-tiles, Gaulish and other pottery, beads, fragments of glass bottles, a bell, coins of Tiberius, Faustina I, Severus and Tetricus, and frescopaintings of a superior kind. Some of the last-named had foliage and flowers in green, yellow, and white on a dark ground, others plain borders of red, green and white [*Arch.*, XXIX, 149].

At King's Head Yard (Plan B 3), in 1879-80, were found a fragment of tessellated pavement, a coin of Domitian, and pottery [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXXVI, 122, 234]. Further excavations on the same site in 1881 yielded more results: flue and roof-tiles, fragments of stamped amphoræ, Gaulish pottery and other varieties, a key, and coins of Vespasian and Domitian. A coin of Justinus (A.D. 537) was also reported. These remains appear to betoken the presence of an inhabited building [*Ibid.*, XXXVII, 211, 427].

of which was of late 1st and early 2nd-century date [*Arch.*, LXIII, 323, with site-plan and section; *Trans. Croyd. N. H. and Sc. Soc.*, 1911, 44].

MINT STREET, SOUTHWARK. Finds here included, in 1887, two clay water-pipes [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XLIII, 374].

MITRE STREET, SOUTHWARK. A clay water-pipe from this street is in the Guildhall Museum [*Cat.*, 120].

PARK STREET, SOUTHWARK (Plan B 11). In 1658, Dugdale records the discovery of "a Roman pavement made of bricks not above an inch and a half square, and adjoining to it a more curious piece of the like small bricks, in length about 10 ft. and in breadth 5 ft., wrought in various colours; and in the midst thereof, betwixt certain borders in the fashion of wreathed columns, the form of a serpent very lively expressed in that kind of Mosaic work" [Dugdale, *History of Imbanking and Drayning*, 65; hence Gwilt in *Gent. Mag.*, 1815, I, 225]. In 1806, Taylor records the find of a flue-tile inscribed Px Tx [*Annals of St. Mary Overy*, p. 10, pl. 1, fig. 3]. Timber, nails and iron-work were found in December, 1868, at the corner of Clink street (Plan B 10) from "an ancient wooden structure formed of stout piles set about two feet apart and supporting beams and joists overlaid with planking rabbeted and fastened again by broad-headed four-sided nails of iron," supposed to be a Roman landing-place [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXV, 79].

ST. GEORGE'S FIELDS, SOUTHWARK. "In these fields, commonly called St. George's, many Roman coins, tessellated work, bricks and rubble have been found from time to time, also a large urn, full of bones" [T. Gale, *Antonini Itin.*, 1709, 65]. "Tessellated pavements and urns" are said to have been found in St. George's Fields [*Gent. Mag.*, 1825, I, 148].

ST. SAVIOUR, SOUTHWARK. Brock's map marks on the S. side of the church (Plan B 8) a mosaic pavement found 18 July, 1820; also "a footpath of red Roman." Lindsay says it was in the court in front of St. Saviour's School [*Etym. of Southwark*, 3rd Ed., 5]. In 1825, Gwilt found fragments of a pavement and a quantity of Roman bricks worked into the walls [*Gent. Mag.*, 1825, II, 633; Lindsay, *Etym. of Southwark*, 6; Taylor, *Annals of St. Mary Overy*, 15]. In 1831 stone foundations were found under the choir of the church and running N.E. and S.W. [*Arch.*, XXIV, 198]. In 1833, part of a tessellated pavement was found in the churchyard [*Gent. Mag.*, 1833, I, 255].

In 1839, in digging for foundations of warehouses round the church, traces of walls were found together with *tesserae*, frescoes, etc. Partly on the site of St. Saviour's Grammar School (S. of the church, Plan B 9), and partly under the adjoining house a tessellated pavement of a handsome pattern was found and in the churchyard nearly opposite

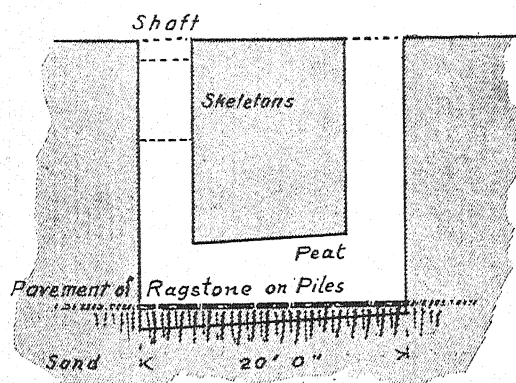
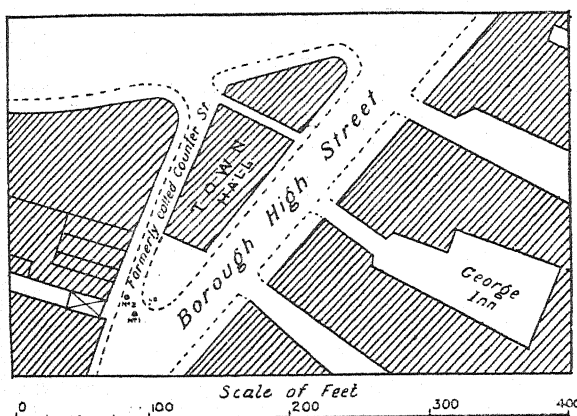


FIG. 62. Pavement under Borough High Street. From *Arch.*, LXIII.

In 1908, in cutting for a drain between No. 52 and the sewer (Plan B 2) a pavement (Fig. 62) of roughly shaped rag-stones was found at a depth of 21 ft. from the surface. The pavement was supported on piles driven into the sand, and above it were found fragments of Roman pottery, some

was a narrow pavement of red *tesserae* running from N.E. to S.W. [*Arch.*, XXIX, 148; *Gent. Mag.*, 1840, I, 192].

About 1910 a portion of red tessellated pavement was found at the S.E. corner of the churchyard (Plan B 7) when digging a trench for a new railing. The pavement was 9½ ft. below the surface and rested on 16 in. of builders' rubbish. It probably formed part of the same pavement as that discovered in 1833 [*Arch.*, LXIII, 325, with section].

ST. THOMAS WATERING (Old Kent Road). A Janus-head in marble (figured in Allen's *History of London*, I, 36) was dug up about 1690, near this point, together with large flat bricks and other Roman remains [Woodward's *Letter to Hearne*]. According to Defoe it was found in connection with remains of a building and a second head was also found and left in quicksand [D. Defoe, *Tour through Britain*, I, 234].

ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL, SOUTHWARK, site of. In 1840, on pulling down the S. wing of the outer or western quadrangle of St. Thomas's Hospital (Plan B 6) "a Roman pavement of the common red *tesserae*, surrounded by walls (Plate 46) of flint and rubble with courses of Roman tiles has been discovered at a depth of 20 ft. from the level of the High Street. The pavement measured about 20 ft. by 12 ft.; the *tesserae* were embedded in concrete about 6 in. thick under which was a layer of chips of stone. On removing the foundations of the walls they were found to rest on piles, the soil being sand . . . we were informed that on the N. side there were the jambs of a doorway and on the W. side a continuation of the buildings." Roach Smith records that on the floor there were found several coins of the Constantine family [*Gent. Mag.*, 1840, I, 191-2; *Arch.*, XXIX, 148 with plan, etc., pl. 18].

ST. THOMAS'S STREET, SOUTHWARK. A tessellated pavement was found at the corner of High Street (Plan B 5), in 1819, at a depth of 10 ft. [Brock's map].

SOUTHWARK STREET. A tessellated pavement was discovered in 1820 on the site of Cure's College (Plan B 12) i.e. between Park Street and Southwark Street [*Surrey Arch. Colls.*, XXVIII, 141].

In excavating for the formation of Southwark Street (Plan B 13) in 1862 numerous remains came to light, including fragments of tessellated pavements and wall-paintings at a depth of from 10 to 26 ft. [*Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, II, Proceedings, 84]. In 1866, on the S. side of the street between Southwark Square and Worcester Street (Plan B 14), "in a space of about 100 ft. by 40 ft., 16 pits had been sunk, each disclosing Roman pottery above a number of piles and puddled clay." The piles were 7 to 11 ft. in length, the heads about 12 ft. below the street-level. On the opposite side of the street (Plan B 15), 135 ft. from

the piling, a pavement of red *tesserae* and remains of Roman pottery were found [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXII, 445 ff.; XXIII, 87; *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, III, 213, n.].

STONEY STREET, SOUTHWARK. Where this street now joins High Street (Plan B 4), Brock's map marks the discovery of red stucco.

(c) *Structures in outlying parts of the County of London.*

BLACKHEATH. Part of a rectangular earthwork is marked on the O.S. 25 inch London cv. not far S. of Greenwich Park, and on Blackheath near Hollyhedge House. Excavations were made in it in 1906 when Roman tiles and coarse pottery were found in the mound and ditch and within the enclosure but not outside its boundaries. [Information given by Mr. Herbert Jones to Prof. Haverfield, and now preserved among the Vict. Co. Hist. MS. materials for Kent to which access was kindly given by Mr. William Page, the Editor.] Professor Haverfield suggested that the site may have been a temple enclosure or villa garden, but that in its present shape it is too imperfect to be taken into account as a determinant feature. No doubt it is to be connected with the structure found in Greenwich Park.

CHARLTON. The earthwork at Charlton was situated on the edge of the river-marsh about ½ mile N.E. of Charlton church. It was a fort of the contour class and occupied the end of a low spur rising to rather above the 100 ft. contour. Its form, not now ascertainable with certainty, was probably an irregular pentagon with rounded angles, covering with its defences an area of perhaps 17½ acres. The greater part of the earthwork was destroyed in the 18th and early 19th century in digging for sand, but a considerable stretch of the W. side together with the southern angle survived until 1870, when it was surveyed by Sir Flinders Petrie [*Arch. Cant.*, XIII]. Between that date and 1915 the greater part of the surviving banks and ditches had been destroyed. In the latter year excavations were undertaken by Mr. Elliston Erwood to determine the date and character of the earthwork. The defences on the W. side consisted of two banks and inner and medial ditches; the inner ditch was formed by scarping the edge of the plateau. The small surviving portion of the enclosed area contained a number of habitation-floors indicating the former existence of hutments commonly of roughly circular form. The finds on the site consisted of flint-flakes, furnace-bars, querns, loom-weights, fibulae, pottery and two coins of Claudius. All the pottery and fibulae appeared to date between A.D. 60 and 250, with the exception of one fragment of a bronze-age urn. The only masonry structure was found by workmen in 1906, and described by them as a round building of about

SOUTHWARK

PLAN SHEWING STRVCTVRAL ROMAN REMAINS

Scale 0 50 100 Yds



20 sq. ft. area, and with walls of flint, etc., standing 2½ ft. high.

The settlement would appear to have been one inhabited by Romano-British natives established within an earthwork of uncertain date, but probably not greatly, if at all, anterior to the settlement [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, N.S., XXII, 125].

A small subsequent excavation in 1923, and the continued destruction of the remains of the earthwork provided evidence extending the date of the occupation to the end of the 3rd and possibly into the 4th century. Mr. Erwood considers that this settlement is the Noviomagus of the Antonine Itinerary II [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, N.S., XXIX, 227.]

GREENWICH. In 1902, the remains of a Roman building were partially excavated in the N. of Greenwich Park, about 100 yds. from its E. wall and half way between Vanbrugh and Maze Hill gates, at the point where the high ground of the main area of the Park reaches its northern limit. The plan of the building (which may or may not have been a shrine) was not ascertained; only a small piece of rag-stone walling and three patches of flooring—two of *opus signinum* and one, 3 ft. higher than the others, of coarse red tesserae—were found, scattered over an area about 15 by 50 ft. Much burnt matter, tiles, hypocaust bricks, painted wall-plaster, cubes from a mosaic, a piece of green porphyry, worked and moulded blocks of oolite, parts of drums of three small columns, and some window-glass were also unearthed. The small finds were numerous, amongst them about 300 Roman coins ranging from Claudius to Honorius and including perhaps 200 of "Constantinian copper." A legionary denarius of Mark Antony (Leg. XIV) was dug up about 100 yds. N.E. of the main site.

The most important relics, however, were:—

(i) Part of a figure (Plate 51) in oolite about two-thirds life-size, showing a right arm with elbow bent and turned back to the body; on the forearm is an armlet, and drapery falls over the shoulder to the hand.

(ii) Sandstone fragment, 6½ in. by 8 in., bearing the edges of the two first lines of an inscription in letters 1¾ in. tall.

CVLAP or R
IATVS

In the first line *Aesculapius* has been conjectured. [*Eph. Ep.*, IX, 992]. In the British Museum.

(iii) White marble fragment, 6 in. high by 4½ in. wide, with letters ½ in. high, from the left side of an inscription.

NV
CV
MO
SI or V

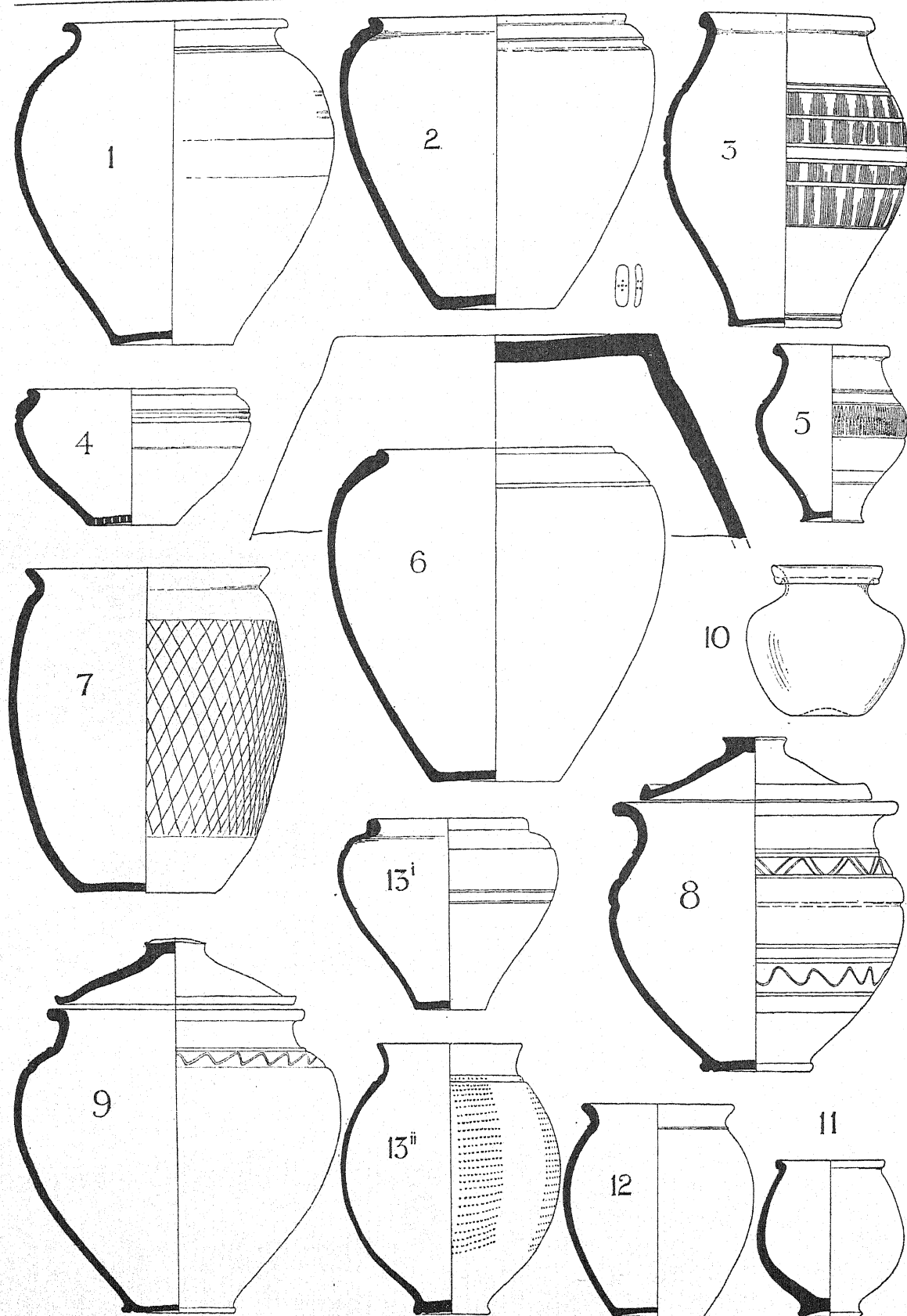
Possibly *Numinibus Augusti*, but conjecture is useless [*Eph. Ep.*, IX, 993]. In the British Museum.

(iv) White marble, bearing the tops of three letters which might be ASS.

(v-vii) Three other fragments bearing parts of letters [H. Jones, *Home Counties Mag.*, V, 49, 213 (plan); A. D. Webster, *Greenwich Park* (Greenwich, 1902), 67-100, figs., not agreeing exactly in detail; *Daily Graphic*, 14 June, 1902. Most of the objects found are preserved in the Greenwich Public Library, and part of the tessellated pavement remains uncovered *in situ*.]

There is a doubtful record of the discovery of a piece of tessellated pavement in the grounds of Trinity Hospital [*Trans. Greenwich Ant. Soc.*, I, 132].

SHOOTER'S HILL. In 1923, excavations for a hospital on the S. side of the main road and on the top of the hill, revealed the remains of a roughly circular pit or sinking for a former hut. It was about 6 ft. in diameter and 18 in. deep, the floor being covered with a burnt layer with fragments of pottery; a second hut probably 8 or 9 ft. in diameter had been built on the site of the first and at no great distance of time from its destruction. The only datable sherd was of an ordinary 1st-century type [*Antiq. Journ.*, V, 174].

FIG. 63. Burial Urns, &c. ($\frac{1}{4}$).

APPENDIX I.

BURIALS.

It was customary for a Roman town to bury its dead outside the inhabited area and, where possible, within easy reach of a road. The distribution of Roman burials at various periods in and around London may therefore be expected to throw some light upon the growth of the city and the direction of its approaches.

The evidence is analysed and discussed in the Introduction (p. 29), and here it will suffice to tabulate the material under three headings: (A) Burials within the compass of the Roman town-wall; (B) Burials without, but close to the town-wall; and (C) More remote burials within the London district. Under (A) a further distinction is made between *cemeteries* which must have been more or less recognised by the urban authorities and are therefore of definite historical significance, and *isolated burials*, of which the historical implication is necessarily less certain. For the present purpose, a group of three or more burials is regarded as a cemetery.

Certain intentional omissions from the following lists call for notice. First, the tombstones found in various parts of the City and its environs are in no case recorded to have been found *in situ* and cannot therefore be cited as evidence for the distribution of burials. Secondly, certain burials recorded in previous lists and maps are not clearly of Roman date, and are therefore here omitted. Thirdly, many of the older records of supposed burials are of very doubtful validity and seem rather to indicate discoveries of occupation-débris than of definite interments. Finally, several urns from London now preserved in museums are described as "cinerary," but, though in some cases they are probably derived from burials, definite evidence as to their original purpose is now lacking; only those, therefore, which are still associated with bones are included. It may be added that the retention of all doubtful examples would not in any way modify the distribution of the cemeteries or affect any historical inferences which they may support.

(A). BURIALS WITHIN THE COMPASS OF THE ROMAN TOWN-WALL.

(i) *Cemeteries*.—Two cemeteries have been recorded, one to the E. of the Walbrook and the other (a large one) to the W. of it.

A.—CAMOMILE STREET. In this street, adjoining Bishopsgate, some old houses were pulled down in 1707 and a tessellated pavement (p. 111) was found about 4 ft. below the surface. "Sinking downwards, under the Pavement, only Rubbish occurred for about two Foot: and then the Workmen came to a *Stratum* of Clay; in which, at the Depth of two Foot more, they found several Urns All of these had in them, Ashes, and Cinders, of burn'd Bones. Along with the Urns were found various other Earthen Vessels as also a Coin of Antoninus Pius" (which presumably also antedated the pavement). . . . "At about the same depth but nearer to the City-Wall, and within the Verge of the Pavement, was digg'd up an Human Skull, with several Bones, that were whole, and had not passed the Fire, as those in the Urns had" [J. Woodward, in a letter to Wren, published by T. Hearne in his edition of Leland, VIII (1744), 13].

B.—Under and to the N. of St. Paul's Cathedral, numerous Roman burials have been found since the 17th century, and probably formed part of a single cemetery

extending from Warwick Square on the W. to the southern end of St. Martin's-le-Grand on the E. The greater part of the surviving relics from these burials is of early, probably pre-Flavian, date, but one of the urns from Warwick Square may be of the early 2nd century and the inhumation-burial from Paternoster Row is not likely to be much earlier than A.D. 200. Whether any of the inhumation-burials found by Wren's workmen at St. Paul's should be regarded as Roman is of course uncertain. Gravestones and burials of early 11th-century date have been found in this neighbourhood, and some of those noted by Wren may be of that period.

The individual sites within this area are the southern end of St. Martin's-le-Grand (with Cheapside), St. Paul's Cathedral, Paternoster Row, and Warwick Square.

Fig. 63, 1. ST. MARTIN'S-LE-GRAND. Grey urn containing burnt bones. Analogous to Silchester type 171, dated vaguely as pre-Flavian. It would be safer to ascribe it to the second half of the 1st century [*Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 20, No. 312].

Fig. 63, 2. Dark grey urn containing burnt bones, a fragment of iron, two fragments of glass, some lumps of vitreous matter, a bone pin, bone discs, a globular bead, and a bone object in the form of a flattened oval having on one face six indented dots, and on the other five dots, with four and three dots on the two narrow sides respectively; found May, 1870, at the corner of Newgate Street. The urn is of markedly "Celtic" type; compare Richborough type 19, dated "Claudian" [*Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 20, No. 308, and Pl. VI, 10].

Fig. 63, 3. Dark grey urn containing burnt bones. Ornamented with horizontal grooves and vertical combed striations. The type, sometimes known as the butt-shaped beaker, is widely distributed in the Rhineland and southern Britain and, in very slightly varying forms, ranges from the 1st century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D. It occurs with pedestal pottery at Aylesford, Swarling and elsewhere (Swarling, type 34 and p. 126) and with Roman pottery at Wroxeter (1914 Report, type 71) [*Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 20, No. 314]. The present example may be ascribed to the 1st century A.D.

Fig. 63, 4. Bowl of reddish-brown ware, with bead-rim, horizontal grooves and perforated base. Contains burnt bones, and was found in 1876. It belongs to the Richborough types 18 and 19, both dated "Claudian" [*Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 18, No. 276].

Fig. 63, 5.—Butt-shaped beaker of buff ware, containing burnt bones. Decorated with horizontal grooves and a band of engine-turning. Probably second half of 1st century A.D. See above No. 3 [*Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 92, No. 333].

Fig. 63, 6.—Grey urn, said to have contained bones when found, and covered by the bottom of a large buff vessel. It belongs to a pre-Roman type of bead-rim pot, and is not likely to be later than the middle of the 1st century A.D. The find-spot was in the S.W. corner of the General Post Office site [*Guildhall Museum*].

CHEAPSIDE. A burial found in 1879 "near the W. end of Cheapside" probably belongs to the same cemetery. In the gravel "at a depth of about 18 ft. below the footpath of Cheapside . . . one of the workmen dug out a mass of rough earthenware, within which, as he said, was a mass of bones. . . . When perfect it must have had a diameter at its widest part of about 11 in. and a height of 8½ in. It is narrow at the base (about 4 in.), increases rapidly in width to a height of 6 in. then contracting again, it terminates in a reflected lip, the aperture being about 7 in. in diameter. . . . The outer surface is dark and apparently discoloured by smoke. . . . The size of the bones indicates a small person, possibly a female. . . . They have been subjected to a great heat. . . . Two of the bones which seem to be portions of the humeri, are partly surrounded by green glass, and this must evidently have been in a state of partial fusion when it became pressed round them" [*Journ. Roy. Arch. Inst.*, XXXIX, 199].

ST. PAUL'S. During the digging for the foundations of Wren's church, below mediaeval interments were discovered "British graves, where were found ivory and wooden pins, of a hard wood seemingly box, in abundance, of about 6 in. long; it seems the bodies were only wrapped up, and pinned in woollen shrouds, which being consumed the pins remained entire. In the same row and deeper, were Roman urns intermixed: this was 18 ft. deep or more, and belonged to the colony when Romans and Britons lived and died together. The most remarkable Roman urns, lamps, lachrymatories and fragments of sacrificing vessels, etc., were found deep in the ground towards the N.E. corner of St. Paul's Church, near Cheapside" [Wren, *Parentalia*, 1750, p. 266].

"In August, 1869, some workmen, excavating a foundation close to St. Paul's Cathedral, exhumed the skeleton of a female nearly perfect. By the side of the skeleton were the bronze armlets and the ring now exhibited [1872]. The armlets are of a somewhat common type. The ring has a square front to the hoop, and is surmounted by the peculiar emblem of Diana, the crescent moon. It appears to be intended for the first or second finger" [S. M. Mayhew, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXVIII, 194].

PATERNOSTER ROW. About 1839, near the corner of Cannon Alley, towards the W. end of Paternoster Row, at a depth of rather more than 12½ ft. was found "a skeleton in a framework of tiles, an interment analogous to that found in Bow Lane" [C. Roach Smith, *Arch.*, XXIX, 155]. Roach Smith regarded the burial as "deposited long anterior to the construction of the pavement" which was found at the same time (see Inventory, p. 000).

WARWICK SQUARE. In 1881, during alterations to the premises of Messrs. J. Tylor and Sons, about 100 ft. within the town-wall south of Newgate were found at least eight incineration-burials, now in the British Museum. They lay in disturbed gravel at a depth of 18 or 19 ft. They are described by A. Tylor, *Arch.*, XLVIII, 221, and include:—

PL. 59. A vase of grey igneous rock, 2½ ft. high and carved out of a single stone. It was covered with a lid of similar stone and contained burnt bones with a coin of Claudius minted in A.D. 41.

PL. 56. Four leaden cylinders or "ossuaria" were found near the stone vase. One of them is ornamented with pairs of plain concentric circles; another bears on the inside of the bottom an eight-rayed star-pattern, regarded as Mithraic; whilst a third has a band of astragalus or reel-pattern and a panel showing a charioteer driving a four-horse chariot. This cylinder enclosed a fine two-handled glass vessel covered with a glass lid, and containing the burnt bones.

Fig. 63, 7. Cooking-pot containing burnt bones; dark brown ware burnt light red and black on exterior. Smoothed lattice-pattern. This type with the short rim is not likely to be later than c. 150. Most of the Balmuildy (Antonine) types are of derivative form, and type 48 at Newstead (also Antonine) is perhaps a little later than the present example. At the Brecon Gaer it occurs in early 2nd-century associations (c. A.D. 100–140).

Fig. 63, 8. Urn containing burnt bones, with lid. Grey ware with smoothed chevron and wave-patterns. The type is akin to Richborough (1st Report) type 51, which is "probably of early date," and belongs to the same class as Richborough types 4 and 5, which are Claudian. It occurs in the so-called "Upchurch" wares, which are not well dated but seem to converge upon the period A.D. 40–100. Compare also Silchester type 171 (pre-Flavian).

Fig. 63, 9. Urn containing burnt bones, with lid. Dark grey ware. Smoothed wave-pattern round shoulder. Of the same class as No. 22; comparable with Richborough (1st Report) type 42, which "may be mid 1st century" and type 64, which is "probably 1st century." Compare *Silchester Pottery*, Plate LXXXVIII, 6, which belongs to a group ascribed with probability to "just before the middle of the 1st century."

Fig. 63, 10. NEWGATE STREET. Glass vessel containing burnt bones found in December, 1851. The type is not well dated, but is probably not later than the beginning of the 2nd century. It is not quite certain whether this burial was found just within or just without the line of the city-wall, but the former is more likely [British Museum].



(ii) *Isolated Burials*.—Eight or more burials have been found along the southern slopes of the two hills. Five of these burials, including one by inhumation, lay to the E. of the Walbrook. Farther N., an incineration-burial was found in Lombard Street and another near the Bank of England, probably on the E. bank of the Walbrook; whilst again to the N. an incineration-burial comes from Coleman Street, and two others from the street called London Wall. Whether the last two were found just within or just without the line of the Roman wall is uncertain, and they are therefore historically of little value. A similar reservation applies to the glass vessel from Newgate Street and to the urn and two cists from Broad Street; indeed one of the cists (from Winchester House) may not represent a burial at all. It will be observed that only three inhumation-burials which can be claimed with probability as Roman come under this heading. On the other hand, only one of the surviving urn-burials seems to be earlier than the Flavian period.

Fig. 63, 11. MARK LANE. Beaker of reddish ware containing burnt bones. Found on the site of No. 36 Mark Lane, 1866. For the type, compare Wroxeter (1912) type 36, dated "80-110 or 120 A.D." See also *Essex Arch., Soc. Trans.*, XVI (n.s.), 24 ff. [*Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 90, No. 278].

ST. DUNSTON'S HILL, GREAT TOWER STREET. In 1863, under the old wall of the churchyard was found "a mass of concrete and a cavity, which seemed to have been moulded upon a wooden coffin, and contained some human remains." The grave was covered with flanged roofing-tiles, and the concrete contained pounded brick [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XX, 297, Pl. 19]. The form of burial is very similar to those of the early archbishops at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and suggests the probability of a Saxon date.

FENCHURCH STREET. A cylindrical lead canister with contracted neck was found in Fenchurch Street, probably towards the eastern end of the street, in 1833, and is now in the British Museum [V. C. H., London, I, 11].

ST. MICHAEL'S, CROOKED LANE. In 1831, under the southern boundary of St. Michael's churchyard, was found a black thumb-pot, stated to be "sepulchral," and to have been associated with "two shallow circular earthenware pans, containing ashes and two coins of Vespasian" [A. J. Kempe, *Arch.*, XXIX, 191 and 199].

Fig. 63, 12. LAWRENCE POUNTNEY LANE. Grey urn, formerly containing burnt bones. Analogous to Richborough type 49, dated "1st or early 2nd century" and to Wroxeter (1913) type 32, dated A.D. 90-120. [British Museum, Roach Smith Coll.].

CANNON STREET. In 1852, not far W. from the Walbrook, in what was then called New Cannon Street, at the bottom of a deep trench was found a human skeleton lying E. and W. accompanied by nails 2-7 in. long, having flat heads and quadrangular shafts apparently indicating a former coffin. The burial was possibly Roman [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, X, 190].

LOMBARD STREET. A Roman urn containing ashes is recorded to have been found in making a sewer in 1786 [*Soc. Antiq. MS. Min.*, XXI, 72].

QUEEN STREET. At some unspecified point in this street between Upper Thames Street and Watling Street were found in 1842, "five cinerary urns of a very rude style of art; in one of them the remains of human bones adhered. . . . Of the contents of the other four, when first found by the workmen, I have no means of judging" [*Gent. Mag.*, 1843, I, 21].

BOW LANE. In the autumn of 1839, a skeleton identified as that of an old man was discovered lying N. and S. in the middle of Bow Lane, opposite to Robin Hood's Court

and at the corner of Little St. Thomas Apostle (now absorbed in Cannon Street) in a grave "formed with large drain-tiles placed edgewise." The depth is variously given as 12 and 15 ft. "Firmly clenched between the teeth of the skeleton was a 2nd brass coin, so much corroded as to be quite illegible," according to one account, but ascribed to Domitian in another [Kelsey, *Description of Sewers*, 269 (cited in *Arch.*, LX, 237); *Gent. Mag.*, 1840, I, 420; *Arch.*, XXIX, 146; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXXIX, 435].

Fig. 63, 13. BANK STATION. "Fragment of a large amphora, the neck and handles of which had been removed to form a cist or coffin for the interment; it contained a wide-mouthed urn of grey ware, 5 in. high, and an olla of Upchurch ware decorated with dots, 7½ in. high; fragments of bones also were in the urns. Bank Station, Central London Railway, 1897." The two vessels contained by the amphora are: (i) Grey bowl analogous to Richborough types 18 and 19, both Claudian, and to *Silchester Pottery*, Pl. LXXXVIII, 8, similarly dated; and (ii) a "poppy-head" beaker of a long-lived type of 1st and 2nd-century date [*Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 106, No. 17].

Fig. 64, 14. COLEMAN STREET. Dark grey urn with smoothed trellis-pattern; contains burnt bones. Said to have had a cover when found. Probably first half of 2nd century [compare Wheeler, *The Roman Fort near Brecon*, Fig. 96, C. 25, dated c. 100-120; *Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 84, No. 120].

Fig. 64, 15. LONDON WALL. Dark grey urn decorated with smoothed lattice-pattern and containing burnt bones. The type suggests a date of c. A.D. 120-180 [*Guildhall Museum*].

Fig. 64, 16. LONDON WALL. Cylindrical pewter jar, with lid, containing burnt bones [London Museum, A. 2467].

Fig. 64, 17. BROAD STREET. Dark grey beaker, one of two containing burnt bones, found in 1872. [*Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 94, No. 385] The beaker is of the "poppy-head" type, decorated with groups of raised dots. A large number of these beakers is found at Richborough, where "they appear to belong to the 2nd century, some being not far removed from the year A.D. 100," but the type also occurs plentifully with 1st-century wares from the Kentish marshes [*Richborough Report*, I, p. 98].

BROAD STREET. A leaden cist containing a black beaker of Castor or similar ware decorated with lozenge-pattern and rosettes in yellow slip was found in Broad Street in 1872 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXVIII, 171; *Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 92, No. 330, and Pl. XLII, 14].

BROAD STREET. A small limestone cist of funerary type found on the site of Winchester House, is now in the London Museum. Whether it contained bones is not recorded.

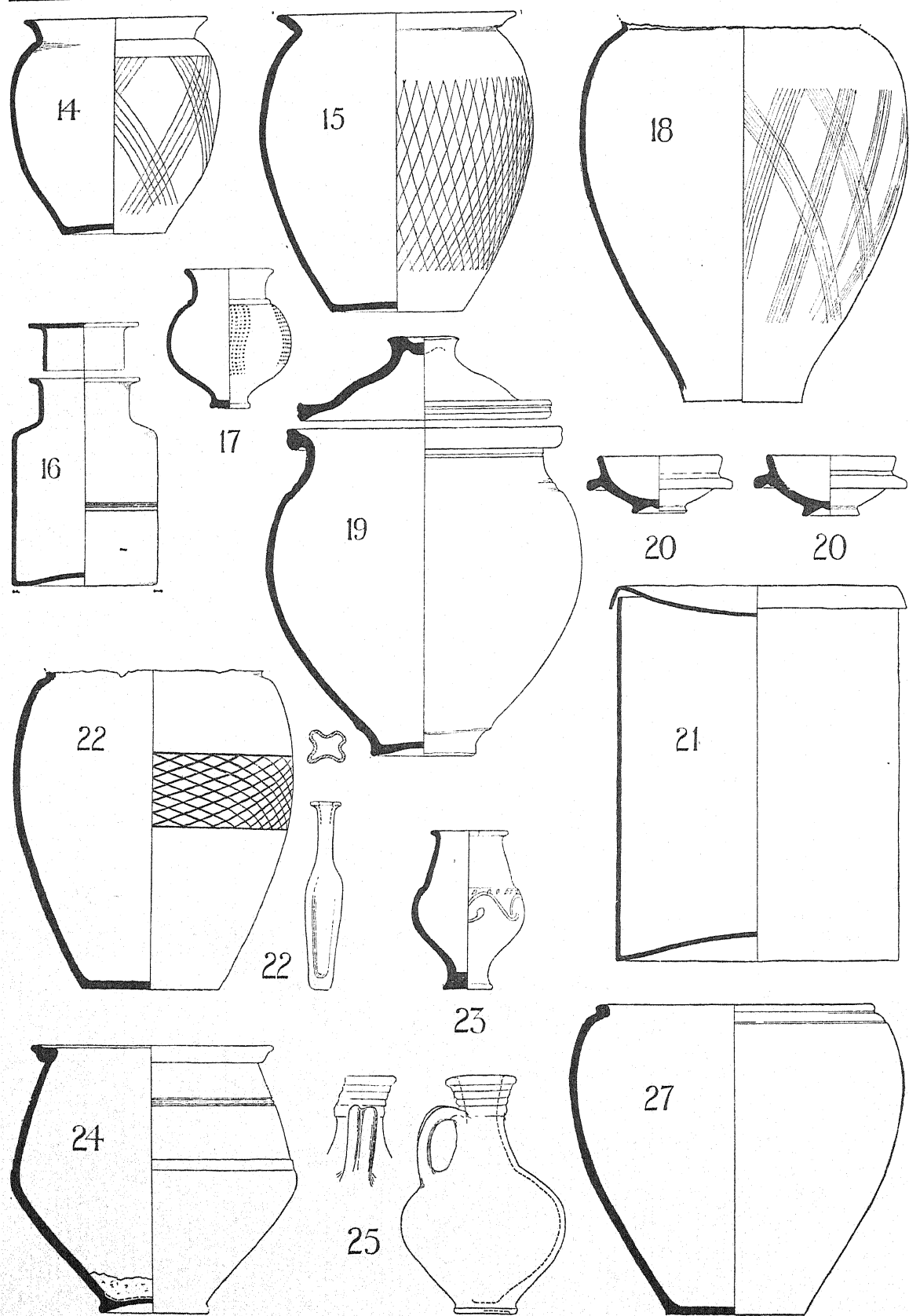


FIG. 64. Burial Urns, &c. (1).

(B). BURIALS WITHOUT, BUT CLOSE TO THE TOWN-WALL.

With the exception of a stretch of rather less than half-a-mile immediately W. of Moorfields, the Roman town-wall is almost continuously surrounded by Roman cemeteries from the Tower northwards and westwards to Ludgate. For convenience, however, it is possible to group the burials roughly into three districts: (1) those from the Minories and the adjacent area to the E., formerly known as Goodman's Fields; (2) those in the neighbourhood of Bishopsgate, extending from Moorfields on the W. to Spitalfields on the E.; and (3) those in the neighbourhood of Newgate, from Smithfield on the N. to Farringdon Street on the S. and from the direction of Cripplegate on the E. to Holborn on the W. Burials in Shadwell and Stepney are possibly outliers of the Goodman's Fields cemetery, and others W. of the Fleet continue the lines from Newgate and Ludgate, but all these will be included in Section C.

1. ALDGATE, THE MINORIES AND GOODMAN'S FIELDS.—The principal sites are Haydon Square and vicinity, Mansell Street, and Great and Little Alie Streets, all of which come within the area formerly known as Goodman's Fields, extending from the Minories to Church Lane, Whitechapel, and from Commercial Road to the River. Strype states "In Goodman's Fields without Aldgate was a Roman Burying Place. For since the Buildings there about 1678, have been found there (in digging for foundations) vast quantities of Urns and other Roman utensils. . . . Some of these Urns had ashes of bones in them, and brass and silver money; and an unusual Urn of copper, curiously enamelled in colours, red, blue and yellow" [Strype's *Stow*, II, Appendix, 23]. Gough also notes that "in the foundations of the new church in Goodman's Fields among many parcels of bones were found urns" [Gough's *Camden*, II, 17].

More recent discoveries, noted below, show that the cemetery was in use from the 1st to the 4th century, although not more than two or three of the surviving urns are earlier than the 2nd century. Upwards of a dozen cremation-burials and of four inhumation-burials are individually recorded, whilst many others of both classes are more vaguely indicated.

Fig. 64, 18. ALDGATE. Urn containing burnt bones found beneath a house in Aldgate nearly opposite the Aldgate station of the Metropolitan Railway, 1902. Grey ware, with smoothed lattice-pattern. 2nd century [London Museum, A. 28531/1].

MINORIES. A rough sketch of a black Roman urn (of uncertain date) containing bones is included amongst notes from the Gardiner MSS. now in the possession of Dr. Philip Norman. The sketch bears the note "East side of Minories" and the urn was found during the Aldgate extension of the Inner Circle Railway in 1882. The same series includes a sketch of a "thumb-pot" with the note "Blackwall Yard, Aldgate Extension, urn with interment."

Fig. 64, 19. MINORIES. Buff urn with lid containing burnt bones. Found at the back of Holy Trinity Church. Akin to Richborough type 28, dated "mid or late 1st century" [Guildhall Museum Cat., p. 84, No. 111].

Pl. 57, 58. MINORIES. In 1854 a sarcophagus, apparently of Barnack rag, was found by workmen digging for the foundations of warehouses for the L. and N.W. Railway Company in Haydon Square between the Minories and Mansell Street. The exact spot is described as "the N.W. corner of Haydon Square, about 15 ft. from Sheppy yard." The sarcophagus lay E. and W. at a depth of 15 ft. Various interments, without coffins and possibly of Mediaeval date, lay above it. Its length is nearly 5 ft., its width about 2 ft., its height, including cover, 22 in. The front and sides are ornamented, the back plain. A central sunk medallion contains a youthful male head and shoulders in low relief, and is flanked by a gadroon ornament; the ends of the sarcophagus are each carved with a basket of fruit. The stone lid, which was held in position by rough iron clamps, is ridged and bears a foliage-pattern on the face. Within the sarcophagus was a leaden coffin containing the bones "of a boy of about 10 to 12 years of age, together with a quantity of lime," the head lay at the E. end. The lid of the coffin is

ornamented with scallop-shells and lines of astragalus. The greater part of the group is now in the British Museum. A coin of Valens found at the same time is sometimes associated with the burial, but without reason [C. Roach Smith, *Coll. Antiq.*, III, 46 (plates); *Brit. Mus. Guide to Roman Britain*, 101 (plate 00)].

HAYDON SQUARE. "On pulling down the remains of the convent of St. Clare or Minoreesses, in 1797, on the S. or E. part of the present Haydon Square, . . . two complete urns, filled with bones, ashes, etc., were taken up" [T. Allen, *Hist. Lond.*, I, 29].

MANSSELL STREET. In 1843, a small leaden coffin containing the remains of a child was found; the coffin was void of ornament save for a beading of astragalus which ran round the bottom. In the immediate vicinity and on the same level, were found skeletons, urns with burnt bones, coloured glass beads and bracelets in bronze and jet [C. Roach Smith, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, II, 299; *Coll. Antiq.*, III, 55; *Proc. Soc. Ant.* (1st Ser.), I, 57].

Fig. 64, 20. MANSSELL STREET. Inhumation-burial, at the head of which were found two small flanged cups of imitation Samian ware, one red and the other now black. Their form is that of Dragendorff 38, a Samian type usually of Hadrian-Antonine date; but imitations, though usually not quite of this fabric, lasted to the end of the 4th century [London Museum, A. 20581-2].

Fig. 64, 21. MANSSELL STREET. Cylindrical lead canister with lid containing burnt bones [London Museum, A. 20547].

Fig. 64, 22. MANSSELL STREET. Small glass phial and urn containing burnt bones. The phial has a quatrefoiled lip. The urn is of grey ware and is ornamented with a band of smooth lattice-pattern. It is of Hadrian-Antonine type [cf. Curle, *Newstead*, Pl. XLVIII, 48; Wheeler, *Roman Fort near Brecon*, Fig. 98, C. 42-3; London Museum, A. 20352-3].

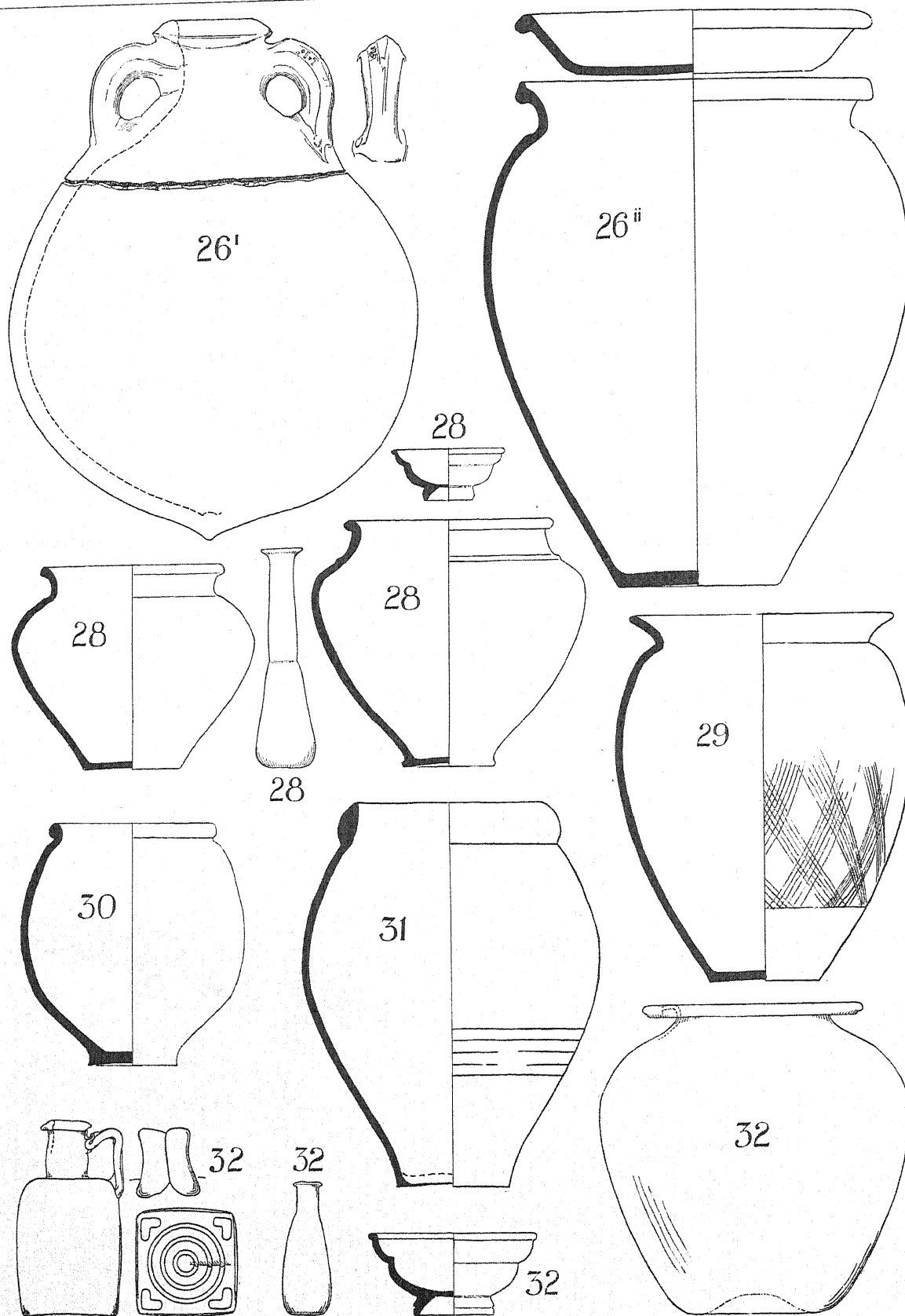
FIG. 65. Burial Urns, &c. ($\frac{1}{2}$ except 26', $\frac{1}{4}$).

Fig. 64, 23. MANSELL STREET. Inhumation-burial, at the head of which was a small beaker of Castor ware, buff clay with reddish-brown surface, and design painted in thin white slip; closely similar to *Richborough* I, No. 96, dated to the 4th century; cf. also May, *Silchester Pottery*, Pl. LII, late 3rd and 4th century [London Museum, A. 20579]. The present example is probably c. A.D. 300.

Fig. 64, 24. MANSELL STREET. Buff urn containing burnt bones and found in the "middle of Mansell Street, Whitechapel, 10 ft. deep, July, 1843." Bi-conical bowl with flat reeded rim and girth-grooves; similar to *Richborough* I, No. 11, dated "Claudian" [British Museum, Roach Smith Coll.].

Fig. 64, 25. MANSELL STREET. Light buff jug with screw-neck, from the "Roman cemetery, Mansell Street, July, 1843." Compare *Richborough* I, No. 70, and *Silchester* type 118, both probably late 1st or early 2nd century [British Museum, Roach Smith Coll.].

Fig. 65, 26. GREAT ALIE STREET. A burial-group found here in 1904 consisted of (i) an amphora of coarse red ware with neck and handles in position but separate from the

body to admit (ii) a dark grey urn (26, ii) containing burnt bones and covered by (iii) a dark-grey dish. The urn resembles *Wroxeter* (1913) type 60, dated "late 1st and early 2nd century," and the group is probably of early 2nd century date [*Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 395, No. 113].

Figs. 64 and 65, 27-8. LITTLE ALIE STREET, WHITE-CHAPEL. A group of four pots, two of which contain burnt bones with a glass phial was found in August, 1913, at a depth of about 15 ft. Just above them was a human skull, but it is not clear that the skull had any connection with the pottery. The group, now in the London Museum, consisted of: (i) Grey urn (A. 11693) containing burnt bones; cf. *Richborough*, 1st Report, No. 19, dated to the Claudian period, and May, *Silchester Pottery*, Pl. LXXVIII, 8, and p. 191, dated to the same period. In the urn was an indeterminate fragment of an iron fibula. (ii) Grey urn (A. 11694) containing burnt bones; cf. *Richborough*, No. 26, dated mid 1st century, and *Silchester Pottery*, Pl. LXXVIII, dated to the Claudian period. (iii) Grey urn (A. 11696), empty, of type analogous to preceding. (iv) Samian cup (A. 11697) of form 27. (v) Glass phial (A. 11695). The whole group is probably of mid 1st-century date.

2. BISHOPSGATE, MOORFIELDS, SPITALFIELDS.—The Roman road which issued from Bishopsgate was flanked for considerable distances on both sides by cemeteries which were in use from the 1st probably to the 4th century. The cremation-burials within the town-wall at Bishopsgate (*above*, p. 153) were presumably an early portion of the same large cemetery.

BISHOPSGATE. "On rebuilding Bishopsgate church . . . they found an arched vault 14 ft. deep with large equilateral Roman bricks, and in it two skeletons perfect . . . Dr. Stukeley saw there in 1726 a Roman grave made of great tiles or bricks 21 in. long which kept the earth from the body." A small urn containing a little thigh-bone was found under the street adjoining [Gough's *Camden*, II, 17].

BISHOPSGATE STREET. In the Guildhall Museum is a coffin, probably Roman, of bastard Portland stone, found in 1891 opposite Widgegate Street and Artillery Row, about the centre of the E. front of Liverpool Street Station. Near by was found another coffin in 1875, containing a skeleton, at a depth of 13 ft. below the surface of Bishopsgate Street [V.C.H. *London*, I, 16 and 90; *Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 106, No. 9].

Fig. 65, 29. BISHOPSGATE. Urn containing burnt bones. Grey ware with smoothed lattice-pattern. An Antonine type [cf. Curle, *Newstead*, Fig. 28; Miller, *Balmuildy*, Pl. XLV; London Museum, A. 16131].

Fig. 65, 30. BISHOPSGATE. Urn containing burnt bones. Grey-buff ware. Profile akin to *Wroxeter*, 1913, No. 51, dated A.D. 90-120 [London Museum, A. 20259].

Fig. 65, 31. BISHOPSGATE. Urn containing burnt bones. Light buff ware. Similar to urns from Rhenish sites, where they are dated to the first half of the 1st century A.D. [cf. May, *Silchester Pottery*, Pl. LXIX, 121, and p. 149; London Museum, A. 16100].

Fig. 65, 32. BISHOPSGATE. Samian cup and three glass vessels forming a burial-group found in 1873:

- (i) Glass urn containing burnt bones.
- (ii) Samian form 27, stamped BACCI.M. This cup stood in the mouth of (i) as a lid.
- (iii) Square glass bottle of characteristic 1st and early 2nd century type.
- (iv) Glass urn containing burnt bones [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXX, 204; London Museum, A. 14398-14400].

SPITALFIELDS (between Bishopsgate and Bethnal Green). Stow records that, on the E. side of St. Mary Spittle churchyard, "lieth a large field, of olde time called *Lolesworth*, now Spittle field, which about the year 1576, was broken up for Clay to make Bricks, in the digging whereof many earthen pots, called *Vrmae*, were found full of ashes, and burnt bones of men, to wit, of the Romans that inhabited here . . . euerie of these pots had in them with the Ashes of the dead, one peece of Copper mony, with the inscription of the Emperour then reigning: some of them were of *Claudius*, some of *Vespasian*, some of *Nero*, of *Anthionius Pius*, of *Traianus*, and others. . . . There hath also beene found in the same field divers coffins of stone, containing the bones of men . . . Moreover there were also found the sculls and bones of men without coffins, or rather whose coffins (being of great timber) were consumed . . . I there behelde the bones of a man lying (as I noted) the heade North, the feete South, and round about him, as thwart his head, along both his sides, and thwart his feete, such nailes were found, wherefore I coniectured them to be the nailes of his coffin, which had beene a trough cut out of some great tree, and the same covered with a planke, of great thicknesse, fastned with such nayles, and therefore I caused some of the nayles to be reached up to mee, and found under the broad heades of them, the olde wood, skant turned into earth, but still retaining both the graine, and proper colour" [*Survey of London* (Ed. Kingsford), I, 168].

CASTLE STREET. A stone coffin was found in 1884 in connection with the bastion in this street [*Ant.*, X, 134].

Fig. 66, 33. LIVERPOOL STREET. (i) Dark grey urn containing burnt bones. Decorated with smoothed lattice-pattern. With the urn is the following note: "This urn with another, with the greater part of the covers, and each containing burnt bones, were found in an amphora of globose form. The neck with the handles had been cut so as to take in the urns; the neck had been replaced to form a cover. Several urns with bones were found in the same excavations. Liverpool Street, January 1872." (See also J. E. Price, *Proc. Soc. Ant.* (2nd Ser.), VI, 170.) The type of the present urn suggests a date of c. A.D. 150-250. (ii) Grey urn containing burnt bones; found

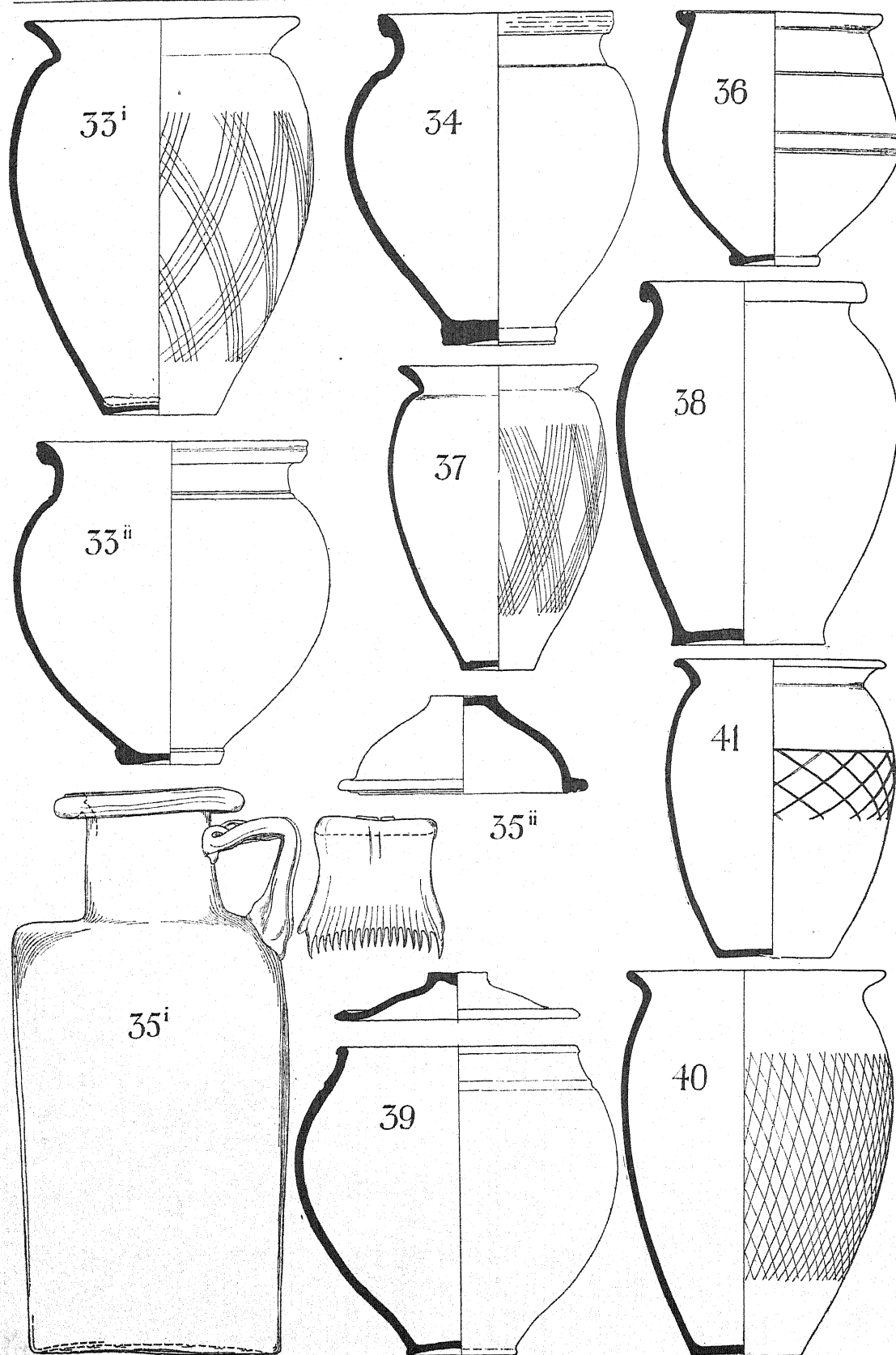


FIG. 66. Burial Urns (4).

with above in amphora. For date compare No. 34. The present vessel seems to be of somewhat earlier date than that usually assigned to (i), but the two are presumably contemporary [*Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 84, No. 112].

NEW BROAD STREET. Roach Smith illustrates the lead and iron frameworth of a wooden coffin "bound with iron bands, excavated many years since, opposite New Broad Street. . . . It lay at a depth of 14 ft.; and as the foreman of the works told me, in a bank to the left, or outside, of the course of the old Houndsditch." The engraving shows a human skull within one end of the coffin [*Coll. Antiq.*, VII, 180].

Fig. 66, 34-5 (i and ii). **BLOMFIELD STREET, Moorfields.** When excavating in 1868 (or 1863) for the additions to the Eye Infirmary in Blomfield Street, on the E. bank of the Walbrook, "on the ground adjoining the highway leading from Bishopsgate Street to Norton Folgate and Spitalfields," a wooden cist, about 18 in. square, was found, covered by an amphora reversed and with the neck removed. The cist contained two urns (one of them being surrounded by the fragments of a wooden cask), and a glass jug with an earthenware cover. All contained human bones [J. E. Price, *Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, III, 492 (plate); *Journ. Roy. Arch. Inst.*, LX, 170; *Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 40, No. 153; 83, No. 103; 84, No. 113]. One of the urns, of reddish-buff ware (Fig. 34) is closely derived from Richborough type 28, dated "mid or late 1st century," and from *Silchester Pottery*, Pl. LXXVIII, 6, of c. A.D. 40-60; it probably dates from late in the 1st or early in the 2nd century. The other earthenware vessel (Fig. 35, ii), of buff ware, is comparable with Richborough type 79, dated 1st and 2nd centuries. The glass jug (Fig. 35) is of a type common on Roman sites dating from c. A.D. 80-150. The whole group is probably of late 1st century date.

Fig. 66, 36. **MOORFIELDS.** Buff urn of bi-conical form, with reeded rim and three horizontal grooves. It contains

burnt bones with traces of a cloth wrapper, and the following note: "Urn with child's bones which appear to have been wrapped in some sort of linen (linum). Moorfield, Mr. Mayhew." The form is similar to Richborough type 11, dated "Claudian" [*Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 84, No. 113].

Fig. 66, 37. **FINSBURY CIRCUS.** Dark grey urn decorated with smoothed lattice-pattern and containing burnt bones. It was found on the site adjoining the London Institution towards the E., and lay in the surface of the gravel at a depth of about 11 ft. from the present surface. (*See Arch.*, LXXI, 94.) This type is difficult to date; the fact that the diameter of the shoulder is greater than that of the rim suggests that the example is not later than the 3rd century, and a period c. A.D. 150-250 is suggested [*See Silchester Pottery*, pp. 155 ff., *Guildhall Museum*, M.A. 2566].

FINSBURY CIRCUS. A stone coffin, possibly Roman, was found 13 ft. below the present surface between London Wall and Finsbury Circus [*Arch.*, LXVIII, 233].

Fig. 66, 38. **SITE OF MOORGATE STREET TUBE STATION.** Grey urn containing burnt bones, found 30 ft. from the surface in 1902. Grey ware. Similar to Wroxeter (1913) type 60, dated late 1st or early 2nd century A.D. [British Museum].

Fig. 66, 39. **WEST STREET, FINSBURY (near 24).** Light buff urn, with lid, containing burnt bones. Same class as Richborough type 82, dated "1st century" and is probably pre-Flavian. [British Museum].

MOORFIELDS. In 1873, the oak coffin of a child was found in Moorfields, but the exact spot is not recorded. The coffin contained a cup of white ware, a jar of red ware, three small bracelets of jet, a ring of gold wire, and a well-preserved gold coin of Salonina, wife of Gallienus (A.D. 253-268). The find is now in the British Museum [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXXI, 209].

3. NEWGATE, SMITHFIELD, FARRINGDON STREET.—The Roman road from Newgate was flanked by a considerable cemetery on its northern side (in the Smithfield area) and by some burials on the comparatively narrow strip of ground between the town-wall and the Fleet River to the S. The burials were continued westward along Holborn and Oxford Street, but those W. of the Fleet are described separately under Section C. (*below* p. 163). Few of the cinerary urns survive, but they indicate that the cemetery was in use in the 1st century, and the series of inhumation-burials is presumably of 3rd or 4th century date.

SMITHFIELD. J. E. Price notes that the result of the excavations in connection with the erection of the Dead Meat and Poultry Market was "a full corroboration of opinions formerly expressed as to the locality having been extensively used as a Roman cemetery" [*Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, III, 195]. The same writer records that about 1865, in the course of the excavations for the Finsbury Extension of the Metropolitan Railway, in "the N.W. corner of Smithfield, not far from West Street, and near where the two inns, the Ram and the Rose, were standing but a short time since," were found a skeleton "enclosed in a coffin or cist, with a small black urn of Upchurch ware placed at the crown of the skull. The other objects, a patera, ampulla, mortarium, etc., such as are usually found in Roman sepulchres, were near the left-hand side of the cist. There was not sufficient of the wood remaining to measure with accuracy the length of the coffin, but it appeared to have been but little over 4 ft.

It was lying E. and W., slightly inclined to the N.E. The body had been placed on small transverse pieces of wood unworked, and of varying thickness; these had the appearance of having been branches of trees cut up into equal lengths. They were lying on the London clay, the bones upon them; and pieces of timber had been placed around to form the sides, head, and foot of the cist, much in the same way as the tile tombs of the Romans were constructed." A coin of Gratian was found at the same time, but whether it was in any way associated with the burial is not clear [*Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, III, 37].

Fig. 66, 40. **SMITHFIELD.** Dark grey urn containing burnt bones, found in 1865 near St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Decorated with smoothed lattice-pattern. The type seems to be that of c. A.D. 150-250 [*See Silchester Pottery*, 155 ff.; *Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 84, No. 122].

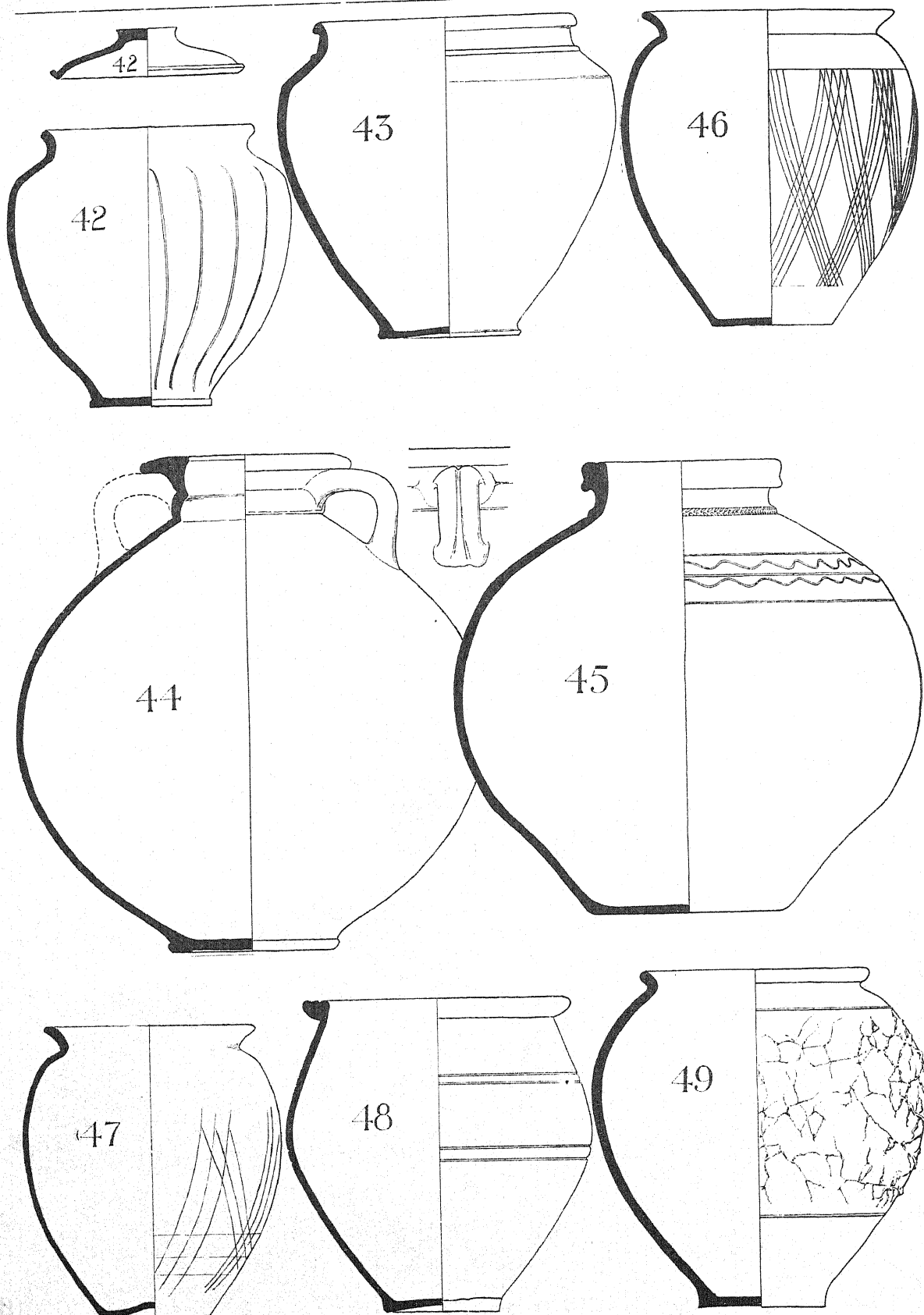


FIG. 67. Burial Urns (4).

Fig. 66, 41. SMITHFIELD. Grey urn containing burnt bones. Decorated with smoothed lattice-pattern. Found near St. Bartholomew's Hospital, in West Smithfield, 1865. The type is Antonine, and may be ascribed to the period c. A.D. 140-200 [*Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 84, No. 119].

SMITHFIELD. In 1749, during the digging of a sewer in West Smithfield near the end of Hosier Lane, a leaden coffin about 4 ft. long, 21 in. broad, and 18 in. deep was found at a fairly deep level in clayey gravel. It lay towards the buildings behind St. Sepulchre's Church, but its direction is not stated. Inside were some bones and skulls, which suggest that, as in other cases, the coffin may have been used for more than one body, but the discovery was not well observed. The lid bore embossed scallop-shells. Other bones were found in the vicinity [*Soc. Ant. MS. Min.*, VI, 2; *V.C.H. London*, I, 19].

SMITHFIELD. "At the corner of Clothfair an urn, containing burnt bones, was discovered a few years back, and similar relics have been brought to light in Giltspur Street, in front of St. Sepulchre's Church. During the formation of a new sewer in Cock Lane numerous bone pins, mortaria, Samian ware and other objects, were found in conjunction with human remains." Amongst these, at a depth of 12 ft., was a coffin (probably of wood) containing a skeleton with bronze armlets on the wrists [J. E. Price, *Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, III, 37; *Arch. Rev.*, I, 276].

SMITHFIELD. A wooden cist "containing human bones entire" was found a few years before 1870 in West Smithfield [*Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, III, 495; *Proc. Soc. Ant.* (2nd series), VI, 172].

SMITHFIELD. In 1877, during the excavations for the Medical School of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, at the N. end of Giltspur Street, two oolite coffins, each 6 ft. 8 in. long and 2 ft. 4½ in. wide, were found close together, at a depth of 11 ft., lying approximately E. and W. They had massive stone lids. One enclosed a leaden coffin ornamented on the sides with cable-mouldings arranged in a diamond pattern, and containing the body of a woman; whilst the more northerly contained the bodies of a man and a woman, the head of the former being at the W. end and that of the latter at the E. end. Both coffins

are now on the staircase of the library of the hospital [*Arch. Journ.*, XXXIV, 197; *Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, V, 293].

WELL STREET, JEWIN STREET (near the Cripplegate bastion). In 1846 were discovered sepulchral interments from which "some urns, one containing burnt bones" were exhibited [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, II, 273]. These burials are presumably outliers of the same large cemetery.

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL (now part of the General Post Office). "In 1826, various sepulchral remains were discovered in excavating the site of the New Hall of Christ's Hospital; they consisted of burnt bones, vases, a few coins, and broken pottery" [T. Allen, *Hist. of Lond.*, I, 32].

Fig. 67, 42. OLD BAILEY. Urn, with lid, containing burnt bones. Found in August, 1914. Lid of buff ware; urn of grey ware ornamented with shallow vertical grooves. The urn is a simplified form of an early or mid 1st-century type, e.g., from a pit of that date at Silchester [May, *Silchester Pottery*, Pl. LXXVIII, 6 and p. 191]. It also approaches *Richborough*, 1st Report, No. 26, dated mid 1st century, but is inferior in finish and perhaps later [London Museum, A. 13696 and 13982].

Fig. 67, 43. HOLBORN VIADUCT. Grey urn containing burnt bones. Found in March, 1867. Similar to *Silchester Pottery*, Pl. LXXVIII, 5, found in a pit approximately of Claudian date [*Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 19, No. 299].

SEACOA LANE. A rag-stone coffin, possibly Roman, and now in the Guildhall Museum, [*Cat.* p. 106, No. 8] was found in 1873, near Seacoal Lane, which formerly joined Snow Hill and Fleet Lane, running along the left bank of the Fleet. It lay at a depth of 12 ft. from the surface and is 7 ft. 9 in. long, 4 ft. 2½ in. wide, and 3 ft. deep. It contained a skeleton surrounded with lime. Near by were observed evidences of another interment, with fragments of Roman pottery, etc. The account, however, of the whole discovery is vague [J. E. Price, *Rom. Antiq. Nat. Safe Deposit*, 52].

NEWCASTLE STREET. Near by, in Newcastle Street, "vast quantities of human remains" were found at two points in 1844, at depths of from 5 to 7 ft., but their date is uncertain [*Journ. Roy. Arch. Inst.*, I, 162].

(C). MORE REMOTE BURIALS WITHIN THE LONDON DISTRICT.

The dividing line between these and the cemeteries described in Section B. is often a somewhat artificial one, but it is clearly desirable to distinguish outlying and in some cases isolated groups from the main cemeteries beneath the town-walls. Historically the most important of these groups is, or should be, that from the Southwark district, but before crossing the river, it is convenient to complete the survey of those on the northern side.

1. Burials in the SHADWELL and STEPNEY area are perhaps a somewhat distant extension of the Goodman's Fields cemetery (*above*, p. 157). At Shadwell in 1858, an imperfect lead coffin was found 9 ft. below the surface N. of Shadwell Basin and near the S.W. corner of St. Paul's churchyard. The coffin lay E. and W., but the direction of the head is not stated [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XIV, 357, where it is wrongly suggested that this coffin was identical with that found in the 17th century in Radcliffe Field (*see below*)].

At STEPNEY, early in the 17th century, near the angle of Love Lane and Cable Street, "within the parish of Stepney in Middlesex, in Radcliffe field . . . there was

found two monuments, the one of stone, wherein was the bones of a man, the other a chest of lead, the upper part being garnished with scallop-shells and a crotister border. At the head of the coffin and the foot, there were two jars, of a three-feet length, standing, and on the sides a number of bottles of glistening red earth, some painted, and many great vials of glass, some six, some eight square, having a whitish liquor within them. Within the chest was the body of a woman, as the chirugians judged by the skull. On either side of her there were two sceptres of ivory, 18 in. long, and on her breast a little figure of Cupid, neatly cut in white stone. It seemed (said Sir Robert Cotton from whom I had this relation) these bodies were burned (*sic*) about the yeare of our Lord 239, being there were

found divers coins of Pupienus, Gordian, and the emperours of that time" [Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 1631, p. 30]. It will be observed that the association of the coins with the burials, though assumed, is not clearly stated and is at least open to doubt.

2. A burial found in 1862 at BETHNAL GREEN was perhaps an outlier of the Spitalfields cemetery (*above*, p. 159). In that year a leaden coffin which had evidently been buried in a wooden casing was found at Camden Gardens (replaced by Corfield Street) behind the police station. The ends are decorated with astragalus-pattern in saltire, and the coffin contained slaked lime. It is now in the British Museum [*Proc. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, 1860-3, 78].

3. At OLD FORD and BOW, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles farther E., a number of burials have been found in the vicinity of the Roman road to Colchester. An amphora of buff ware, containing burnt bones, is preserved in the British Museum from Old Ford; its type is not well dated but is probably not later than the beginning of the 2nd century (Fig. 67, 44). Another burnt burial is contained in a grey urn of 1st century type, now in the Guildhall Museum (Fig. 67, 45; see *Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 20, No. 313). Two other burnt burials (noted below) come from this district, but most of the known interments were by inhumation. In 1844, "about 150 yards S. of the old ford over the river at Stratford-le-Bow," was found a leaden coffin containing the remains of a skeleton imbedded in lime. The lid was ornamented with an incised swastika near the centre. In and about 1866 several other burials by cremation and inhumation were found in the same area. A rectangular stone coffin was discovered "in the vicinity of Old Ford, near Bow, associated with pottery. Another of the same character was excavated not long since . . . near the Saxon Road and Coborn Road, Bow, some 60 yards S. of the Roman highway. The coffin lay upon the gravel beneath some 30 in. of superincumbent soil. Its length is about 6 ft. 6 in., width 2 ft. 1 in., 2 in. less at the foot. The lid is slightly ridged. In it were contained the bones of a full-sized man . . . which appeared to have been buried, as the custom was, in lime. Its situation was E. and W. and the arms of the skeleton were drawn down at the side differing in this respect from that found some years ago in the same locality [a rectangular stone coffin, see *Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, I, 192]. In the latter case the arms of the skeleton were crossed on the breast . . . At a distance of some 2 ft. S. of the coffin a large collection of [Roman] pottery was discovered." The plate shows pottery of the 2nd or 3rd century. Two of the urns "contained burnt bones." Subsequently two more monolithic sarcophagi were found, some 200 yards S. of the previous group [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, II, 300; *Arch.*, XXXI, 308 (plate); *Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, I, 192, and III, 206 (plates); *Coll. Antiq.*, III, 55; *V.C.H. London*, I, 21].

4. Farther E. again, an interesting group of inhumation-burials was found in 1864 at EAST HAM. Workmen excavating for ballast for sewers across the marshes to Barking, came upon a Roman cemetery "about a quarter of a mile westward of the church of East Ham, at the foot of the upland just bordering upon the marshes . . . The workmen came first upon a massive stone sarcophagus, quite plain, 6 ft. 9 in. in length by 2 ft. 1 in. wide, covered by a heavy coped lid. It contained two skeletons placed side by side, their heads at the opposite ends. A surgeon pronounced them to be of adults in middle age. Three leaden coffins were next found, lying like the sarcophagus, north and south. . . . Near the coffins and in a line with them were found two skeletons which had been enclosed in coffins of wood; and about twenty urns, most of them containing burnt bones. As Mr. King conjectures, the excavations had touched the southern verge of an extensive cemetery." The coffins (Pl. 58) are now in the British

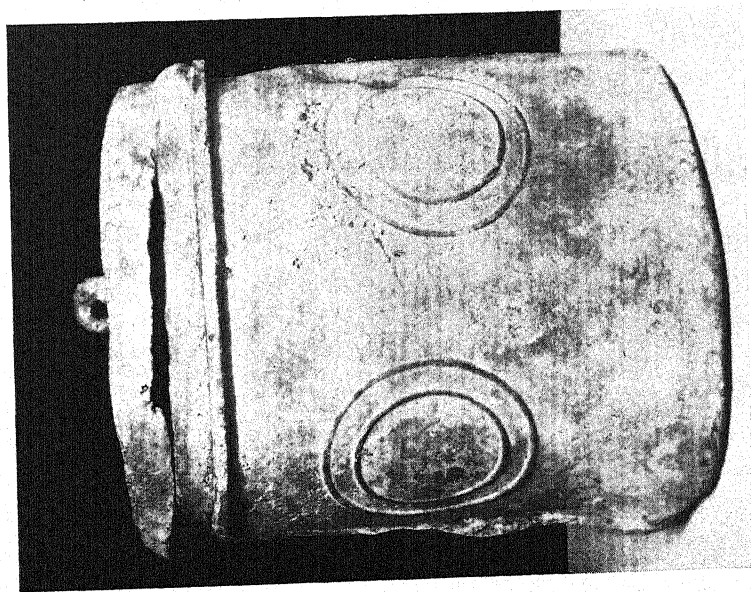
Museum. One measures 4 ft. $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. at the top and 9 in. at the bottom; it is decorated with astragalus and scallop-shell pattern. Another, only 2 ft. 4 in. in length is decorated with the same motifs. The fragment of the third shows concentric circles, lines of cable-moulding, and two small masks [C. Roach Smith, *Coll. Antiq.*, VII, 190 (plate); *Journ. Roy. Arch. Inst.*, XXI, 94; *Gent. Mag.* (N.S.), XV, 91; *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, III, 104].

5. Towards the northern corner of the triangular expanse of gravel on which London stands, a series of burials has been found both at UPPER and at LOWER CLAPTON. The sites lie nearly a mile to the E. of the Great North Road, and in the absence of known structural remains in the neighbourhood, the reason for their situation is not apparent. "During some repairs at Temple Mills, on the borders of Hackney Marsh, in the year 1783, an urn was found full of Roman coins . . . from Julius Caesar to Constantine the Great, several medals, a stone coffin (with the skeleton in it entire) measuring 9 ft. 7 in. long, and an inscription on it unintelligible; it is added, that in removing the old foundation a vault was discovered in which were several urns, but very imperfect, and that it is very remarkable the vaults for centuries past are supposed to have been 16 ft. under water. In the year 1814, Mr. Bros, who was making some improvements in his grounds in Springfield Lane, at Upper Clapton, a short distance from the River Lea and the marsh, discovered several stone coffins, and other relics of antiquity. The first coffin was found in the N. side of the sloping line which forms part of the pleasure-ground, 60 ft. above the level of the marsh; the coffin was about 7 ft. long and 4 ft. wide, of hewn stone, lying about 6 ft. under ground. Near this, in the year 1837, another was found, and at about the same depth; both coffins lying N. and S. The latter one contained the remains of two human skeletons, male and female. . . . A great quantity of human bones were also found near the last coffin and some rude pottery, most of which was broken by the workmen" [*Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, III, 196; *Gent. Mag.*, LIII, 899].

The most important discovery in this district, however, was a white marble sarcophagus (Pl. 57), found in 1867 and now in the Guildhall Museum. It was unearthed "at the rear of the London Orphan Asylum, Clapton, on the brow of the hill passing down to the marshes and river Lea, within a few feet of an old path just demolished which ran from Homerton to Lea Bridge, via Brooksby's Walk, in the direction from S. to N. and another way, for many years past but a private road to a farm, running W. to E., viz. from Clapton Square, via Clapton Alley or Passage, to the Lea river . . . The coffin was found on the natural gravel, 2 ft. 6 in. from the surface, lying due E. and W., the foot to the E. . . . It is about 6 ft. 3 in. long, 1 ft. 3 in. wide and 1 ft. 6 in. deep; the thickness being about $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. . . . No vestige of a lid or covering has been found, but at each end are evidence of clamp fastenings." It is plain save on the front, which is fluted and has a central bust on a pedestal bearing an inscription (see p. 173) [*Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, III, 191 (plates and map of the site); *Journ. Roy. Arch. Inst.*, 1874, 352; *Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 106, Pl. LVI].

6. The Roman cemetery outside Newgate (*above*, p. 161) straggled across the Fleet to HOLBORN CIRCUS, GRAY'S INN ROAD and, presumably in scattered groups, considerably farther W. along the line of Oxford Street, as far as Notting Hill.

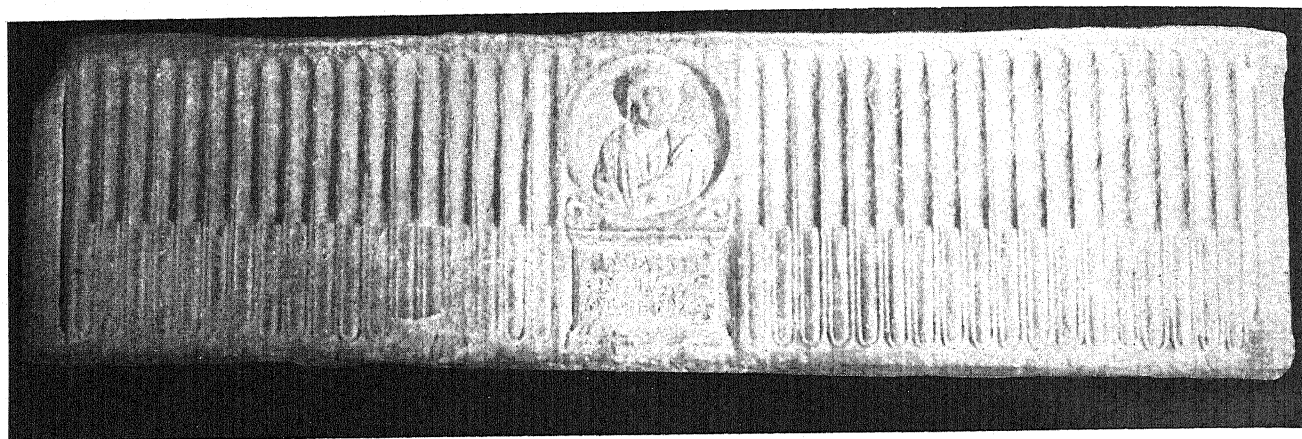
In Holborn, a few years before 1842, "Roman remains were met with at Holborn Hill at the depth of 18 ft. They consisted of an earthen urn, filled with burnt bones, and a large quantity of broken pottery, of a pale red kind, enclosed in an oaken case, measuring 2 ft. 9 in. square" [C. Roach Smith, quoting R. Kelsey, *Arch.*, XXIX, 146].



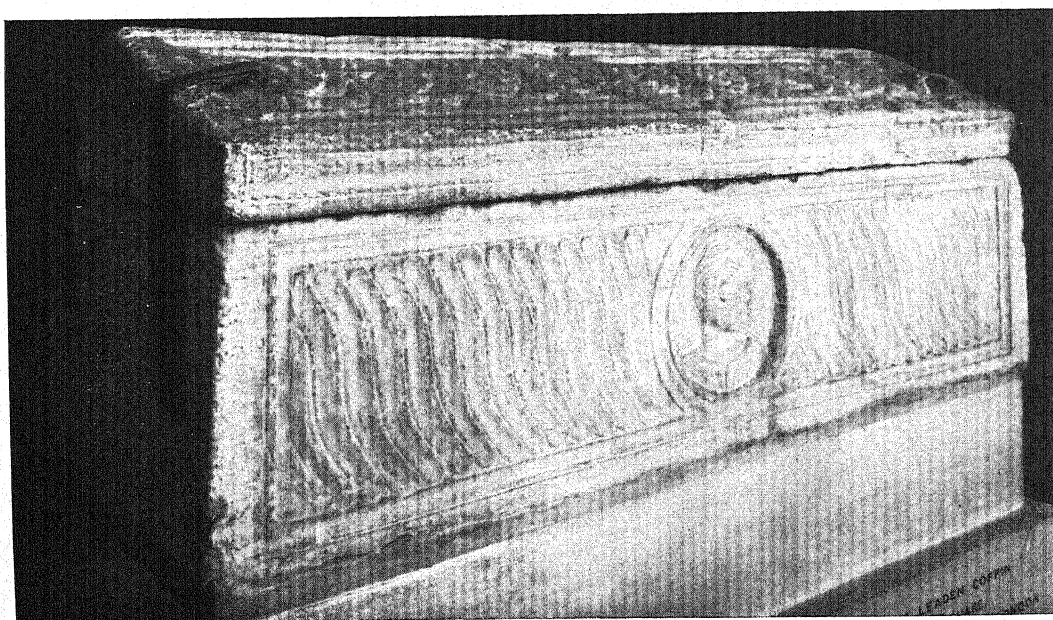
WARWICK SQUARE. Leaden cylinders found 1881 with a glass vessel found inside the second.
British Museum. (About 1/4). See p. 154.



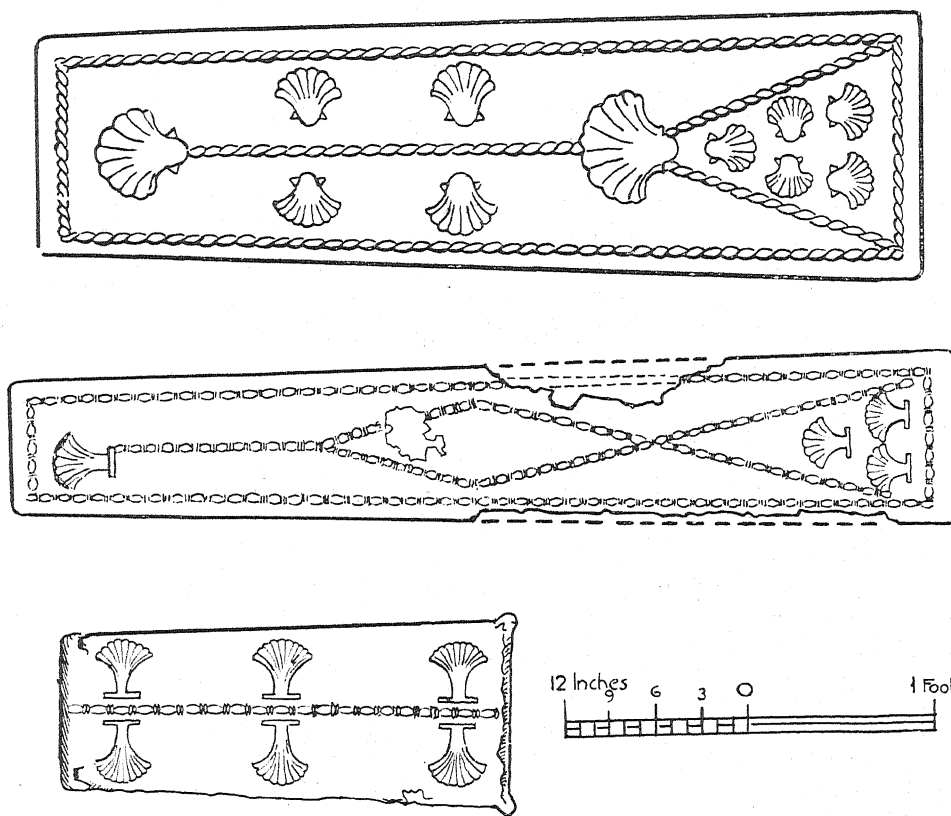
WESTMINSTER ABBEY. Stone coffin found 1869. Now in the vestibule to the Chapter House.
(Side 6 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 6 in.). See pp. 165 and 173, Inscription No. 13.



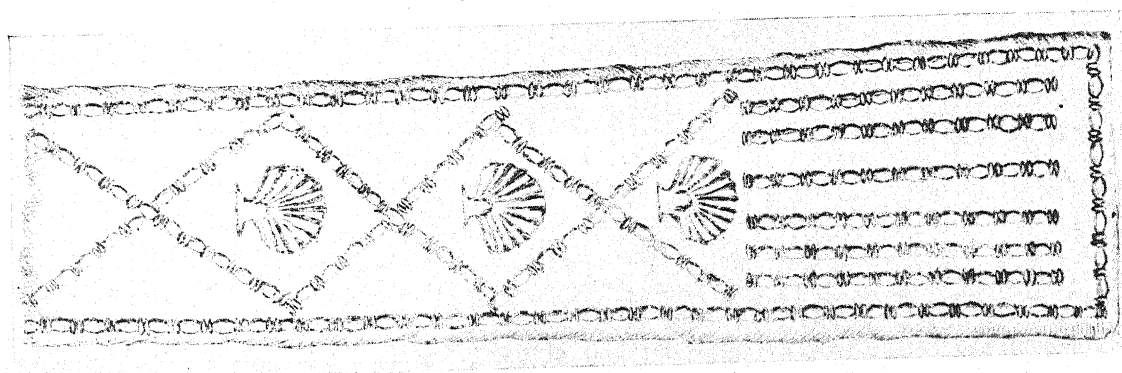
CLAPTON. Marble Sarcophagus found 1867. *Guildhall Museum.* (1/12).
See pp. 164 and 173, Inscription No. 18.



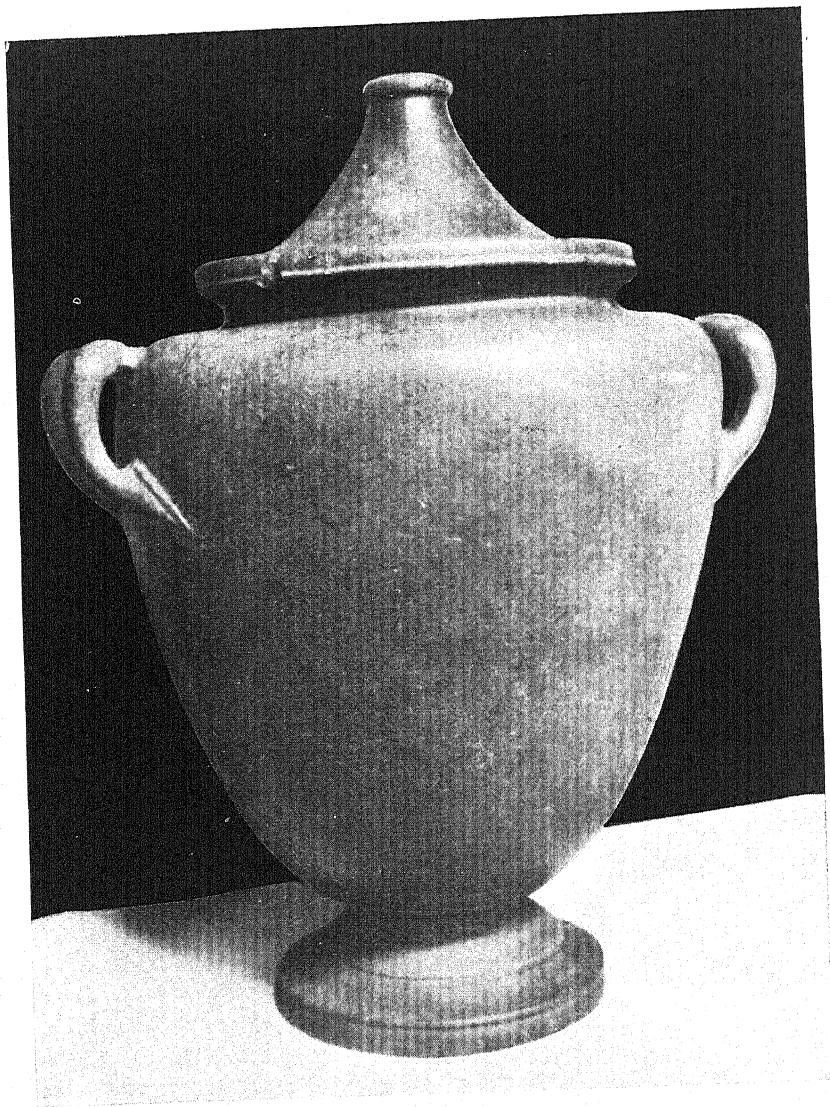
MINORIES. Sarcophagus found in Haydon Square, 1854. *British Museum.*
(Length 5 ft.). See p. 157.



LEADEN COFFIN-LIDS found near London. The first at Battersea Fields, 1794.
The second and third at Old Ford, 1864. *British Museum.*
From the *Victoria County History of London*, I, by permission.



MINORIES. Leaden coffin-lid found in Haydon Square, 1854.
British Museum. See p. 157.
From *Guide to Antiq. of Roman Britain.*



WARWICK SQUARE. Vase of grey fine-grained igneous rock found 1881. *British Museum*. (About 1/4). See p. 154.

Again, shortly before June, 1833, during the laying of a sewer opposite St. Andrew's Church, Holborn, "a square enclosure of oak timber was found, in which were deposited a number of Roman urns" [*Gent. Mag.*, 1833, I, 549]. Another account states: "A Roman sepulchre, consisting of a cubical coffer of 3-in. oak, 2 ft. 9 in. on every side, and containing a few remains of human bones, with the rib bone of some quadruped and a considerable quantity of pottery, the greater part of which was broken, was met with in 1833 at a depth of 18 ft. embedded in the blue clay. Five of the jars which were found unbroken were presented to the City Library. The situation of it was opposite to Messrs. Thompson and Fearson's gin shop, eastward of Union Court" [R. Kelsey cited in *Arch.*, LX, 238]. Near by was found a Roman pavement (p. 147).

Farther W. on the site of the Birkbeck Bank, almost opposite Gray's Inn Road, a "cinerary urn containing bones" was found about 1905. It lay about 160 ft. S. of the Holborn curbstone, just N.E. of the circular counter. It is now in the British Museum. It is of dark grey ware with smoothed lattice-pattern (Fig. 67, 46), and is probably not later than the middle of the 2nd century [*Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.* (N.S.), I, 258 (plan)].

Two cremation-burials come from Gray's Inn Road itself. Fig. 67, 47, is an urn of grey ware (containing burnt bones), with smoothed lattice-pattern. It is an early example of its type, probably not later than the middle of the 2nd century. Its globular form and indented base connect it with 1st-century types such as *Richborough*, 1st Report, Pls. XXI-XXII, but its rim is that of 2nd century cooking-pots [London Museum, A. 11700]. Fig. 67, 48, found near the preceding is an urn of buff ware (also containing burnt bones), with reeded rim and two pairs of incised girth-lines. Closely similar to *Richborough* No. 11, dated to the Claudian period. The biconical form seems to be pre-Flavian [London Museum, A. 11699].

Farther W. again, in SOUTHAMPTON ROW, has been found another urn containing burnt bones (Fig. 67, 49). It is of grey ware with 'rustication' in low relief. A well-known late 1st-century type [cf. *Wroxeter*, 1913, No. 50; London Museum, A. 1705].

A short distance farther W., on the S. side of New OXFORD STREET, shortly before 1864, a cylindrical leaden cist, containing burnt bones and two denarii of Vespasian (wrongly ascribed to Severus) was found on the site of Messrs. Watney, Combe, Reid and Co's former brewery, near the N. end of Endell Street. It measured 8 in. in height and 7½ in. in diameter [*Proc. Soc. Ant.* (2nd series), II, 376].

Fig. 68, 50. Farther W., in the Quadrant Arcade, REGENT STREET, a dark grey urn containing burnt bones, with a buff bowl used as a cover, was found in the gravel at a depth of 9 ft., and is now in the London Museum [A. 27623]. The bead-rimmed urn is of early type; a similar example was found at Silchester with pottery dating "just before the middle of the 1st century" [*Silchester Pottery*, Pl. LXXXVIII, 8].

Over two miles farther W. again, at NOTTING HILL, an inhumation-cemetery, probably of Roman date, was discovered in 1841. In digging the foundations for new buildings "in Victoria Park, near the Hippodrome, Notting Hill, workmen found a monolithic coffin (said to be of Purbeck) with rounded end, at a depth of 6 ft. from the surface. It was 6 ft. 8 in. long and 2 ft. 3 in. broad, and contained a skeleton in lime. It was placed N. and S., the head lying to the N. Adjoining were found the remains of wooden coffins containing bones, but quite rotten. Several pins of bone or ivory were also discovered" [*Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, III, 209; *Gent. Mag.*, 1841, II, 499].

7. The proximity of the Ludgate to the Fleet seems to have prevented Roman burial immediately beneath its walls, but a short distance W. of the river along the line of

Fleet Street a cremation-cemetery has been discovered near the junction of SHOE LANE, and scattered burials farther W. again at TRAFALGAR SQUARE and perhaps WESTMINSTER may conveniently be included in the same series.

The SHOE LANE cemetery, discovered in 1927, lay about 200 yards W. of Ludgate and a short distance within the southern angle of the junction of the Lane with Fleet Street. Eight cremation-burials are known from the site.

Fig. 68, 51. SHOE LANE. Grey urn containing burnt bones. The bulbous form and heavy bead-like rim are generally pre-Flavian characteristics, but the type is not closely dated [London Museum, A. 28574].

Fig. 68, 52. SHOE LANE. Grey urn containing burnt bones. Somewhat analogous to preceding; the rim approaches that of early or mid 1st-century types [cf. No. 31 above from Bishopsgate. London Museum, 27·90/2].

Fig. 68, 53. SHOE LANE. Urn containing burnt bones. Grey ware with band of smoothed lattice-pattern. The spreading rim, projecting beyond the widest girth of the body of the vessel, is usually a 4th-century characteristic. Cremation-burials, however, are very rare after the first half of the 3rd century [London Museum, 27·90/1].

Fig. 68, 54. SHOE LANE. Grey urn containing burnt bones. A pre-Roman type which lasted well into the 3rd century A.D. The neck-mouldings of the present example are unusually sharp and suggest a date not later than the end of the 1st century [London Museum, 27·90/3].

Fig. 68, 55. SHOE LANE. Grey urn containing bones. A 2nd-century type not closely dated [London Museum, 27·90/5].

Fig. 68, 56. SHOE LANE. Dark grey urn, ornamented with a band of lattice-pattern and containing bones. This type, with widely overhanging rim, is usually ascribed to the 4th century and not likely to be earlier than the middle of the 3rd. Compare May, *Silchester Pottery*, 160 [London Museum, 27·90/7].

Fig. 68, 57. SHOE LANE. Light grey urn containing burnt bones. Akin to, but probably later than, *Wroxeter* (1913) type 60, dated late 1st or early 2nd century. The present example is more likely to be Antonine or later. [London Museum, 27·90/6].

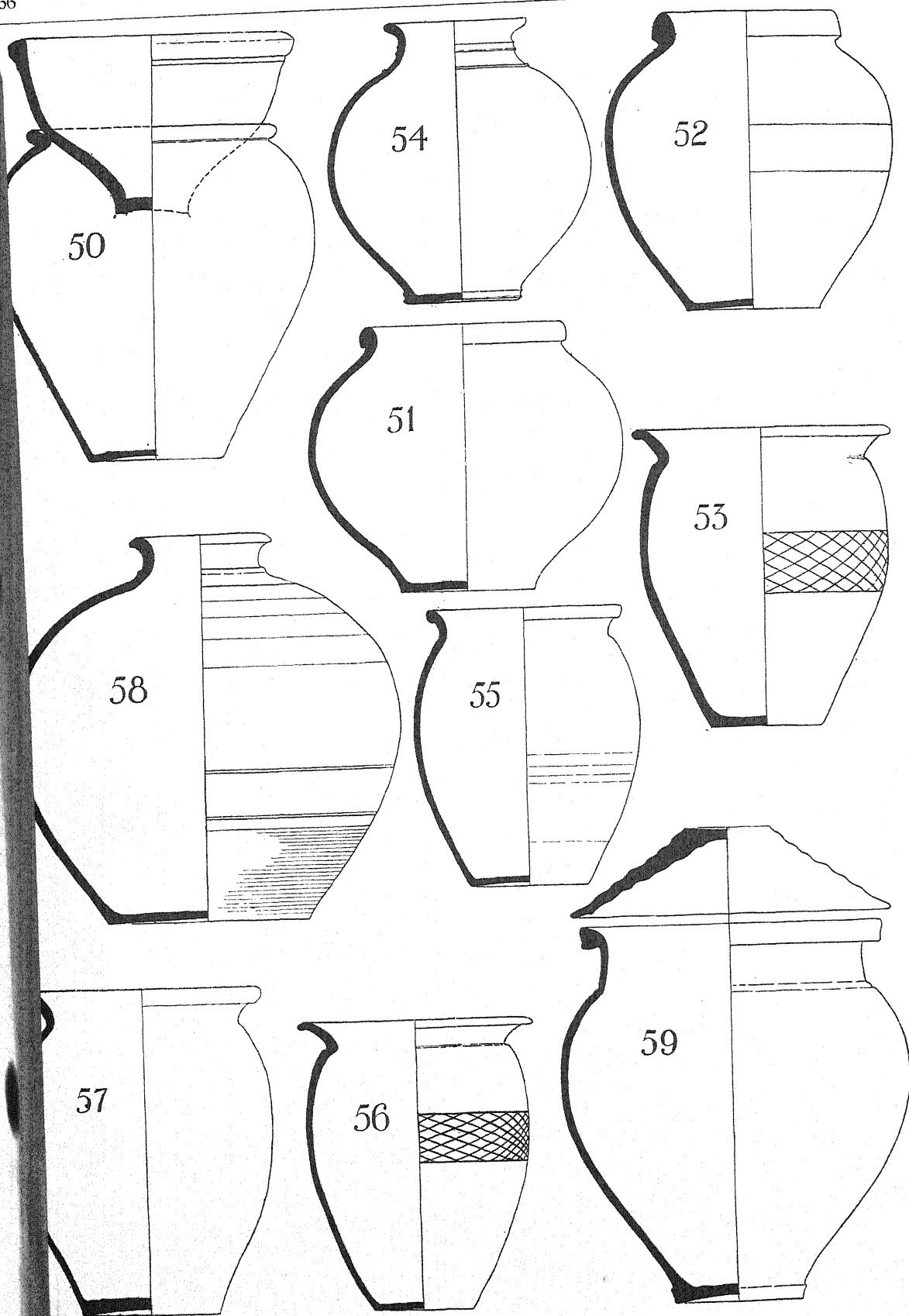
Fig. 68, 58. SHOE LANE. Light grey urn with three smoothed bands, and containing burnt bones. This type cannot be closely dated. [London Museum, 27·90/8].

Fig. 68, 59. Nearly a mile farther W., on the site of the CHARING CROSS HOSPITAL, a grey-buff urn with lid and burnt bones has been found. It is similar to *Richborough* type 42, which "may be mid 1st century," but the present example is slimmer, probably of somewhat later date [London Museum, A. 27217].

A short distance farther W., at ST. MARTIN'S-IN-THE-FIELDS. "Sir Hans Sloane had a glass vase shaped like a bell found among ashes in a stone coffin taken up in digging the foundation of the portico of this church, 14 ft. under ground" [*Gough's Camden*, II, 17].

Farther W. in COCKSPUR STREET, on the site of No. 1 ("Mr. Rixon's house") an urn containing human bones was found in 1820 [*Soc. Antiq. MS. Min.*, XXXV, 348].

WESTMINSTER. In 1869 a sarcophagus (Pl. 57) of Oxfordshire oolite was found on the N. side of the Abbey and is now preserved in the vestibule of the Chapter House. It bears on the front an inscription (see p. 173) between two Amazon shields. The lid has a large cross in relief and is almost certainly an addition made when the coffin was re-used, perhaps in Saxon times. In the absence of

FIG. 68. Burial Urns ($\frac{1}{4}$).

other evidence, therefore, it is not certain that the coffin represents a Roman burial in the immediate vicinity. It may easily have been brought by water from a Roman cemetery farther down the river. At the same time there are evidences of Roman occupation at Westminster (p. 148).

8. SOUTHWARK. Many burials, both by cremation and by inhumation have been found in the vicinity of the approaches to London Bridge from the S. They seem to have been most numerous in and adjoining the OLD KENT ROAD (with Tabard and Trinity Streets), GREAT DOVER STREET, and BOROUGH HIGH STREET, i.e., along the line of the arterial road from Kent. An outlier to the W. is represented by a cremation-burial from St. GEORGE'S FIELDS.

In date the burials appear to extend from the 1st to the 3rd or 4th century, but unfortunately the records are, for the most part, very vague, and relics which can with certainty be identified with any of the discoveries are hard to find. That we should know so little of the chronology of the cemetery is peculiarly unhappy in view of the early character of some of the miscellaneous "finds" from the area and the potential significance of the material as a whole in relation to the earliest phase of London.

BOROUGH HIGH STREET. A vague account of discoveries made during the construction of "the great sewer" in 1818 includes the following: "The first indication of a cemetery occurred nearly opposite the Red Cross public house, No. 200, in the Borough High Street, where was found a quantity of bones, Roman utensils usually found with the dead, cinerary and other urns . . . and other remains . . . until the works had extended to 750 ft. eastward in King Street; probably the extent of the Cemetery." This account seems to indicate occupation-débris rather than a cemetery, but it goes on to state that in King Street (during the same work), at "about 80 ft. from the Borough entrance, it appears that a body had been deposited, surrounded on all sides by Roman remains." It proceeds also to describe, with illustrations, four Roman glass vessels excavated (apparently during the same work) "from a depth of 7 or 8 ft. in the carriage way of Union Street," where "they were found with the skeleton of a human body, which had been laid upon oak planks, having narrow ledges on each side and at the ends" [W. Taylor, *Annals of St. Mary Overy*, 1833, 11 ff.]. Another contemporary writer adds little to the above, save to state that the excavation in question "commenced near the Town Hall, and then proceeded southward to Union Street, and northward to York Street, at which point the sewer joins those already constructed." He claims to have found a few fragments of burnt bones in one vessel, but all the pottery was more or less broken [Gent. Mag., 1833, I, 401]. A little farther N., Brock's map marks the discovery of a "human skull in Samian tazza."

Scarcely more satisfactory are the notices of supposed burials found in 1897 "in the course of excavations in the Borough High Street, Southwark, in a line running direct west from St. George's Church to Gravel Lane, Blackfriars." The finds included "a fine cinerary urn, terracotta lamps, vases, a tear-bottle, and other relics. A fine example of a Celtic bronze coin was found with these remains, which bears on its obverse a representation in relief of the head of a chief, and on its reverse the head of a boar, with circular and half-circular symbols in resemblance to what is known as ring-money. The coin was found with other coins of Nero and Claudius" [Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc. (N.S.), IV, 95; *Antiq.*, XXXIV, 71]. From the accounts, as it stands, it is not clear that the remains actually included burials.

In or before 1825, "in digging for the erection of a steam-engine at Messrs. Barclay and Perkins' Brewery [on the W. side of Borough High Street], a human skeleton

was discovered, and between the legs was found a vessel with several Roman coins, chiefly of the lower empire, in it" [Gent. Mag., 1825, II, 633].

Fig. 69, 60. TABARD STREET. Urn containing burnt bones. Grey ware. Apparently a 2nd century type, but without closely dated analogy; it seems to be the prototype of *Wroxeter*, 1913, No. 60, dated 1st or early 2nd century [London Museum, A. 21411].

In 1825-6 "in excavating the foundation of Trinity Church, Newington, a human skeleton, vase, and sepulchral remains were found" [T. Allen, *Hist. of Lond.*, I, 37].

TRINITY STREET. Inhumation-burial. In the London Museum (A. 11032-4) are preserved a plain double finger-ring of iron, and two plain shale bracelets on the bones of a human forearm.

OLD KENT ROAD. "Corroborative of the extent of the city on the Surrey side of the Thames, may be mentioned the burial ground in the Kent Road on which the Dissenters' chapel stands, when the deposits of urns containing burnt bones and coins have been so frequently and in such numbers discovered, as to leave no doubt of the coeval populousness of the neighbourhood. . . . To the present day scarcely does an interment take place in the modern burying place without revealing a portion of the unexhausted remains of the Roman cemetery" (C. Roach Smith, *Arch.*, XXIX, 149).

The chapel and burying-ground lay in Deverell Street, Dover Road. Kempe adds, in 1835, that "upwards of twenty urns have been discovered, in most of which a quantity of calcined human bones have been found. . . . These vases are found about 6 ft. below the present level of the ground. . . . They have been deposited just below the stratum of natural loam which is immediately above the alluvial gravel bed, of which the substratum in this neighbourhood is composed" [A. J. Kempe, *Arch.*, XXVI, 467].

Previously, in 1811, labourers opened the ground "near the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, Kent Road, in order to lay down some wooden pipes had found a leaden coffin; the lid was bordered and divided into five compartments, by the bead and fillet [astragalus] ornament. In the upper compartment were two figures of Minerva; the three intermediate ones were diagonally crossed by the same ornament, and the lower compartment contained two scallop shells. The whole appeared to have been cast in a mould" [*Arch.*, XVII, 333 (plate); *Coll. Antiq.*, III, 54].

Fig. 69, 61. OLD KENT ROAD. Grey urn containing burnt bones, "found in a Roman burial place near Old Kent Road, 1838." Of the same class as Richborough, 1st Report, type 64, dated "probably 1st century," type 47 which "may be mid 1st century." Compare also *Silchester Pottery*, Pl. LXXVIII, 5, probably mid 1st century. The general appearance of the type may be described as not later than Flavian. [British Museum].

Fig. 69, 62. OLD KENT ROAD. Dark grey urn containing, burnt bones "found in a Roman burial place near the Old Kent Road, 1838." Round the middle is an incomplete zone of smoothed wave-pattern. Compare *Silchester Pottery*, Pl. LXXIX, 12, 13, found with mid 1st century pottery [British Museum].

OLD KENT ROAD. A burial found at the Dun Cow in or about 1917 is not recorded in detail [*Arch.*, LXVIII, 232].

GROVE STREET (probably The Grove, now part of Ewer Street). In 1864, a Mr. Gunston announced to the British Archaeological Association "that on May 1 there were discovered, in digging a trench at the corner of Grove Street, Southwark, two skeletons; and between them the remains of an earthen *olla* which had been filled with small brass coins, 554 of which he had secured; which consisted entirely of rude imitations of the imperial

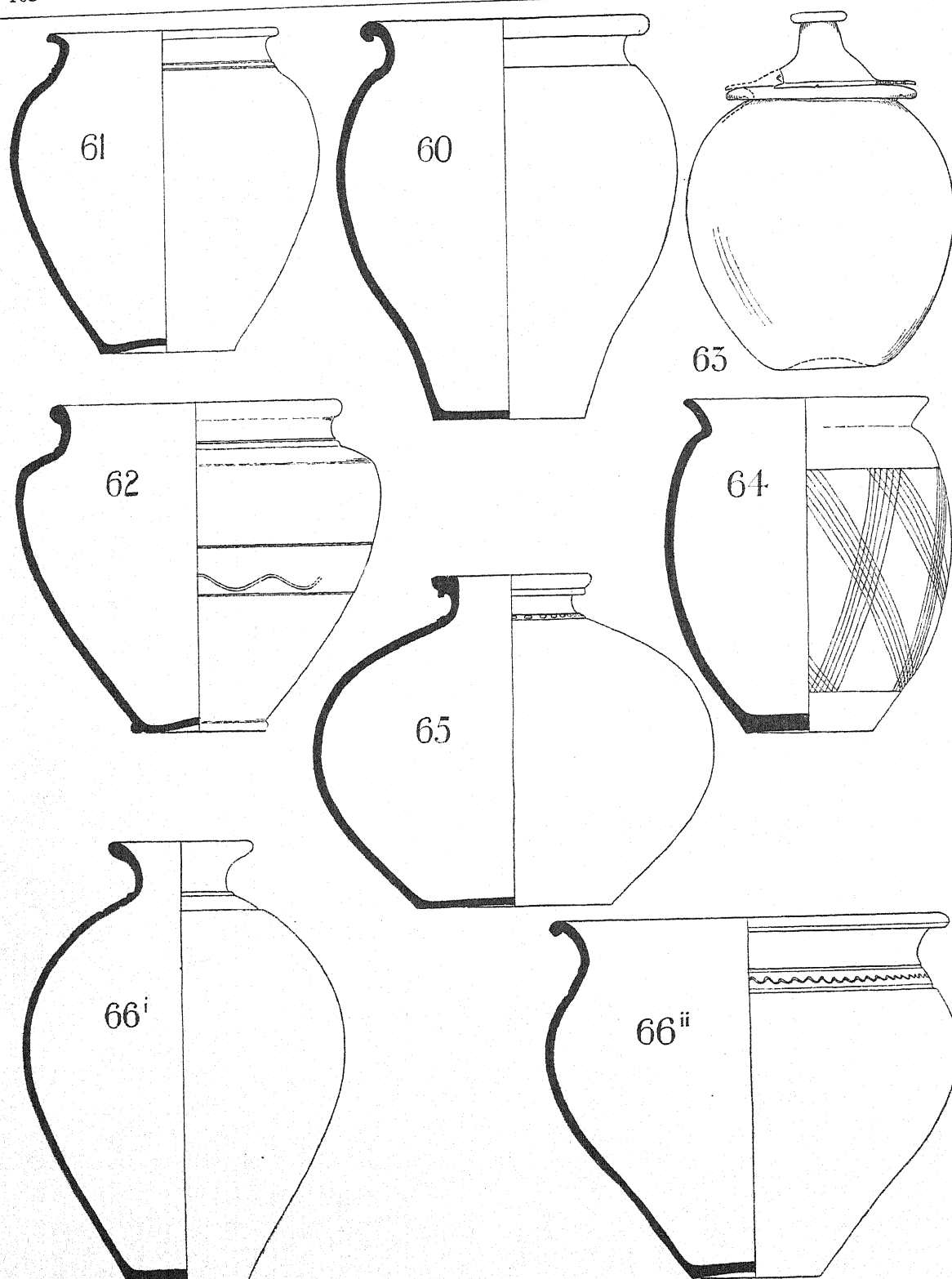


FIG. 69. Burial Urns (4).

money of the second half of the 3rd century, some bearing the busts and names of Victorinus, Tetricus I and II, and Claudius Gothicus" [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XX, 339].

ST. GEORGE'S FIELDS. Dean Gale possessed "a large urn filled with bones," which had been purchased from men digging in St. George's Fields. [T. Allen, *Hist. of Lond.* (1837), I, 36].

SOUTHWARK (site not stated). In the London Museum are three shale bracelets from inhumation-burials.

Fig. 69, 63. SOUTHWARK (site not stated). Glass urn with lid, containing burnt bones [London Museum, A. 16878].

9. Other Roman burials S. of the Thames lie towards the fringe of the London districts.

At BATTERSEA, in 1794, a passer-by saw some labourers dig up four skeletons from a depth of 2 ft. One of the skeletons was buried with lime in a leaden coffin (**Pl. 57**), and a sketch of the lid shows that it was ornamented with the characteristic Roman cable-mouldings and scallop-shells [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, II, 300].

Fig. 69, 64. At WANDSWORTH, on St. Anne's Hill, a dark grey urn with smoothed trellis pattern containing burnt bones has been found; it is now in the London Museum (A. 20902). The relatively wide diameter of the girth and the marked convexity of the outline suggest a date not later than the middle of the 2nd century.

Fig. 69, 65. At WOOLWICH, in an excavation in 1841 at the Arsenal, a grey vessel containing burnt bones has been found and is now in the British Museum. The general type of the vessel was long-lived, but the wide girth and sharp mouldings of the present example suggest a 1st-century date. With it were found 15 other pottery vessels. In 1851 or 1853 three or more vessels were found in the same area, some of which contained bones or ashes

[*Illus. Lond. News*, Apr. 9th, 1853, illustration]. In 1856 the same area yielded three or four vessels, now in the possession of Mr. F. C. Elliston Erwood. They are reported to have contained bones [W. T. Vincent, *Warlike Woolwich*, 65, illustration].

Fig. 69, 66. At BLACKHEATH "some specimens of Roman pottery" were discovered in the Earl of Dartmouth's kitchen-garden, in 1802. "They were found at the depth of about 2 ft. below the present surface of the garden, and a few inches only below the surface of the gravel, and consequently the original surface of the ground in which they were discovered. There were found in the larger urns fragments of bones which had been submitted to the action of fire" [*Arch.*, XV, 392 (plate)]. The urns were given to the British Museum, and of the two here illustrated the taller still contains burnt bones. It is of grey ware and represents a long-lived type which is difficult to date; the cordon-mouldings round the shoulder suggest, however, a period not later than the beginning of the 2nd century. The other, which does not now contain bones, is a 1st-century type; compare *Silchester Pottery*, type 171, which is probably pre-Flavian, and Richborough type 27, dated mid 1st century.

At PLUMSTEAD, in 1887, a lead coffin containing a skeleton was found in Wickham Lane, together with two pottery vessels. A second inhumation burial was found immediately adjacent, together with two broken pots. The coffin is now in the Maidstone Museum and the pottery is in the possession of Mr. F. C. Elliston Erwood [*Proc. Soc. Ants.*, XI, 308; XII, 6; XIII, 245; *Arch. Cant.*, XVII, 10]. Burials, including an urn containing bones, have been found from time to time, on Plumstead Marshes [*Arch. Cant.*, XVIII, 309-13; *Arch. Journ.*, XVIII, 269].

At ELTHAM, in 1913, two burial-urns, with a bottle and a bowl, were found at the junction of Glenesk and Bexley Roads. The urns were of c. 160 A.D.

APPENDIX II.

INSCRIPTIONS OF ROMAN LONDON.¹

BY R. G. COLLINGWOOD.

In proportion to the size of the town, the number of extant or recorded inscriptions belonging to Roman London is very small. This is due in great part to the paucity of building-stone in the neighbourhood, which has led to the systematic re-using of every available piece of material. For this reason, of the inscriptions here described, numbering over a hundred, less than one-third are on stone, and most of these are inconsiderable fragments. The great majority are on metal or pottery, and serve less to elucidate the history of London than to indicate the extent to which makers and owners of such objects habitually marked them with their own names. Makers' stamps on pottery (including lamps) have not been included among the inscriptions here dealt with.

The inscriptions discussed in this section belong to the Roman city of London and its surrounding cemeteries. For those discovered at the neighbouring site in Greenwich Park see the separate section on that site (p. 151).

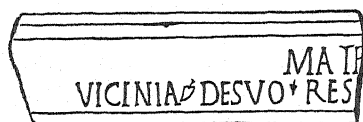


FIG. 70 (No. 1).

1. Fragment of white marble cornice 15½ in. long by 4½ in. high. (Fig. 70). *Matr[ibus] . . .] vicinia de suo res-[tituit] . . .]*. "To the Mother-Goddesses; the district restored [this shrine] at its own expense." The shrine doubtless consisted of a canopy supported on small columns, beneath which sat the three Mother-Goddesses, side by side, with baskets of fruit on their laps.

Found in 1855, near Walbrook [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, IV, 1856, p. 113], in Budge Row [*Gent. Mag.*, N.S., III, 1857, 69]. Now in the Guildhall Museum [*Cat.*, p. 104; *CIL.*, VII, 20].

2. Small sandstone slab, 22 in. by 17 in. (Plate 10). In the centre is a relief of Mithras slaying the bull, with attendant *dadophori* and dog, snake, scorpion and probably crow; round this group run the signs of the zodiac; in the four corners are the *quadriga* of the sun (top left), the chariot of the moon drawn by bulls (top right), and two Winds below, Eurus or Boreas (left) and Zephyrus or Notus (right). The material is considered to be of British origin; the workmanship seems to belong to the middle of the 2nd century.

Ulp[ius] Silvan[us] emeritus Leg[ionis] ii Aug[ustae] vovum solvit; factus Araustione. "Ulp[ius] Silvanus, veteran of the Second August Legion, paid his vow; made at Orange." *Factus* has been taken to mean "made a veteran," i.e., discharged; but we should perhaps expect

missus in that sense, and *factus* may mean rather "initiated" into some grade of the Mithraic community. That it was the sculpture which was "made at Orange" is not likely.

Found in 1889, in Walbrook. Formerly in the Ransom collection, now in the London Museum [*Arch.*, LX, pl. 10; Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, II, p. 389; *Ephem. Epigr.*, VII, 816; *Journ. Rom. Studies*, II, p. 142].

3. Slab 3 ft. long by 2 ft. 4 in. high. Letters 6 in. high, well cut. Of the letters recorded, the fourth in the first line was either an O or a C; Roach Smith thought it a C and was probably right.

Num[ini] C[ae]sar[is] . . . prov[incia] . . . Brita[n]nia . . . "To the deity of the Emperor, set up by the province of Britain . . ." The interpretation is not absolutely certain: "To the deity of the Emperor and the province of Britain" has been suggested by a high authority, and the C in line 1 has been taken to stand for Claudius, which is quite possible but ought not to be assumed as in any way certain. It does, however, seem possible that the inscription marked a temple of Emperor-worship erected by the Provincial Council of Britain; though to take it as proving that the Provincial Council met in London would be illegitimate.

Found in 1850, in Nicholas Lane, near Cannon Street [C. R. Smith, *Gent. Mag.*, 1850, p. 114; *Coll. Antiq.*, III, p. 257; *Rom. Lond.*, p. 29]. Lost from the Guildhall Museum by 1859. A drawing by Archer is in the British Museum [Lethaby, *Londinium*, p. 186]; the Guildhall has a drawing made at the time of discovery [*CIL.* VII, 22].

4. Tombstone, 6 ft. 4 in. high by 2 ft. 6 in. broad. (Plate 60 and Fig. 71). *A. Alfid[us] Pomp[etina] Olussa; ex testamento her(es) pos[uit]; annor[um] lxx; na[tus] Atheni[s]; h[ic] s[itus] est.* "Aulus Alfidius Olussa, of the Pomptine tribe; set up by his heir in accordance with his will; aged 70; born at Athens; he lies here."

¹ The drawings illustrating this section (Figs. 70-80) were made to illustrate a forthcoming work on *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, which is being prepared under the authority of the Haverfield Bequest Committee in the University of Oxford. They are reproduced here by kind permission of this Committee.

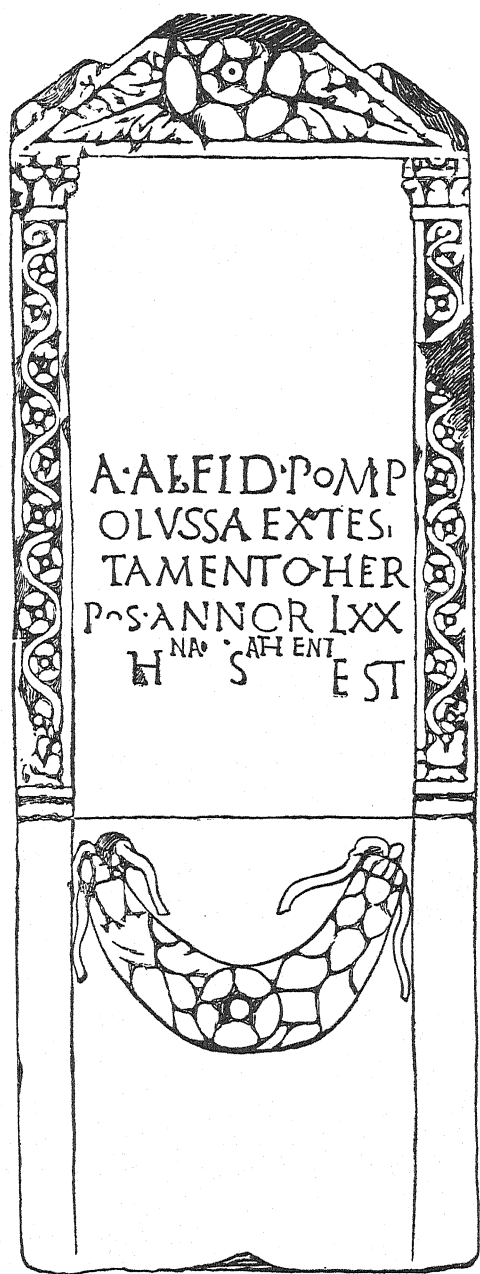


FIG. 71 (No. 4).

The fifth line is an addition, but seems practically contemporary. Its exact meaning is not certain; *na(ve)* or *na(varchus)* followed by a ship's name is possible, but Mommsen's rendering, as given above, is very probable; since the reading *ATHENI*, though disputed, seems clear. The concluding formula is rare after the end of the 1st century.

Found in 1852, on Tower Hill, now at the British Museum [Roach Smith, *Rom. London*, p. 29, pl. III; CIL. VII, 29].

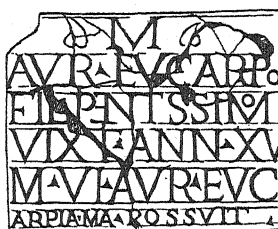


FIG. 72 (No. 5).

5. Small marble slab, 12 in. by 9 in. (Fig. 72). *M. Aur(elio) Eucarpo fil(io) pientissimo, vixit ann(os) xv m(enses) vi, Aur(elia) Eucarpia ma(ter) possuit.* "To Marcus Aurelius Eucarpus, my most devoted son; aged 15 years 6 months; set up by his mother, Aurelia Eucarpia."

Found 1911, in Moorgate Street, in the bed of Walbrook [*Ephem. Epigr.*, IX, 1371, where it is pointed out that though the material is foreign the workmanship suggests a provincial work rather than one brought in modern times from Italy]. [London Museum].

6. Part of a large and handsome altar-shaped tomb (Plate 54), of which one "bolster" and most of the inscribed panel survive. *Dis[M]anibus [F]ab(i) Alpini Classiciani.* "In memory of . . . Fabius Alpinus Classicianus" (or Fabius Alpinus, formerly of the navy).

Four or five letters at most are lost before *FAB* in line 3; not enough to permit the deceased a *nomen* before a tribe-name *Fab(ia)*. *Fabius* is therefore his *nomen*, and Roach Smith was obviously wrong to think of connecting him with Julius Classicianus in Tacitus, *Ann.*, XIV, 38.¹

Found 1852, in a bastion of the city wall at Tower Hill [*Antiquarian Etching Club*, IV, Fig. 47; *Arch. Journ.*, 1853, p. 4; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1853, p. 241; Smith, *Rom. London*, p. 28, pl. 3; CIL. VII, 30; British Museum (*Guide to Antiq. of Rom. Brit.*, p. 16)].

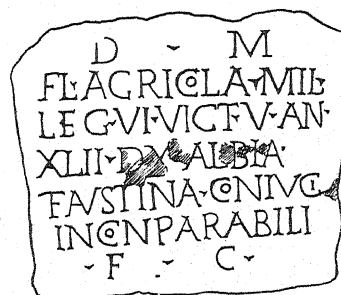


FIG. 73 (No. 7).

7. Small slab, 15 in. by 12 in. (Fig. 73). *D(is) M(anibus), Fl(avius) Agricola, mil(es) leg(ionis) vi vict(ricis), v(ixit) an(nos) xlii d(ies) x; Albia Faustina coniugi incomp(ariabili) f(aciendum) c(uravit).* "In memory of Flavius Agricola, private of the Sixth Victorious Legion, aged 42 years and ten days; erected by Albia Faustina to her matchless husband."

This legion came to Britain about A.D. 122, and this tombstone is somewhat later than that in date.

Found 1787, in Goodman's Fields [Malcolm, *Lond. Rediv.*, IV, p. 450; Smith, *Coll. Antiq.*, I, p. 141; *Rom. London*, p. 24; CIL. VII, 25]. At Burlington House (Society of Antiquaries).

¹ Smith bases his view on two misconceptions: (i) that the formula *dis manibus illius* (genitive) is impossible, whereas it is common; (ii) that a father of the *gens* Fabia might have a son of the *gens* Iulia [*Rom. London*, p. 28].

8. Tombstone. *D(is) M(anibus), Iul(ius) Valens, mil(es) leg(ionis) xx v(aleriae) v(ictricis), an(norum) xl, h(ic) s(itus) e(st); c(uram) a(gente) Flavio Attio her(ede).* "In memory of Julius Valens, private in the Twentieth Valerian Victorious Legion, aged 40; he lies here; set up by his heir Flavius Attius". . . . This legion formed a permanent garrison at Chester after about A.D. 50; the stone probably dates from the late 1st century.

Found 1776, in Church Lane, Whitechapel, towards Rosemary Lane [*Gent. Mag.*, 1784, pp. 485, 672, Fig. 5]. Lines 2 and 3 are corrected from a MS. at Oxford (cf. *Ephem. Epigr.*, IX, p. 515), the stone having been lost. In 1784 it was at the Old Bailey [CIL. VII, 27. Smith, *Coll. Antiq.*, I, p. 134, pl. 46; *Rom. London*, p. 23, pl. 2].

9. Base for statue, 2 ft. 8 in. by 2 ft. 4 in. *Dis Manib(us). T. Licini Ascani; v(ivus) s(ibi) f(ecit).* "In memory of Titus Licinius Ascanius; he made this for himself in his lifetime."

Found 1777, on Tower Hill, in the foundations of the Ordnance office [*Arch.*, 1779, p. 304; *Gent. Mag.*, 1785, p. 332, Fig. 2; Smith, *Coll. Antiq.*, I, 140; *Rom. London*, p. 25; CIL. VII, 32; there described as lost; in *Ephem. Epigr.*, IX, p. 515, it is said to have been rediscovered, but we cannot ascertain its whereabouts].

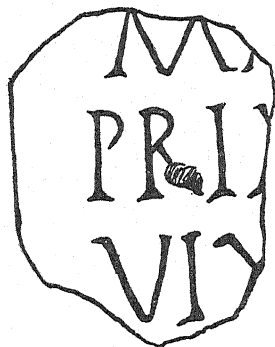


FIG. 74 (No. 10).

10. Fragment (Purbeck marble) 7 in. by 6 in. of a tombstone (Fig. 74); [*Dis*] *Ma[n]ibus* *Prim vix* [it annos] "In memory of Prim, aged years." From Cloak Lane [CIL. VII, 34a; Smith, *Coll. Antiq.*, I, 139, pl. 48A].

11. Fragment of tombstone, 14 in. by 12 in. (Plate 61). [*Sat*]urni[no, mil(iti)] *leg(ionis) xx v(aleriae) v(ictricis)* *C. Aci[lius] M . . .* "In memory of . . . Saturninus, private in the Twentieth Valerian Victorious Legion, [set up by] Gaius Acilius M . . . [his heir?]."

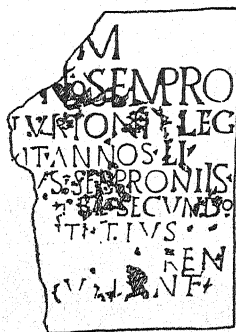


FIG. 75 (No. 12).

Found in 1842, on the eastern side of Maiden Lane, Battle Bridge [*Gent. Mag.*, 1842, p. 144; Smith, *Coll. Antiq.*, I, p. 139, pl. 48; *Rom. London*, p. 29; Archer, *Vestiges of Rom. London*, No. 1; CIL. VII, 26. British Museum (*Guide to Ant. of Rom. Brit.*, p. 17)].

12. Slab, broken, 13 1/2 in. by 10 1/2 in. (Fig. 75). [*D(is)*] *M(anibus)* [*Sempro*]nio *Sempro*[niano] *cen*[turioni] *leg(ionis)* [*v*]ixit annos li, [*et* *fratrib*]us *Sempronius* *et* *Secundo*; [*liber*]ti eius [*patronis* bene me]ren[tibus] *posu*[e]runt. "In memory of Sempronius Sempronianus,

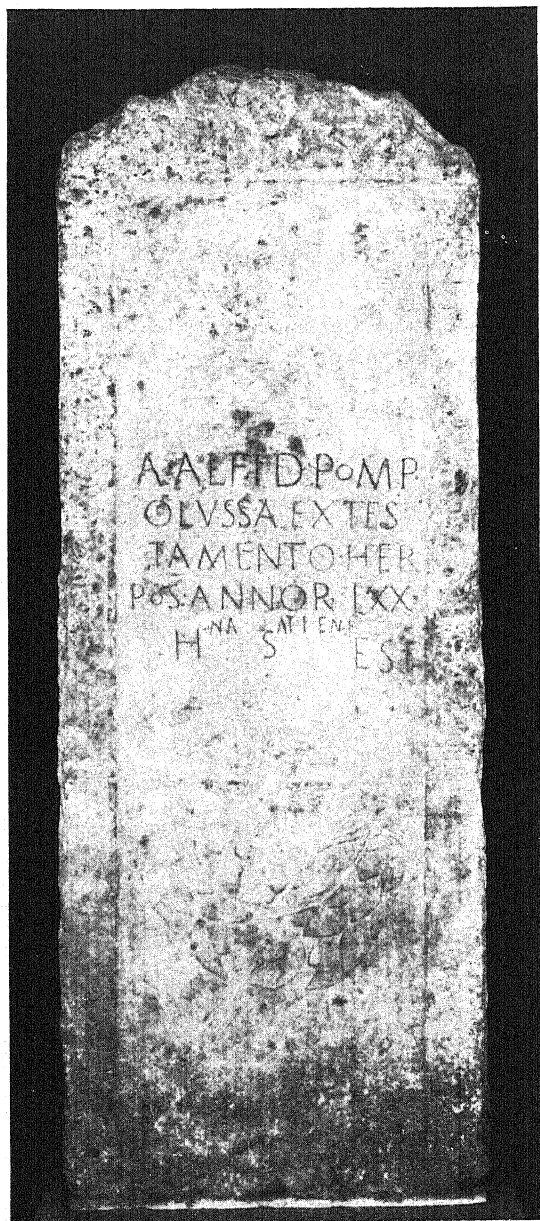


FIG. 76 (No. 15).



LUDGATE HILL. Tombstone found 1669.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. (About 1/12).

See p. 173, Inscription No. 15.



TOWER HILL. Tombstone found 1852.
British Museum. (6 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 6 in.).

See p. 170, Inscription No. 4.



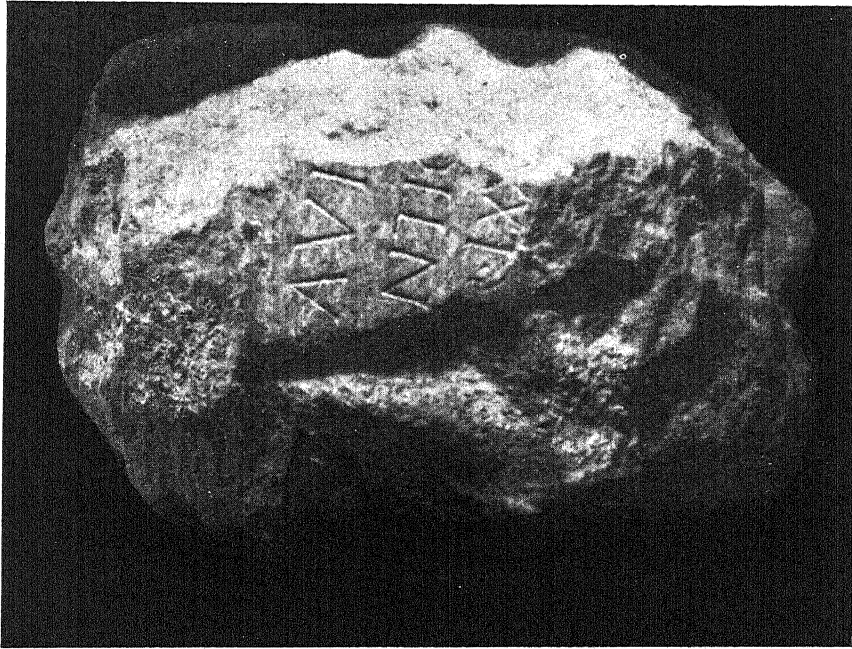
LONDON WALL. Inscribed slab found 1837.
Guildhall Museum. (About 5/24).
See p. 173, Inscription No. 17.



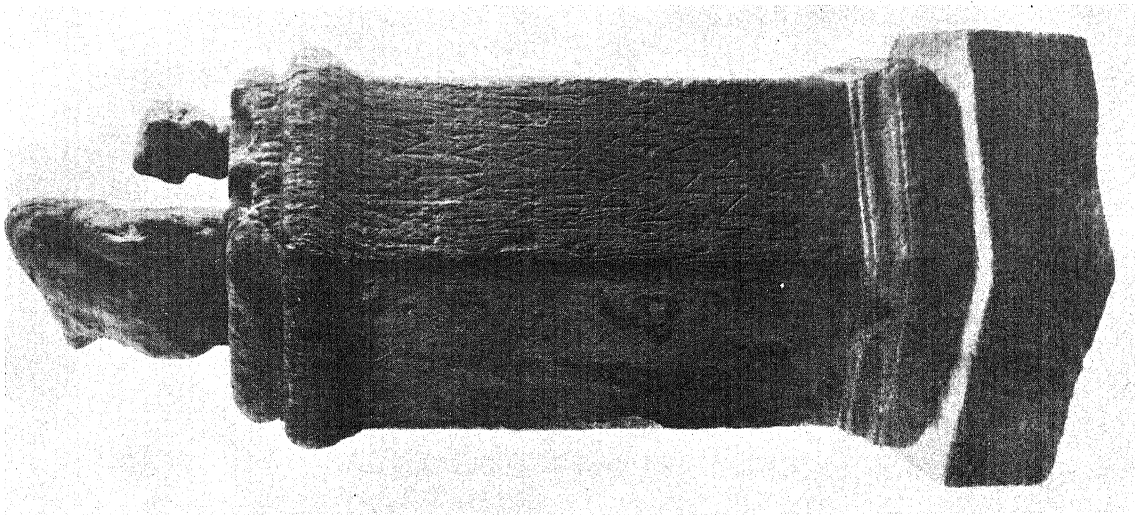
MAIDEN LANE. Fragment of a tombstone found 1842.
British Museum. (About 5/24).
See p. 172, Inscription No. 11.



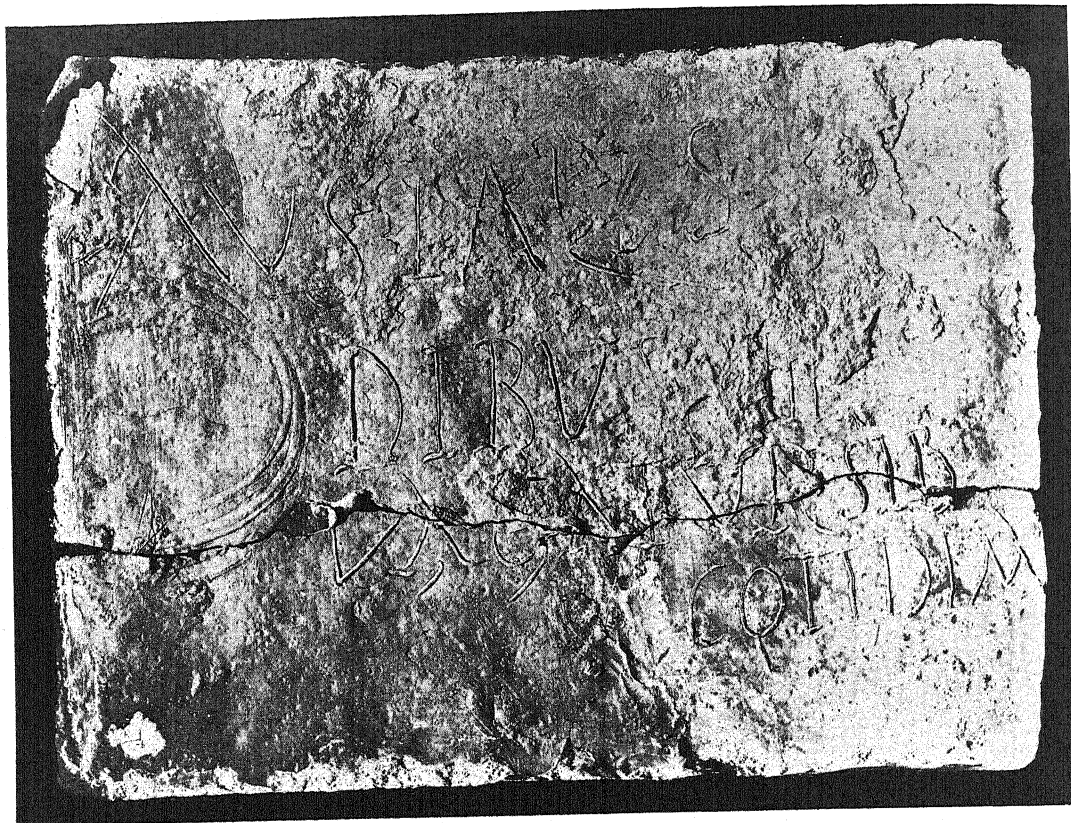
BLACKFRIARS. Fragment of a tombstone found in Playhouse Yard, 1843.
British Museum. (About 5/24).
See p. 173, Inscription No. 14.



BASTION (9), CASTLE STREET. Inscribed stone found 1884. *Guildhall Museum*. (About 1/12). See pp. 100 and 173, Inscription No. 21.

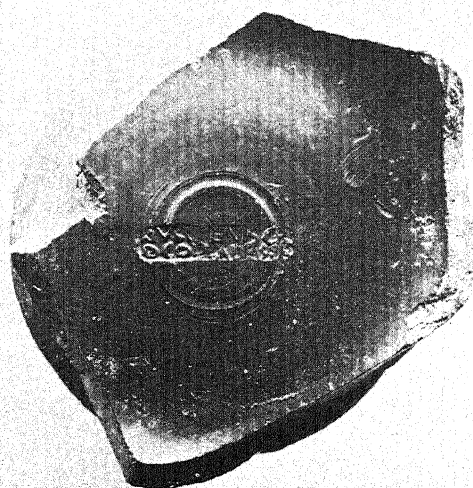


LUDGATE HILL. Column found 1806. *Guildhall Museum*. (About 1/12). See p. 173, Inscription No. 16. By permission of Guildhall Library.

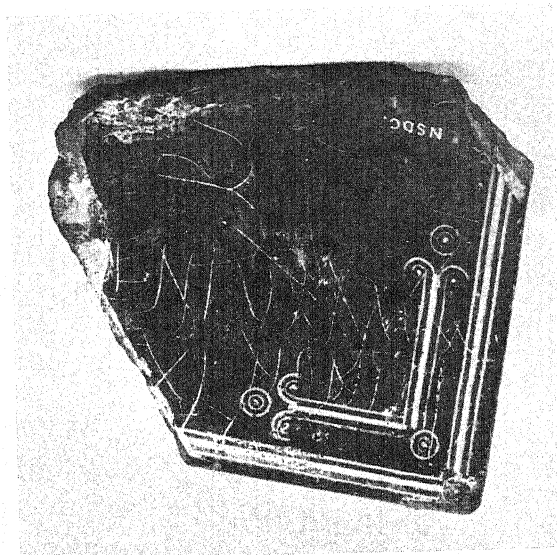


WARWICK LANE. Tile with graffito inscription found 1886. (17 in. by 12 in.)
See p. 176, Inscription No. 58.

From *Archæologia*, LXIII, by permission.



FRAGMENT OF A SAMIAN VESSEL with
inscription. *British Museum*.
See p. 176, Inscription No. 61.



FRAGMENT OF A SHALE TABLET.
Guildhall Museum. (About 4 in. by 4½ in.).
See p. 176, Inscription No. 62.

centurion in the -th Legion, aged 51, and his brothers Sempronius . . . and Sempronius Secundus; erected by his freedmen to their deserving patrons."

Found in Bishopsgate, 1922; in the London Museum [*Journ. Rom. Studies*, XII, p. 279, with supplements by Professor J. G. C. Anderson].

13. Sarcophagus 6 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 6 in. (Plate 57). *Memoriae Valeri Amandini, Valeri Superventor et Marcellus patri fecer(unt)*. "In memory of Valerius Amandinus, made by Valerius Superventor and Valerius Marcellus for their father."

Found 1869, in the churchyard of Westminster Abbey; now in the vestibule of the chapter-house of the Abbey. It appears to have been re-used for a post-Roman burial [*Arch. Journ.*, 1870, p. 103; *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.*, 1870, p. 76; *CIL*. VII, 33].

14. Fragment of tombstone, 22 in. by 13 in. (Plate 61). [*Dis Mani*]bus . . . *er. L(ucii) f(ilius) G(aleria) Celsu[s], spec(ulator) leg(ionis) [ii A]ug(ustae); An[to]n(ius) Dardanus, cu[r]ator*], *Rubrius Pudens . . . Probis, spec(ulator) leg. . . .* "In memory of . . . Valerius? Celsus, of the Galerian tribe, son of Lucius, *speculator* in the Second Augustan Legion; [set up by] Antonius Dardanus, *curator*, Rubrius Pudens, and . . . Probus, *speculator* in the same legion, [his heirs]. . . ." This was the legion in garrison at Caerleon-on-Usk.

Found 1843, in Playhouse Yard, Blackfriars, near Apothecaries' Hall [Smith, *Coll. Antiq.*, I, p. 125; *Arch. Journ.*, 1846, p. 115; *Rom. London*, p. 26; *CIL*. VII, 24; British Museum (*Guide to Ant. of Rom. Brit.*, p. 17)].

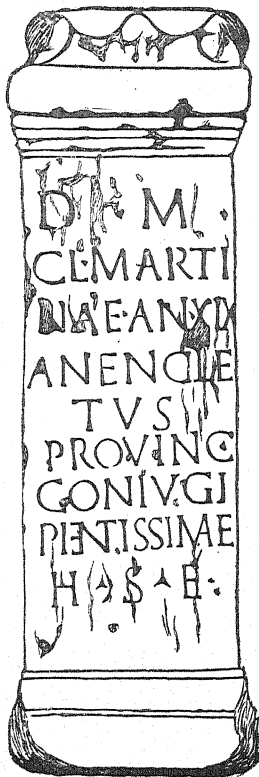


FIG. 77 (No. 16).

The *nomen* of the second heir has hitherto been read Valerius, but (in spite of the painted letters visible in Plate 61) Rubrius is probably right; the V is clear and there are traces of the R and B.

15. Large tombstone; 83½ in. by 31½ in.; (Plate 60 and Fig. 76), inscription above; below, full-length figure (much defaced) of a soldier in *tunica* and *paenula*, girt with a *cingulus* and holding a staff in the right hand and a roll (?) in the left. *D(is) M(anibus) Vivio Marciano leg(ionis) ii. Aug(ustae), Ianuaria Martina coniunx pientissima posuit memoriam*. "In memory of Vivius Marcianus, of the Second Augustan Legion: Januaria Martina, his most devoted wife, set up this monument."

Found 1669, when Wren rebuilt St. Martin's Church, Ludgate Hill. Now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford [Chandler, *Marm. Oxon.*, III, pl. 2, 10; Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, p. 330, Middlesex, No. 1; Gough's Camden, II, p. 92; Smith, *Coll. Antiq.*, I, p. 127; *Rom. London*, p. 22; *CIL*. VII, 23].

All previous publications of this stone have mistaken a leaf-stop (? blundered centurial mark) between the words *Marciano* and *leg.* for some abbreviation of *militi*.

16. Hexagonal column, 3 ft. 11 in. high. (Plate 62 and Fig. 77). On one face, 2 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft. 1 in., is the inscription *D(is) M(anibus) Cl(audiae) Martinae, an(norum) xix; Anencletus provinc(ialis) coniugi pientissimae; h(ic) s(ita) e(st)*. "In memory of Claudia Martina, aged 19; set up by Anencletus, slave of the province, to his most devoted wife; she lies here."

A dowel-hole in the top probably held a tenon which kept a statue of the deceased in place on the stone; a head, perhaps of this statue, was found with it.

The concluding formula and the character of the lettering suggest a late 1st or early 2nd-century date.

Found in 1806, near the London Coffee House, Ludgate Hill [*Gent. Mag.*, 1806, II, p. 792; Roach Smith, *Coll. Antiq.*, I, p. 130, pl. 45; *Rom. London*, p. 23; *CIL*, VII, 28; *Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 105].

17. Small slab, 12½ in. by 11½ in. (Plate 61). *D(is) M(anibus), Grata Dagobiti fil(ia), an(norum) xl; Solinus coniugi kar(issimae) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*. "In memory of Grata, daughter of Dagobitus, aged 40; erected by Solinus to his dearest wife."

A 2nd-century monument. Found 1837, in London Wall, near Finsbury Circus [*Gent. Mag.*, 1837, p. 361; *Arch. Journ.*, 1846, p. 115; Smith, *Coll. Antiq.*, I, p. 134, pl. 46; *Rom. London*, p. 26, pl. 2; *CIL*. VII, 31; *Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 105].

18. Sarcophagus, 6 ft. 9 in. by 21 in. (Plate 57). On the front is a bust in relief, in the style of the late empire, within a medallion; beneath the medallion is a small inscribed panel; on either side are flutings. The inscription is very much weathered, and, as is often the case with these late inscriptions, was never well cut. The first line contains a name which cannot be read with certainty; the rest reads *carissima[e] sua[e] meritis eius*, "to his dearest . . . for her deserts." The first line probably contained a man's name and the word *fil(iae)* daughter.

Found 1867, at Clapton [*Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, III, 196; *Arch. Journ.*, 1874, 352; *Ephem. Epigr.*, III, 53; *Journ. Rom. St.*, XII, p. 280. *Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 106, pl. LVI].

Internally the sarcophagus measures 6 ft. long by 16 in. wide by 17 in. deep.

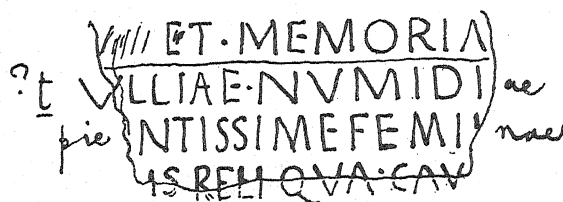


FIG. 78 (No. 19).

19. Fragment, 32 in. by 14 in. of a tombstone (Fig. 78): [*Dis Manibus*] *et memoriae* [*Tulliae Numidi*]*ae* [*pi*]*entissimae femin**ae* *is reliqua cau* "In memory of Tullia Numidia a most devoted woman. . . ."

Found in Castle Street, and placed in the Guildhall museum; now lost. The sketch here reproduced is a rough pencil note made by Haverfield in 1889-90 [*Arch. Journ.*, vol. 42, p. 156; *Ephem. Epigr.*, VII, 819, noting the late date of the work].

20. Small slab, 13 in. by 8 in., of limestone: *Dis Manib(us)*. "In memory of the departed." Found in London Wall [*Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 106]. From its appearance, it has been brought from abroad in modern times; but the collection which included it was formed, so far as is known, exclusively of objects genuinely found in London.

21. Fragment, 12 in. by 8 in., of tombstone (Plate 62) of Flavius? from Antioch? aged 70 or more. From the Castle Street Bastion; in the Guildhall Museum [*Arch. Journ.*, vol. 42, p. 156; *Ephem. Epigr.*, VII, 818].

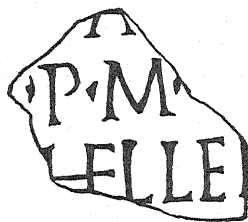


FIG. 79 (No. 22).

22. Fragment (marble), 5 in. by 5 in., (Fig. 79) containing a proper name such as Hellenicus. Found in the Thames [British Museum]. [CIL. VII, 34d].

23. Fragment, 14 in. by 9 in., of a tombstone. Found M in Houndsditch; placed in the Guildhall LIV Museum and now lost [*Arch. Journ.*, Vol. 38, TVS p. 289; *Ephem. Epigr.*, VII, 822, where the VI·ANL reading of the *Arch. Journ.*, is corrected]. CA·SERT . . . NNAC

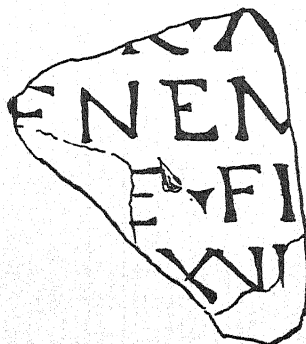


FIG. 80 (No. 24).

24. Fragment (oolite), 7 in. by 6 in., of a tombstone (Fig. 80); in line 2 the phrase [*bene m[erenti]*] in line 3 [*fi[lius]*] or [*fi[lia]*], and in line 4 the age *xvi*, are visible. From London Wall [CIL. VII, 34b]. [British Museum].



FIG. 81 (No. 25).

25. Fragment (marble), 4 in. by 4 in. (Fig. 81). From London Wall [CIL. VII, 34c]. [British Museum].

26. Fragment, 13 in. by 8 in., from the Camomile Street bastion; later in Guildhall Museum; now lost. Found 1876 [Price, *Excavations in Camomile St.* I·V (1880), p. 31; *Arch. Journ.*, (1877), p. 131]. A F·V tracing, dated Oct. 30, 1876, is in W. T. Watkin's M box at the Cheetham Library, Manchester [*Ephem. Epigr.*, VII, 823].

27. Fragment from Castle Street, 18 in. by 18 in., at IVL the Guildhall Museum [*Arch. Journ.*, Vol. 42, p. 156; S *Ephem. Epigr.*, VII, 821]. D



FIG. 82 (No. 28).

28. Fragment, 4 in. by 4 in. (Fig. 82), of Purbeck marble, from the tombstone of someone whose name began CAV Found somewhere in London [*Ephem. Epigr.*, VII, 824; *Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 104].

29. Marble tombstone, 24 in. by 14 in. (Plate 13). Above is a group of a mourning woman, seated, in front of whom stands a boy, nude, representing the deceased. Below is a panel 9½ in. by 1½ in., with the inscription in two lines: Δέξιε Διοτίμου χρηστὲ χαίρε. "Good Dexios, son of Diotimos, farewell."

Found in Drury Lane. Now in the London Museum. Doubt may be felt whether it is a genuinely British object; but it hardly resembles the works of art brought to England by 18th-century collectors, and it may be a real relic of the Roman province.

30. Marble tombstone, 22 in. by 15 in. (Plate 13), with relief of gladiator standing, holding a trident in his right hand and a dagger in his left; on his left shoulder is a shield. Above is the inscription . . . *ωνία Μαρτιάλης τῷ ἀνδρὶ*. "[? Ant]onia to Martialis her husband."

Found at Islington; now in the Guildhall Museum (Cat., p. 105; CIL. VII, p. 21) [*Arch.*, Vol. LXVIII].

31. Tombstone of Purbeck marble, 23 in. by 11 in. (Plate 12). Above is a relief of a standing half-draped male figure, leaning on a staff; below are three lines of text, of which only the ends are now visible: . . . *ος* . . . *τιου* [*χρηστὸς*] *ἔ* *χαίρε* "So-and-so, son of tios; good So-and-so, farewell."

Described as found in Lamb's Conduit Street; but Archer made a drawing of it in 1850, now in the British Museum, on which he describes it as found at Islington. It was probably lost again and rediscovered in Lamb's Conduit Street. Now in the British Museum.



FIG. 83 (No. 32).

32. Rough stone slab (building stone) bearing on one edge, 23 in. by 5 in., the name CANDIDI. (Fig. 83). From Houndsditch. At Guildhall Museum [Ephem. Epigr., VII, 822].

33. Gold ring, inscribed with the owner's initials, Q.D.D. (Quintus Domitius Dexter, or the like). Goldsmith's Hall [Haverfield, *R. Brit. in 1914*, No. 12]. Found at the General Post Office.

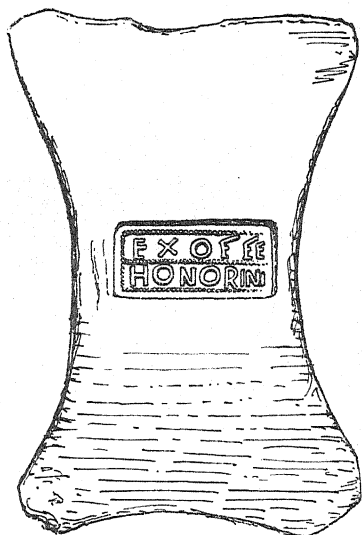


FIG. 84 (No. 34).

34. Silver ingot, 4 in. long, 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. broad at ends, 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. in middle; $\frac{3}{8}$ in. thick; weight 1 lb. troy. (Fig. 84). In the middle is a stamp EX OFFE HONORINI "from the workshop of Honorinus." The sixth letter is hard to read; it has been read E, I and L; if L, it makes *ex of(ficina) Fl(avi) Honorini*, and many have preferred this reading; Haverfield, however, seems right in reading E.

Found 1777, at the Tower, with coins of Arcadius and Honorius. [*Arch.*, V (1779), pl. 29; CIL. VII, 1196; *Ephem. Epigr.*, IX, p. 640; *Num. Chron.*, 1915, pp. 508-510; B.M. *Guide Antiq. Rom. Brit.*, p. 72.] At the British Museum.

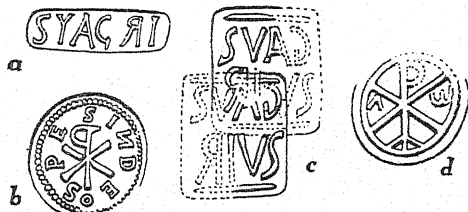


FIG. 85. 3. (No. 35.)

35. Ingots of pewter (Fig. 85) with the following stamps upon them: (a) SYAGRI (the R retrograde); (b) a *chi-rho* monogram round which SPES IN DEO is arranged in a circle; (c) SYAGRIVS in two lines, the G and R retrograde; (d) a *chi-rho* monogram with α and ω on either side. Eight of these ingots have been found in the Thames near Battersea Bridge; two are at York, the rest at the British Museum. Six have the stamps (a) and (b), two have (c) and (d).

[CIL. VII, 1221; *Ephem. Epigr.*, IX, 1263; B.M. *Guide Antiq. Rom. Brit.*, p. 32.]

36. Patera (bronze) with stamp T RVF C on handle [London Museum].

37. Handle of a bronze patera, with stamp SANGVS FE [Guildhall Museum, *Cat.*, p. 110, No. 92].

38. Bell (bronze) with inscription MARTINVS. [CIL. VII, 1295. Liverpool Museum].

39. Bronze scales, the arms inscribed with numerals from 10 to 4, the rest broken off:—

X IIIIV IIV IV V IIII

[Roach Smith, *Rom. London*, p. 144; CIL. VII, 1282].

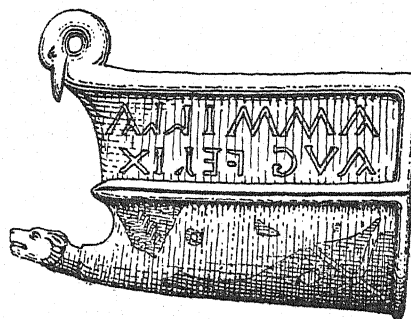


FIG. 86. 3. (No. 40.)

40. Bronze prow of a ship in miniature (Fig. 86): *Ammilla Aug. felix*, inscribed (retrograde) in niello, commemorates a ship called Ammilla (Greek ἀμίλλα, a contest) of the imperial fleet, and some victory won by her [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, XVI, 306; *Ephem. Epigr.*, IX, 1319. Found c. 1850]. [British Museum].

41. Bronze Seal, said to be in the Guildhall Museum; SECVN not seen by us [*Ephem. Epigr.*, VII, DINI 1177b].

42. Iron stamp for impressing letters in relief (Guildhall Museum). M P B R. [*Ephem. Epigr.*, VII, 1177c; *Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 54, No. 114 (iron)].

43. Iron knife, 5 in. long, stamped BASOILI, the S retrograde, and a figure of a man in the centre [London Museum].

44. Iron knife, 4 in. long, to which a wooden handle has been attached by a tang. Stamped P.BASOILIF (*P(ublius) Basil(us) f(ecit)*); in the circle is a man. [CIL. VII, 1298b]. [British Museum].

45. Iron knife, 6 in. long, resembling a scalpel; at the end is a ring for the finger. Stamped OLONDVS.F. [CIL. VII, 1298a]. [British Museum].

46. Iron centre-bit, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, stamped TITVLI + [London Museum].

47. Another bit, 7 in. long, in the same museum, has a badly-impressed stamp which may contain the letters ...INI... or possibly ...RAI... retrograde.

48. Iron chisel, 7 in. long, stamped APRILIS F. [Guildhall Museum Cat., p. 53, No. 72; CIL. VII, 1163].

49. Iron ring, from Lothbury, inscribed VITA VOLO [London and Midd. Arch. Soc., III, Ephem. Epigr., IV, 716; Arch. Journ., 1875, p. 68].

50. Leaden seal, found 1902 near Walbrook, inscribed L.V. [Arch. Journ., LX, 198; Ephem. Epigr., IX, 1298].

51. Tessera in red clay, inscribed ^FVI Found at Finsbury, 1874 [Ephem. Epigr., IV, 705h; Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ., XXXII, 67].

52. Barrel-staves, stamped T.C. PACATI. (a) Found 1914 on the site of the old General Post Office [Arch., LXVI, 246] now in the Guildhall Museum. (b) Found 1926 in a well beneath the Bank of England (Plate 38), which had been steined with barrel-staves [Antiq. Journ., VI, 186; Journ. Rom. Stud., XV, p. 250]. Bank of England.

(c) Another stamp on the same object as (a) reads CS or CB [Haverfield, Rom. Brit. in 1914, No. 11b].

53. Leather sole, in the British Museum (reported so by S.E.G.F. Hübner in CIL. VII, 1238; not seen by S.E.G.F. ourselves). E.G.F.

54. Leather sole, in the British Museum [CIL. VII, CCA p. 238].

55-57. Tile stamps:—

55. London has yielded a large number of tile-stamps containing references to some official or body whose title is abbreviated as P. PR. BR or the like. This title is explained by Mommsen as referring to the *Publicani* of the Province of Britain; it is often followed by LON, for Londinium. But it is very difficult to get any warrant for the contraction *p(publicani)*, and one would not expect to find them in such a context; and on the other hand a reference to *procuratores* is ruled out by the harshness of the abbreviation *p(ocuratores)*. Mr. G. H. Stevenson suggests *p(ortitores)*, the officers of the *portoria*, and to the present writer this seems the best suggestion. The following variants are well attested or have been seen by ourselves; fragmentary forms are ignored.

- | | |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| a. P. PR. BR | f. P. PR. LON |
| b. P.P. BRILON | g. PR. B. LON |
| c. P.P. BR. LON. | h. PR. BR. LON |
| d. P. BR. LON | k. P. BR. I. SAN |
| e. P. BR. I. LON | (? SAN in error for LON). |

56. Fragment of tile, stamped with a legend in at least three lines: the remaining letters are [r]OMVLI . . . [p]OMP[ei?] . . . TCR . . . [London Museum].

57. Tile stamped Px Tx [Roach Smith, Illus. Rom. Lond., p. 114].

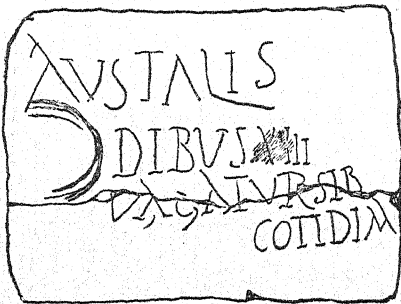


FIG. 87 (No. 58).

58. Tile with graffito (Plate 63 and Fig. 87), done with a stick when the clay was wet. From Warwick Lane, Newgate Street [Guildhall Museum Cat., p. 72; Ephem. Epigr., VII, 1141]. "Austalis (i.e., Augustalis) has been AVSTALIS going off by himself every day for these DIBVS XIII 13 days." The Latin is unclassical, but the sense is clear; a workman is calling VAGATVRSIB attention of the continual absence of a COTIDIM fellow-workman.

The numeral is not easy to read; it has been read VIII, but XIII is probably right.

59. Wall-plaster, "dark brown or rather reddish" SVP letters on white [Roach Smith, Illus. Rom. Lond., p. 28; CIL. VII, 35].

ROMAN PAVEMENT FOUND BETWEEN PUDDING LANE & BOTOLPH LANE. 1887.

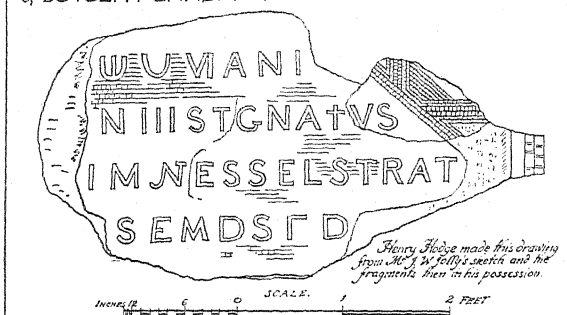


FIG. 88 (No. 60).

60. Pavement (Fig. 88), found 1887 between Pudding Lane and Botolph Lane, and destroyed. The inscription, as recorded, contains obvious references to the name Egnatius and "the laying of a tessellated pavement." [pav]im[en]t[um] tessell[atum] WUNANI NIISTGNA+VS strat[um]. [Proc. Soc. Antiq., XII, IMNTESSELSTRAT 1888, p. 128; Arch. Journ., XLV, p. 184].

61. Oculist's inscription on the bottom of a Samian vessel. (Plate 63), L. Iul. Senis crocod. ad aspr. "Lucius Julius Senis's ointment for roughness (of the eyes)." Stamps bearing such inscriptions were used to impress a maker's name and description on cakes of ointment for the eyes. Here a Samian vessel has been stamped [Smith, Cat. Lond. Antiq., No. 208, p. 47; CIL. VII, 1314]. [British Museum].

62. Fragment 4 in. by 4½ in. of a shale tablet (Plate 63) with an ornamental border and an inscription lightly scratched. At the top is PA . . . or the like, the A uncertain; below, and at right angles to this, is [L]ENTVL MANV, and in another line what seems to be XI NONI [Guildhall Museum Cat., p. 114].

63-100. Graffiti on Samian ware:—

The following list is very far from complete; it includes only those graffiti, published in reliable sources or personally known to ourselves, which contain more than one or two letters:—

63. AIIL (Aelius) (London Museum).
64. L. AE. FESTI (Guildhall).
65. ALIIXANDIIR (Guildhall).
66. ANI RECINI (Guildhall).
67. ATTVI [CIL. 1338, 2].
68. AVDAX [CIL. 1338, 3].
69. Q BIIRA (Guildhall).

70. COR F [CIL. 1336, 899a].
 71. FELICVLA [CIL. 1338, 8].
 72. FIILIX (London Museum).
 73. FL(A)VIO [CIL. 1338, 32].
 74. T FLAVI MATVNI (London Museum).
 75. GER [CIL. 1338, 9].
 76. GLYCERA [CIL. 1338, 33].
 77. INAT (London Museum).
 78. IVLIVS [CIL. 1336, 1188 c.].
 79. IVL SI. . . (Guildhall).
 80. LVCANI (Guildhall).
 81. LVCI (St. Ethelburga's, Bishopsgate).
 82. MANIAN (London Museum).
 83. MOMVVL [CIL. 1338, 16].
 84. MVM (Guildhall).
 85. N
 ANIS [CIL. 1338, 18].
 86. OPTATVS (Guildhall).
 87. PAVLLVS [CIL. 1338, 20].
 88. PIITRON [CIL. 1338, 21].
 89. M PIIT OPTA (Guildhall).
 90. PRIMA [CIL. 1336, 184].
 SA
 91. RIISTITVTA [CIL. 1336, 1276].
 92. SIIVII (London Museum).
 93. TITVLLV [CIL. 1336, 853].
 94. TVLLI (London Museum).
 95. VAR (Guildhall).
 96. [VE]RIICVN[D]V
 IVAIA [CIL. 1338, 29].
 IX
 97. VIIS [CIL. 1336, 1044a].
 98. VIA (London Museum).
 99. VIARIR [CIL. 1338, 28].
 100. VITI [CIL. 1336, 368b].
 101-104. Graffiti on coarse pottery :—
 Here again, a very small number is given ; all specimens
 devoid of particular interest being omitted.



FIG. 89 (No. 101).

101. V[A]PRILIIS (i.e. *V kal. apriles*) a date (Fig. 89),
 scratched on an amphora in the British Museum (*Guide to
 Antiq. Rom. Brit.*, fig. 19).
 102. M VIIS VINI (7½ measures of wine) [*Ephem.
 Epigr.*, IX, 1350].

103. SALVE [CIL. VII, 1335, 6].

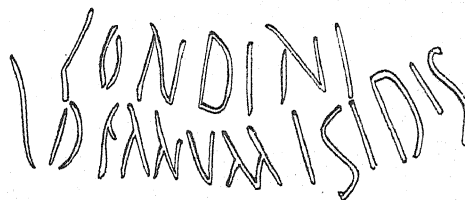


FIG. 90 (No. 104).

104. LONDINI (i.e. London, at the Temple of Isis)
 AD FANVM ISIDIS on a flagon (Plate 53 and Fig. 90)
 found at Southwark, now in the London Museum [*Journ.
 Rom. Stud.*, XII].

105-110. Spurious Inscriptions :—

Under this heading a few objects are mentioned which
 have been wrongly taken for examples of Romano-British
 inscriptions and published as such. They are included
 here merely to warn readers against them.

105. Altar found at Goldsmith's Hall (Plate 12), and now
 preserved there. On the front is a good relief of Diana ;
 on the back Archer thought he saw traces of an inscription,
 but this was certainly an error ; the altar has never been
 inscribed [Archer, *Vestiges of Old London* ; Smith, *Coll.
 Antiq.*, I, p. 130, pl. 45 ; CIL. VII, 21].

106. Small marble slab, 17 in. by 19 in. said to have
 been found in Basing Lane in 1852. There is no record of
 its discovery, and in
 ONESIMO VIX AN XIII character and work-
 DOMITIVS ELAINVS PATER manship it is exactly
 FILIO B M like the many small
 inscriptions brought from abroad in modern times and
 wholly unlike any British work. It probably comes from
 Rome [*Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 105, No. 3].

In *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.*, Vol. IX, p. 91, it figures
 in a list of antiquities said to come from excavations in
 Basing Lane, but consisting mostly of evidently imported
 objects ; in the same vol., p. 199, it is stated to have been
 offered for sale in London some years before the date of
 its alleged discovery.

107. Marble slab lying in the grass outside St. Margaret's
 Church, Westminster, with the letters TII. They have
 been described as Roman letters, but they are certainly
 modern.

108. Tile, found 1876 in Cannon Street, D N VOC.
 At British Museum. A.S. 33 (1876) 356 [*Ephem. Epigr.*,
 IV, 698 ; VII, 1189a].

109. Tile stamped VNDINIC [*Brit. Arch. Assoc.
 Journ.*, XXV, 391 ; *Guildhall Museum Cat.*, p. 73,
 No. 65].

110. Piece of leather stamped S P Q R [*V.C.H.
 London*, I, 121. *Ephem. Epigr.*, IX, 1369].

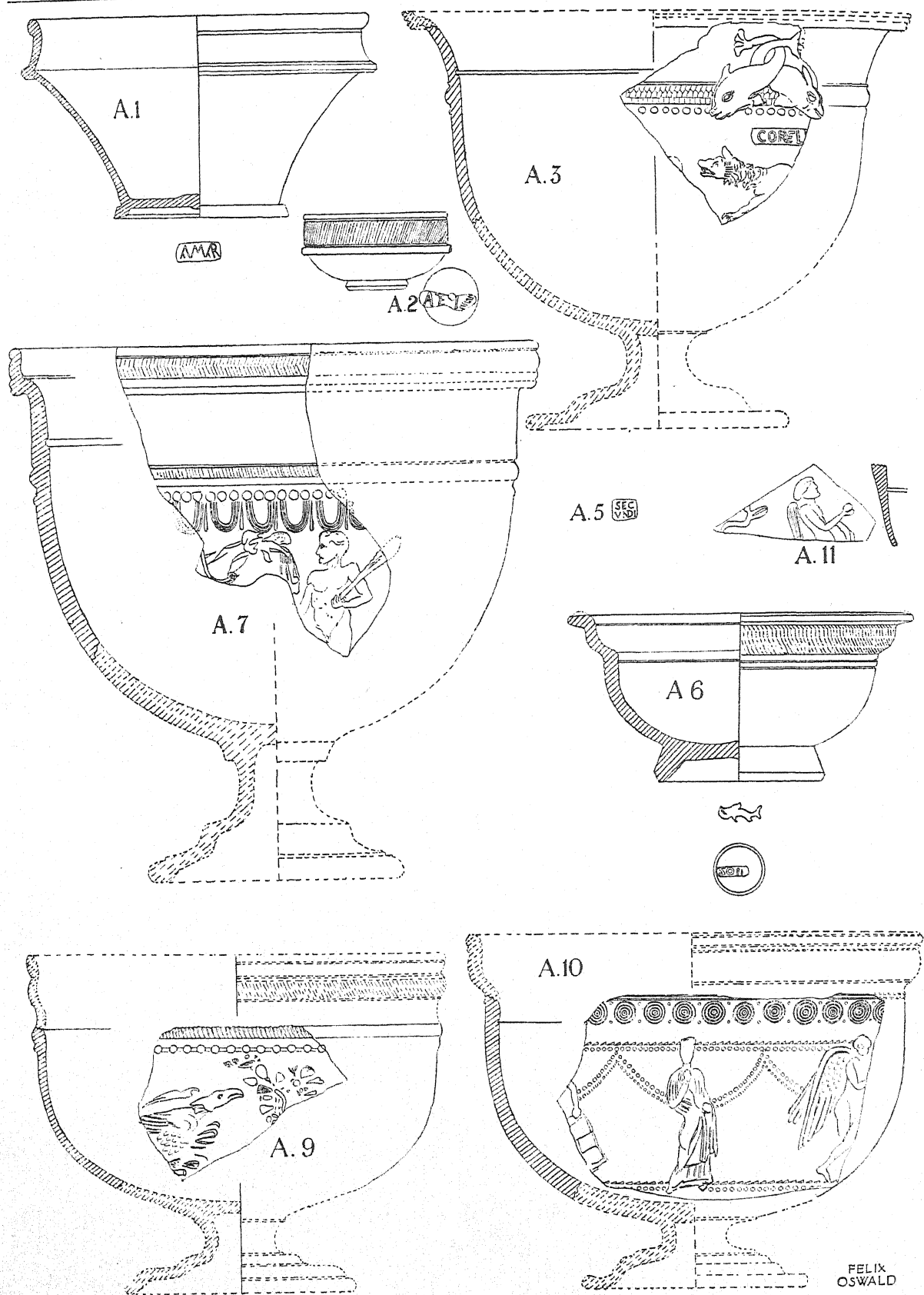


FIG. 91.

FELIX
OSWALD

APPENDIX III.

TERRA SIGILLATA PRIOR TO A.D. 60.

By T. DAVIES PRYCE.

The red-glazed pottery, "terra sigillata" or "Samian" ware, which is the characteristic ceramic product of the earlier centuries of the Roman Imperial period, is abundantly represented in London. Indeed, no site in Britain has been so productive of this class of ware, whether it be regarded from the point of view of quality, quantity or variety. All the variations of technique as applied to this fabric are forthcoming, i.e. moulded, marbled, incised, applied, rouletted and stamped ware. Owing to the conditions under which excavations have been made in the city, much of this fabric has found its way into the hands of dealers and private collectors, and a considerable proportion has been scattered throughout the country. Some of it will also be found in the offices of City Companies, etc. Notwithstanding these leakages, this ware is well represented in the Guildhall, British and London Museums, and to a lesser extent in the Bethnal Green, South Kensington and other Museums.

No discussion of the whole of the terra sigillata of London is undertaken in this context, but an endeavour is made to isolate the earliest examples with a view to determining the date of the initial occupation of the site. The absence of any direct historical or epigraphical evidence on this point gives a special value to the ceramic materials, and in particular to this well-known red-glazed ware.

This fabric, as occurring in London, naturally falls into the categories of Italian (chiefly Arretine) and Provincial (chiefly South Gaulish) ware. Before discussing the evidence under these headings, it is necessary to point out that in the case of London we are dealing with the results of desultory excavations which have been the subject, with one or two exceptions, of very imperfect record. Considerable reservation is therefore necessary in their topographical application. Thus, one locality may bulk large as the result of the accident of excavation or of a fuller and better record, whilst in the absence of these circumstances other areas of perhaps equal importance may remain more or less silent.

The illustrations, here published (Figs. 91-93) have been prepared by Dr. Felix Oswald.

(1) ITALIAN WARE.

This fabric is the prototype of Provincial ware. The flourishing period of the Italian potteries, especially those of Arretium, can be assigned with some confidence to the last third of the 1st century B.C. and the first two decades of the 1st century A.D., but the industry continued down into the Nero-Vespasian period.¹ During the earlier part of this period—the Augustan age—this ware was extensively exported into the provinces. At Haltern, which was occupied from 11 B.C. to A.D. 16, this ware alone is represented. During the latter part of this period, i.e. *circa* A.D. 40 to 80, this ware, to some extent, supplied the home market, but even here it was exposed to the competition of an increasing importation from the provincial potteries of Southern Gaul, and it is highly probable that the exportation of the Italian fabric, as a contemporary product, through the ordinary channel of commerce had become exceedingly slight by the accession of Claudius (A.D. 41). (*See below*, p. 181.)

The following stamps of Italian potters have been recorded in London :—

(1) AMAR : Cup of Loeschcke type 8² and Ritterling type 5³ Fig. 91, A.1. Found in Leadenhall market; now in the London Museum. The rim and the wall-moulding lack the rouletting which is common to Augustan examples of this form as found at Haltern; it is therefore probably later and should be dated to the first half of the 1st century A.D. No exact parallel for this stamp can be

discovered but those of AMA and AMA^B occur at Arezzo and Rome, respectively (CIL. XI, 2, 1; 6700, 25; XV. 2; 4950).⁴

(2) ATEIVS : ATEI. *in planta pedis*, Cup, Loeschcke type 12 and Dragendorff⁵ type 24/25, Fig. 91, A.2. Found at London Bridge Station; now in the Bethnal Green Museum. One hundred and two stamps of the potter Ateius and his slaves have been found at Haltern in the Augustan period (11 B.C. to A.D. 16). The stamp of

¹ See imitations of Gaulish form 29 by the Italian potter L. R. PISANVS, J. Déchelette, *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule Romaine*, I, p. 113 ff.; and *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Pl. IX.

² S. Loeschcke, *Keramische Funde in Haltern*.

³ E. Ritterling, *Das frühromische Lager bei Hofheim im Taunus*.

⁴ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

⁵ H. Dragendorff, *Bonner Jahrb.*, XCVI and XCVII.

ATEI/XANTHI occurs at Mont Beuvray, which was abandoned *circa* 5 B.C. He is represented at Xanten and in the early period at Wiesbaden, both of which sites date to the reign of Augustus. Twenty-one of his impressions have been found at Sels (*ante* A.D. 41).¹ Rarely, and then probably as a "survival," this stamp occurs on a site which was first definitely occupied in the reign of Caligula, e.g. Grimmlinghausen (A.D. 40).²

In Britain the stamps of ATEIVS and his slaves also occur ten times at Silchester, once at Pleshey in Essex and at Foxton in Cambridgeshire.³ The London stamp, with its label in the form of the sole of a foot, dates to the earlier third of the 1st century A.D.⁴

(3) CORNELIVS: CORNEL, on a crater, Fig. 91, A3. Found in London, 1837, probably in Southwark (cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L160). The vessel has an everted rim and its wall is divided into two zones by a rouletted moulding. On the upper zone are two conjoined dolphins which also overlap the moulding. Beneath them are the stamp and a wolf to L. Similar dolphins occur at Arretium (cf. Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, XXIV, 7). This well-known potter worked at Arezzo in the Augustan period, and later. His stamp occurs at Haltern (11 B.C. to A.D. 16). His usual signature is P. CORNELIVS, but stamps in which the P. is omitted, as on the London vessel, occur at Arezzo (CIL. XI, 2, 1; 214, 215, 259). As some of these are *in planta pedis* they should be dated to the first third of the 1st century A.D., to which period the London crater is probably attributable.

(4) HILARVS: HILAR, form not stated. Found in London (*see Arch.*, XXVII, 152, and XXIV, 202). This

The chief points of chronological significance in this list of stamps are that those of Ateius, Cornelius, Hilarus, Secundus and Zoilus occur in the Augustan period at Haltern, that of Ateius/Xanthus at Mont Beuvray *ante* 5 B.C., those of Ateius, Hilarus and Zoilus at Sels in the pre-Claudian period and that of Ateius/Xanthus at Grimmlinghausen in the period Caligula-Claudius.

In addition to the foregoing stamps the following pieces of Italian ware are recorded as having been found in London:—

(7) Crater: Fig. 91, A.7; *see also Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L159. Found in London (C. R. Smith, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, IV, 16). The slightly everted rim is rouletted (cf. Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, II, 1, 2, 4; XXVI, 1, 2), and the wall is divided into two zones by a rouletted moulding (cf. Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, II, 1, 2, 4). Beneath the moulding is an ovolo, surmounted by a row of large beads. Then follow the figure of a nude man with club in l. hand and an indeterminate ornament. The same figure occurs on a fragment of Italic ware, from Arezzo, now in the Ashmolean Museum. Rouletting of the rim and the wall-moulding is characteristic of the decoration of many craters of the Augustan period.

(8) Crater: *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L161, Fig. 35. Found in London. The fluted and everted rim is defined below by a raised moulding. On the rim, Eros asleep. Decoration similarly situated is not infrequent in Arretine ware (G. H. Chase, *Cat. of Arretine Pottery in the Fine Arts Museum, Boston*, Figs. 140–142).

(9) Crater: Oswald and Pryce, type C (XXVI, 2), Fig. 91, A.9; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L162. Found in London 1837, probably in Southwark. The rouletted moulding is

stamp occurs in the Augustan period at Haltern, where it is classed amongst the older Arretine fabric. In the pre-Claudian period at Sels it is found in combination with the stamp of Ateius, i.e., CN.ATEIVS. ATEI HILARVS HILARI (CIL. XIII, 3, 1; 49).

The stamp of Hilarus also occurs in combination with those of M. PERENNIVS (CIL. XV, 2; 5420), C. MEMMIVS (CIL. XI, 2; 382) and ANNIVS (CIL. XIII, 3, 1; 21), all of whom are well-known Arretine potters. Perhaps, his latest impression is that of HILAR FECT (CIL. XIII, 3, 1; 140), in the Rodez Museum. Probably more than one potter worked under this name.

(5) SECVNDVS: SEC VNDI on the base of a cup or plate. Found in London (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L167), Fig. 91, A.5.

Closely similar stamps occur in the Augustan period at Haltern SEC V and at Rome SEC V and SEC V NDI (CIL. XV, 2; 5560b); also in the early period at Xanten (*Bonner Jahrbuch.*, 116, 330, cup Loeschcke type 8b). No evidence of a Claudian provenance is forthcoming.

(6) ZOILVS: ZOII (the Z retrograde) on a cup Loeschcke type 11, viz., a Dragendorff form 27 with rouletted wall, Fig. 91, A.6. Found in Lombard Street; now in the Guildhall Museum. It has a truncated, flat rim, decorated with two applied dolphins. ZOILVS was a slave of ATEIVS (cf. CN. ATE ZOII (the Z retrograde) at Sels). The Z is frequently reversed by this potter, as at Haltern (Loeschcke, No. 114).

succeeded by a bead-row, beneath which are depicted an eagle to r. and a floral and fruit ornament. Although indistinct, it is evident that this ornament is of a similar class to those used by CORNELIVS and PANTAGATVS (cf. Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, XXIV, 1, 2).

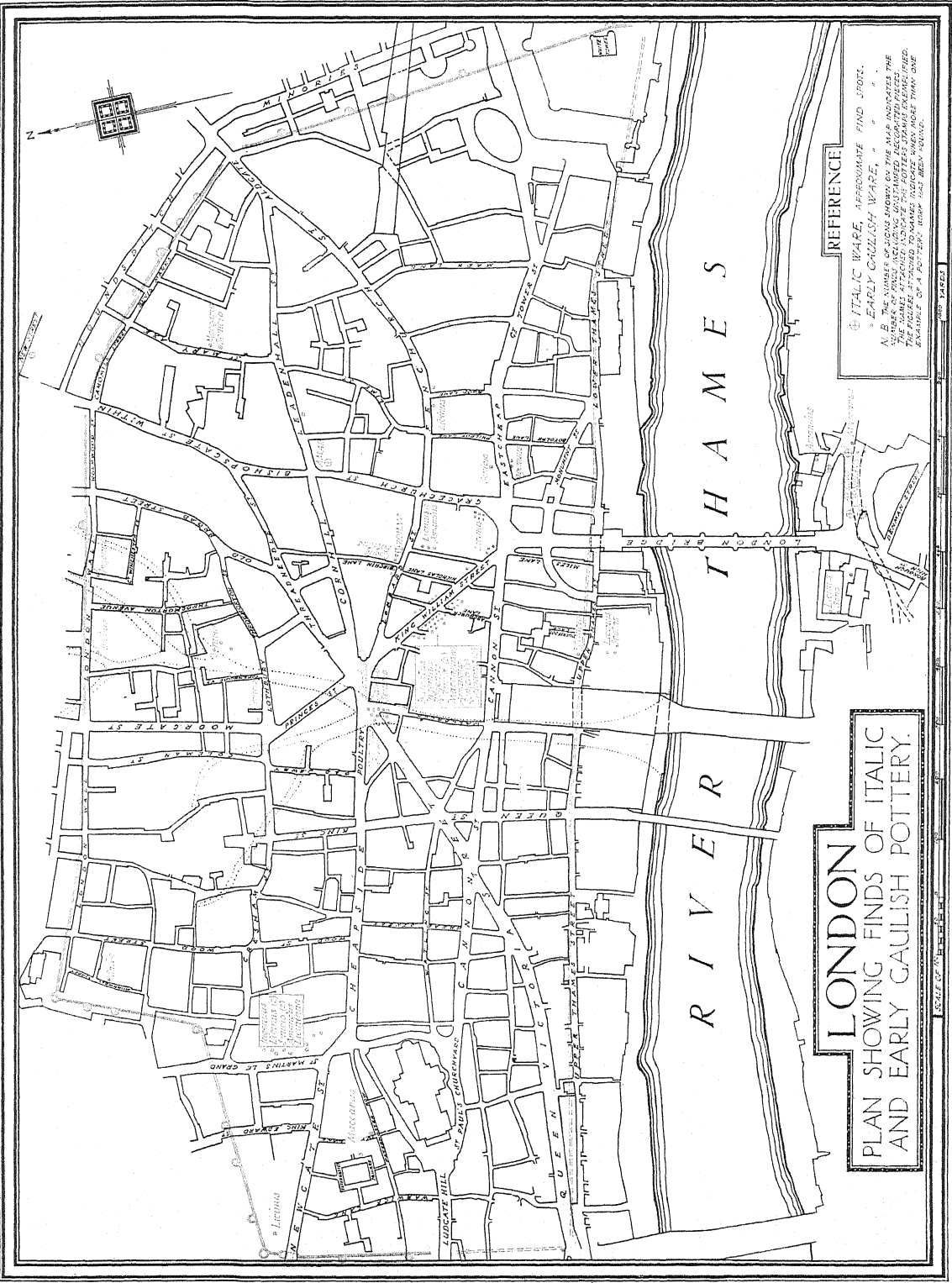
(10) Crater: Fig. 91, A.10. Found in London (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M. 2363). Glaze, pitted externally, smooth internally; poor workmanship. The upper border of the design is composed of a series of concentric circles with two intervening beads. Closely similar upper borders are seen on two vessels by CORNELIVS (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L55, 56). Then follows a double line, composed of repeated cuneiform leaves (rod-chain) and a row of beads. From this line depend festoons of the same type. On the wall are depicted a draped woman to front and a winged figure to r., both interrupting the middle of a festoon (cf. Chase, *op. cit.*, Figs. 1, 69, M PERENNIVS and TIGRANVS for similar interruptions of "rod-chain" festoons by figure-subjects). The design is closed by a "rod-chain" and a bead-row. Notwithstanding its poor workmanship the vessel is probably Italic. On the other hand it may, possibly, be a Belgic imitation of decorated Arretine, examples of which have been found in the Augustan

¹ This site dates to the reign of Augustus and was evacuated in that of Caligula.

² E. Ritterling, *op. cit.*, 249.

³ *See* Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, II, 2.

⁴ This type of stamp does not occur on Arretine ware of the 1st century B.C. It came into vogue in the early years of the 1st century A.D. Only two stamps, *in planta pedis*, occur at Haltern.



pottery at Xanten (*Bonner Jahrb.*, 122, Pl. LIV, 3; J. Hagen, *Einzelfunde von Vetera*, 1910-12, Pl. LIV, 1, 2, 3; LV, 3).

(11) Crater: Fig. 91, A.11. Found in London (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L163). Winged figure to r. The internal groove determines the form.

(12) Crater: *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L166, Fig. 36. Found in New Street, E.C. The raised moulding around the circumference of the bowl is a frequent feature of Italic craters. Above the moulding is seen a crater, closely similar in form to those on Arretine fragments in the British Museum (L98) and the Boston Collection (Chase, *op. cit.*, Fig. 15). Probably Italic.

(13) and (14) Two plates with flat bases (*Brit. Mus. Cat.* L 164-5), Figs. 92, A.13, 14, restored after Dragendorff's form 22. On the wall of one is a dog, on that of the other a dolphin. Similar figures in applied relief are not uncommon on

Italic "plain" forms. An alternative restoration is that of a Tiberian plate with footstand, as at Aislingen (Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, XLII, 9).

(15) Fig. 92, A.15. Found in London; now in the London Museum. The vessel has the inbent rim and internal groove of Loeschcke's type 4^b. On the exterior wall is the spiral "handle" so commonly found on "plain" Arretine forms (cf. Loeschcke, Pl. X, 9, 12, 15^a, ^b). Beneath the handle is a mask in applied relief.

(16) Fig. 92, A.16: London Museum, A. 17498. Found in Tooley Street, Southwark. Good, brownish-red, smooth glaze. The rouletted rim is followed by a narrow plain moulding. The wall is decorated with a mask and a wreath of repeated bifid leaves, in the form of a low-curved festoon. For closely similar masks on Arretine ware, see Chase, *op. cit.*, Figs. 108, 142. The decorated wall is bordered below by a narrow plain band and a basal moulding which shows traces of rouletting. The rim is defined internally by a circular groove.¹

An examination of these pieces demonstrates that they cannot be assigned to the early flourishing period of the Italic industry. Typologically, they belong to the first four decades of the 1st century of our era; perhaps the fragment, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L166, may be even a little later.

In this connection it is interesting to note the evidence from dated sites in the north-western provinces. Thus at Haltern, in the Augustan period, Arretine ware is alone represented. At Sels, a site dating to the reign of Augustus and evacuated in that of Caligula, both Italian and Provincial sigillata are forthcoming; upwards of a hundred stamps of Arretine potters and many other Italics sherds have been recorded.

At Hofheim, which was occupied in the reign of Caligula (A.D. 40), no stamp of an Italian potter has been found, whilst this ware is only represented by three fragments of an Italic character.² At Aislingen, which was occupied from late in the reign of Tiberius, the Arretine ware is restricted to the stamp of L.GELLI, in *planta pedis*, and two other fragments.³ In the legionary fortress at Neuss, which was first occupied c. A.D. 25, only a single example of Arretine ware has been found—a plate, stamped XANTHI in *planta pedis* (*Bonn. Jahrb.* 111/112, XXXVI, 24). At Grimmlinghausen, occupied in and after A.D. 40, Arretine ware is represented only by a single example stamped ATEIVS/XANTHVS (CIL. XIII, 10009, 55). In Britain the evidence is less clear. Occasionally the ware of a potter who was working as late as the Nero-Vespasian period found its way to this province, e.g., L.R.PIS(ANVS), found near Cambridge (CIL. VII, 894). At Richborough, on the other hand, the small area at present excavated, though certainly occupied in the Claudian era, has failed to yield a single fragment of Arretine. At Colchester, notwithstanding the presence of typologically pre-Claudian examples of Provincial fabric, Arretine ware is only represented by a solitary cup (Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, XL, 14). At Silchester, however, which is known to have been occupied before the Claudian period, probably as early as the last third of the 1st century B.C.,⁴ 32 pieces of Italic type have been recorded. On the balance of the evidence, it would seem probable that some of the 15 or 16 fragments from London found their way to the site previous to the conquest, thus indicating something of a pre-Claudian settlement of Italian and other traders.⁵ Nevertheless, in view of the suddenness with which Claudian London sprang into prominence as a commercial centre, and the comparative abundance of Claudian pottery from the site, it is safer to leave open the possibility that the Arretine sherds may have been brought in on the first stream of trade after the conquest and before the complete extinction of traffic in this ware. The question whether these fragments of Italic ware reached London in the ordinary way of commerce and are consequently of pre-Claudian date, or whether they are of the nature of "survivals" brought over by the Claudian invaders or their immediate successors, does not therefore admit of a definite answer.

¹ The Italic cups by C. AMVRVS and XANTHVS (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L168, 169) and a cup of the same fabric in the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, have been excluded from this list, their London provenance being doubtful.

² Ritterling, *op. cit.*, 201.

³ R. Knorr, *Die Terra Sigillata Gefässe von Aislingen*, 5, 16.

⁴ T. May, *The Pottery found at Silchester*, 6 and Pls. LXXVI, 8, and LXXVII, 7; D. Atkinson, *Journ. Rom. Studies*, VIII, 200. It may be recalled also that coins of Eppillus, son of Commius, were inscribed CALLEV; see J. Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, 523-4.

⁵ A number of examples of Italian settlement outside the bounds of the Empire might be cited. Drobeta in Dacia even styled itself a Flavian municipality (J. S. Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, 220). In connection with Britain there is, of course, evidence of pre-Claudian trade and culture in Strabo, *Geographia*, IV, 5; in the discovery of amphoræ in late Celtic associations at Colchester and elsewhere; and in the employment of Roman moneyers by native princes such as Cunobelin.

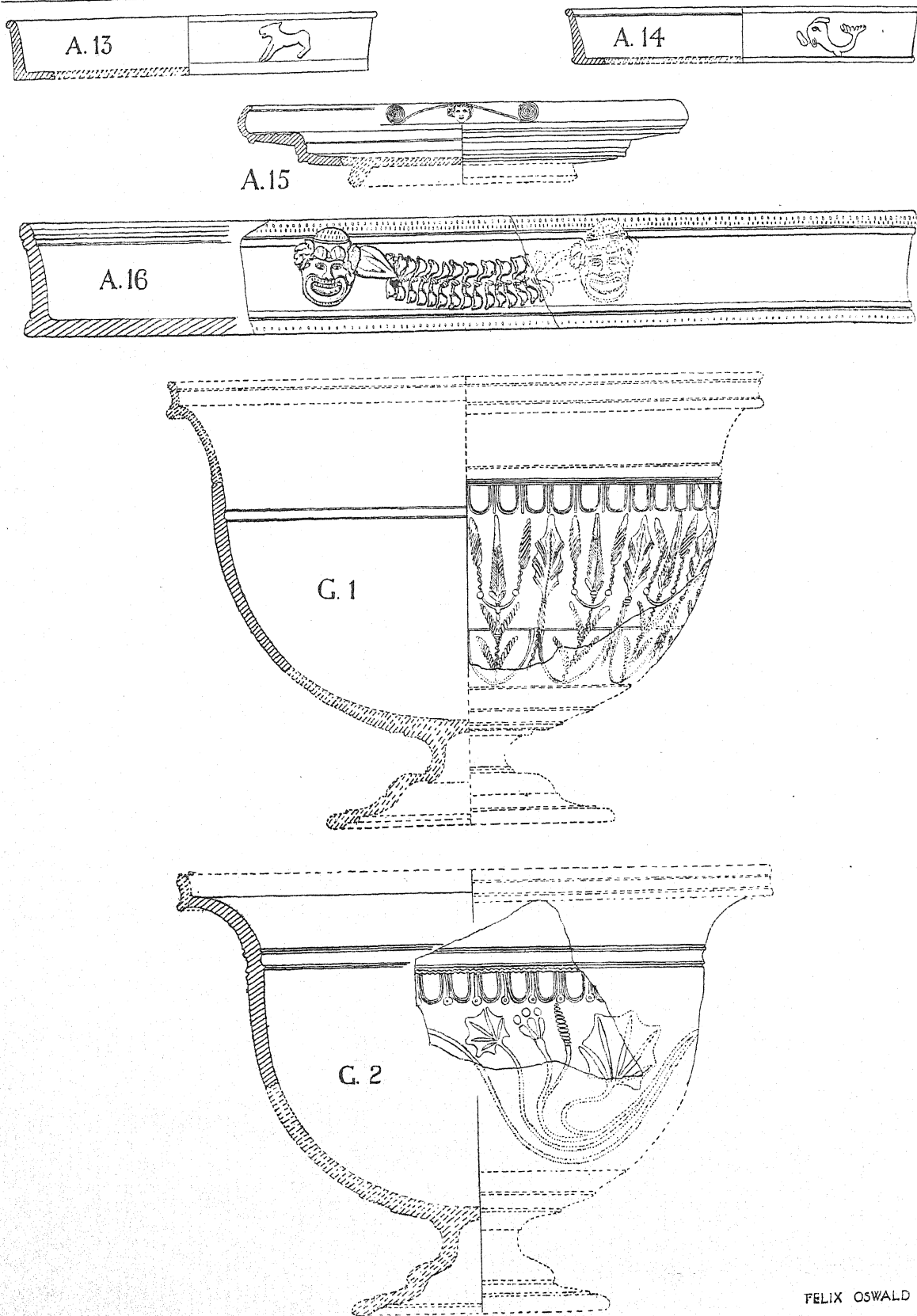


FIG. 92.

FELIX OSWALD

(II) PROVINCIAL WARE.

Space permits only of a brief consideration of the early provincial Terra Sigillata or Samian ware, found in London. The subject may be conveniently discussed under the two headings of potters' stamps and early decorated types, located examples of which are plotted on Map, Plate 64.¹

(a) *Stamps of Early Potters.*²

AMANDVS (4), BALBVS (1), BILICATVS (5), COCVS (2), INGENVVS (8), LICINIANA (8), LICINVS (14), MACCARVS (8), POTITVS (1), REGENVS (1), SALVE (3), SCOTIVS (1), SENICIO (16), and SENO (2).

These potters constitute more than 50 per cent. of those who are known to have commenced work in South Gaul in the reign of Tiberius, *circa* A.D. 20. Their decorated types are, almost wholly, those which are characteristic of the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius. More particularly, the potters Amandus, Balbus, Bilicatus, Maccarus, Regenus and Salve worked, almost exclusively in the Claudian and pre-Claudian periods; the activity of the potters Scotius and Senicio may have continued, in some degree, into the reign of Nero, but their decorated work is almost entirely of a Claudian or pre-Claudian type (cf. Knorr, *Töpfer und Fabriken verzierter Terra-Sigillata des ersten Jahrhunderts*, 1919, Pls. 70-72, 75-78). The terminal date of the activity of the potters Ingenius and Licinus cannot be so definitely assigned, for although the major part of their decorative work is typologically Claudian or pre-Claudian (cf. Knorr, 1919, *op. cit.*, 40-42, 45-47), there is some evidence that they continued to work in the reign of Nero.

The potters Liciniana and Seno should be equated with Licinus and Senicio, respectively.

The potter Cocus made some very early and rare South Gaulish plain forms, e.g. Dragendorf 27 with rouletted wall (cf. Loeschke's Arretine type 11) and Ritterling type 5 (cf. the Arretine cup by AMAR, Fig. 92, G.1). His decoration is typologically Claudian rather than Neronian. Potitus was associated with the Tiberio-Claudian potter VOLVS, e.g., VOLVS II ET POTITIO at Vaison and VOLVS SII ET POTITIO at Nîmes.

It should be noted that the stamps of the potters Amandus, Balbus, Bilicatus, Ingenius, Maccarus, Regenus, Scottius and Senicio have been found in the pre-Claudian period at Sels, and that of Caligula-Claudius at Hofheim (A.D. 40-51)³. Finally, it is pointed out that many potters (whose stamps have been found in London), whose work is largely characteristic of the Claudian period, have been excluded from this list because there is evidence that their activity was continued into the reign of Nero. Amongst them may be mentioned AQVITANVS, ARDACVS, BASSVS, GALLICANVS, LABIO, MASCLVS, and MVRANVS.

(b) *Early Decorated Types.*

In order to obtain an approximately accurate conspectus of the earliest Sigillata found in London the decorated types located on the Map (Plate 64), have been restricted to those which are characteristic of the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius or such as have parallels in the Claudian period at Hofheim. It is sometimes impossible to draw a hard and fast line between Claudian and Neronian decoration, but no ornamental piece has been accepted for which Claudian or pre-Claudian parallels are not forthcoming. On this account many examples of decorative types which fall into the period Claudius-Nero have not been plotted on the map.

It will be seen that about 50 definitely early pieces have been mapped, but in the present context it may suffice to describe only 9 typical examples.

(1) Crater: Found in Angel Court; now in the London Museum. The ovolo is full and its tongue is plain, both features usually met with in Arretine ware. The vessel is decorated with an upright plant ornament which terminates below in basal arcading, a class of ornament frequently met with in the earliest provincial sigillata (cf. Knorr, 1919, *op. cit.*, 41 G, crater at Sels; 40a form 29, by INGENVVS, at Sels; Ritterling, *Hofheim*, I, *op. cit.*, XXVII, 22, 23, both on forms 30). This type of decoration is an imitation of an Italic prototype (cf. Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, XXIV, 10, by NAËVIVS of Puteoli).

The Gaulish crater is a direct imitation of an Augustan Italic prototype (cf. Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, II, 3, by ATEIVS). Five examples of this form have been recorded in Britain; two at Richborough, one at Tong, Kent, and two in London. Fourteen examples, dated to the reign of Tiberius, have been found at Bregenz (Knorr, 1919, *op. cit.*, 1C, 2D, E, F, G, H, J, K; 3 M, N, O, P, 4 V). The Gaulish crater occurs at Sels in the period Tiberius-Caligula (Knorr, 1919, *op. cit.*, 41 G, J), and at Hofheim in the Claudian period (Ritterling, *op. cit.*, Abb. 46, 1, 2; 47; 52, 4^a and 5^b). Fig. 92, G.1.

¹ Owing to the exigencies of space and frequent imperfect record the exact "find-spot" is often not attainable, but approximate accuracy has been obtained. It has been found impossible to plot many of the potters' stamps and a number of the decorated pieces owing to the fact that they are only recorded as having been found in London.

² The number of examples is given in brackets.

³ Rarely, and then probably as "survivals," the stamps of some of these potters have been found on Flavian sites, e.g. INGENVVS at Rottweil and SCOTIVS at Carlisle.

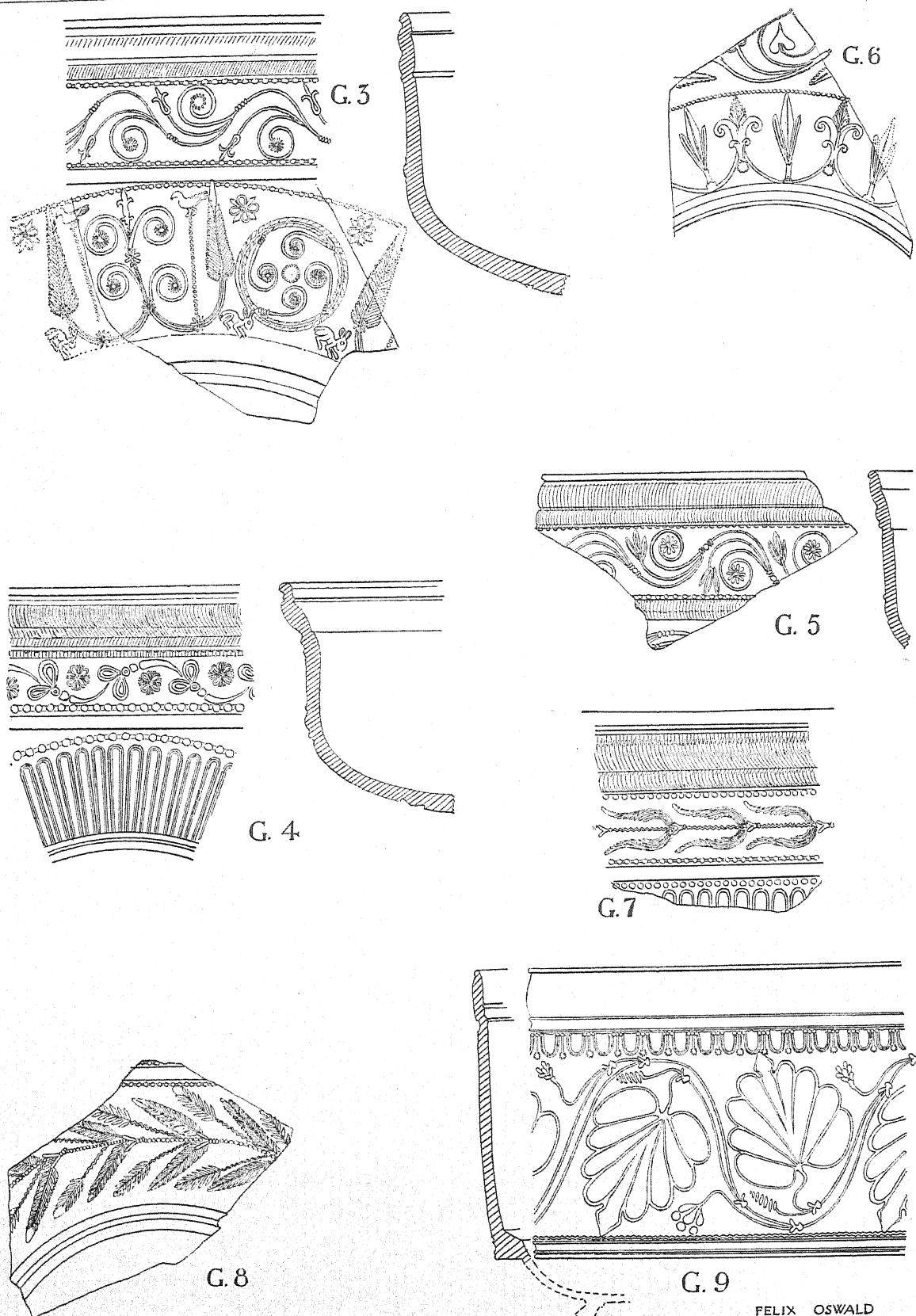


FIG. 93.

FELIX OSWALD

(2) Crater: Found in Cheapside, now in the Guildhall Museum. Ovolo the tongue of which has a central depression as on a crater at Hofheim I (Ritterling, *op. cit.*, abb. 46, 1). Scroll decoration, very similar to that on Claudian forms 30 at Hofheim (Ritterling, *op. cit.*, XXVI, 5; XXVII, 19). Fig. 92, G.2.

(3) Form 29: The distinguishing feature of this class of bowl is the central moulding which divides its external wall into two decorated friezes. Found in Leadenhall Street [London Museum, A21033]. Fig. 93, G.3.

Dull, matt glaze: Contour nearly hemispherical. Short, upright rim, the upper rouletted moulding of which is only slightly deeper than the lower.

Upper Frieze: Continuous scroll, the stalks of which terminate in sceptre-like leaves and rosettes. This scroll is an exact facsimile of that on a form 29 found at Claudian Hofheim, by the potter LICINVS (Ritterling, *op. cit.*, XXIII, 2).

Central plain moulding: Bordered above and below by rows of elongated beads.

Lower Frieze: The decoration is composed of alternating upright plant ornaments and medallions.

(a) The upright plant has lateral spirals ending in rosettes and terminates above in a sceptre-like leaf. Below, it forms a basal arcading, as in the crater, Fig. 92, G.1, and the lower frieze of a form 29 found at London Bridge Station, Fig. 93, G.6. The curve of the arcading is continued upwards and terminates in an upright, pointed and serrated leaf.

An upright bead-row, on which is perched a bird, rises from the lowest point of the arc, as on a Tiberio-Claudian form 29 at Bregenz (Knorr, 1919, *op. cit.*, 4S).

(b) The medallion is formed by two twisted circles and has a central rosette. Arising from its internal circumference are four separate spirals, ending in rosettes.

In the field are two hares with striated rumps as used by BILICATVS (Knorr, 1919, *op. cit.*, 14A); also a large rosette closely similar to that on a Tiberian form 29 at Sels (Knorr, 1919, *op. cit.*, 91C). The glaze, contour and decoration of the bowl are typologically Tiberio-Claudian. It is probably representative of the early work of LICINVS.

(4) Form 29: Found in Tokenhouse Yard, now in the Guildhall Museum. Fig. 93, G.4.

The rim is boldly out-curved, but materially differs from the high everted rim of Nero-Flavian examples of this form; it is probably copied from an Augustan Italic crater with a similarly curved rim (cf. Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, XXVI, 1 Haltern). The wall of the vessel has a rounded contour.

On the upper frieze is seen a scroll with sessile bifid leaves, and rosettes in the field. A closely similar scroll occurs on forms 29 of Tiberian type at Hod Hill (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M208) and Silchester (May, XI, 2). This class of scroll with sessile bifid leaves is highly characteristic of the Tiberio-Claudian period and occurs in the early work of the potters ALBINVS, LICINVS and VRVOED and on forms 29, in the style of MACCARVS (Knorr, 1919, *op. cit.*, 1B, 46D, Text Fig. 28, 88A, C). The central moulding is bordered by rows of large and well-spaced beads, in the Italian manner (cf. Fig. 93, G.7 and Knorr, 1919, *op. cit.*, Text Fig. 4, M.PERENNIVS). The

repeated gadroons of the lower frieze are full in character, as in early examples of this ornament.

(5) Form 29: Found on the National Safe Deposit Co's premises, Queen Victoria Street; now in the Guildhall Museum. Fig. 93, G.5. The fragment shows the rouletted central moulding frequently, but not invariably, found on Tiberian examples of this form. It is a copy of the rouletted moulding of Augustan Italic craters (cf. Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, II, 1, 2, 4; see also Fig. 93, G. 7). Occasionally this technique is found on sites which were first occupied in the reign of Caligula (cf. Ritterling, *Hofheim*, *op. cit.*, XXV, 7a).

(6) Form 29: Found at London Bridge, Railway Approach; now in the London Museum. Fig. 93, G.6. Portion of the lower frieze showing an upright plant ornament with basal arcading. The chronological significance of this decoration has been referred to under No. 1.

Closely similar decoration occurs on the upper frieze of a Tiberian form 29 by MACCARVS (Knorr, 1919, *op. cit.*, 50F).

(7) Form 29: Found in Gracechurch Street, west side. Now in the London Museum. The repeated sessile, lyre-shaped leaf of the upper frieze is derived from an Italian prototype (cf. Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, XXIV, 10, by NAEVIVS of Puteoli), and was used by some of the oldest South Gaulish potters (cf. Knorr, 1919, *op. cit.*, 1A ALBINVS, 6B AMANDVS, 11A BALBVS, 14C BILICATVS, 51J MACCARVS, 77K SENICIO, 78A SENO, 80 VAPVSO). It occurs in the Claudian period at Hofheim (Ritterling, *op. cit.*, XXV, 12b, XXVII, 21 and XXXII, 16, on a crater) but has not been recorded on subsequently occupied sites. Fig. 93, G.7.

(8) Form 29: Found at London Bridge, Railway Approach; now in the London Museum. Part of the lower frieze on which is depicted a large straight-wreath, composed of alternating sessile and stalked leaves. The stem of the wreath consists of repeated coalescent beads, as frequently occurring in the work of the older potters (cf. Knorr, 1919, *op. cit.*, 1A ALBINVS). The bold character of the design places it amongst the work of the earliest potters (cf. Knorr, 1919, *op. cit.*, 7A*, Bb, Cc, 14B BILICATVS, 72H SCOTTIVS). Fig. 93, G.8.

(9) Form 30: the cylindrical bowl: found in Gracechurch Street, west side; now in the London Museum. The ovolo is surmounted by a series of "grouped" beads, as on an early form 30 at Hofheim I (Ritterling, *op. cit.*, XXXII, 18). The wall is decorated with a scroll the stalks of which terminate in large leaves (occupying nearly the whole depth of the wall), spiral buds, seven-lobed buds and a tri-lobed leaf with three detached "berries." The bifurcations of the scroll are masked by bifid "tendrils-unions" with basal beads, as on the Hofheim vessel referred to above.

The central element of the large leaf has a triangular termination, a feature which only occurs in the earliest examples of this leaf (cf. Knorr, 1919, *op. cit.*, 2E, 3M, O, all on craters of Tiberian type of Bregenz; 21D; 32, a form 29 by FIRMO the elder; 41J crater at Sels). In later examples of this leaf the central element has a rounded termination. Large-leaf scrolls are characteristic of the decoration of some of the earliest examples of the cylindrical bowl (cf. Ritterling, *op. cit.*, XXXII, 18, and pieces in the Museums of Cologne and Wiesbaden). Fig. 93, G.9.

All the above decorative types are found in the period Tiberius-Claudius.

Whilst it cannot be stated that none of the examples of Provincial sigillata, recorded on the map, was imported during the reign of Nero, the detail-evidence is sufficiently cumulative to warrant the conclusion

that during the course of the Claudian period, London had already attained the position of a flourishing community. This conclusion is reinforced by the relative frequency of Italic ware found on the site, whether it be regarded as a "survival" or as suggestive of a pre-Claudian occupation.

(III) DISTRIBUTION OF EARLY TYPES.

In considering the distribution of early ware—both Italian and Provincial—it is important to bear in mind the reservations mentioned on p. 179.

So far as present evidence goes, there is undoubtedly a preponderance of early types in the following localities :—

- (1) Southwark.
- (2) An area to the E. of the Walbrook which especially centres round King William and Gracechurch Streets.
- (3) An area immediately to the W. of the Walbrook,¹ at the eastern termination of Queen Victoria Street.
- (4) The locality of the General Post Office.

It will, however, be observed that the early fabric is scattered throughout a considerable extent of the area subsequently enclosed by the walls of Roman London.

Thus, the stamps of the potters MACCARVS and SENICIO have been found at Baltic House in the N.E., that of BALBVS on London Wall in the N., that of SALVE in Monkwell Street in the N.W., and that of MACCARVS in Paternoster Square, in the W.

From this wide-spread distribution of early types it may, with some probability, be inferred that at the date of Boudicca's rebellion (A.D. 60), the area within the enclosure of the later walls was largely occupied (*see* p. 31).

¹ Possibly in the bed of the Walbrook.

APPENDIX IV.

ROMAN COINAGE IN LONDON.

(Plate 65)

By G. F. HILL

(1) THE ROMAN MINT OF LONDON.

The essential facts in the history of the Roman Mint in London were stated sixty years ago by Count J. F. W. de Salis, and nothing since discovered has made it necessary to modify the main lines of his sketch.¹

The Mint, if it was functioning before the reign of Carausius (286-293), produced no coins which can be assigned to it on grounds either of style or of mint-marks. The suggestion that it existed in the 2nd century, and that such coins as the Britannia types of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius were its work,² is without probability. The barbarous imitations of early Imperial coins, which were without doubt made in Britain, need not have been manufactured in London any more than in any other part of the island where Roman coins circulated.

Carausius³ issued gold, silver, and copper washed with silver in London, which was probably the first of his British mints to operate. The aurei, reading *conservat. aug.* and *conservatori augg.*, bear the mint-mark M(oneta) L(ondinii); the inscription on the latter shows that it can hardly be earlier than the understanding with Diocletian and Maximian in A.D. 289-90. Other aurei of Carausius without any mint-mark are also supposed to have been struck at London. But the extreme rarity of all his gold coins suggests that the provision at the mint for issues in that metal must have been small. It is to be observed that Carausius struck his gold on the low standard of about 4 gr. 36 (average), apparently intended for the standard of $\frac{1}{10}$ lb. or 4 gr. 68 introduced by Diocletian. Although this standard seems to have been abolished by its author as early as 286, the date cannot be taken as a *terminus ante quem* for the gold coins of Carausius, since (as has just been stated) some of them refer to the three Augusti and must belong to 289 or later. Moreover, Allectus followed his predecessor's example. Many coins on the low standard must have remained in circulation throughout the Empire after its official abolition and Carausius would make these his model.

The silver coinage, consists, with one or two exceptions, of denarii without the mark of London, but with the letters RSR in the exergue; on the analogy of COM(itis) on later Roman solidi, these letters are to be explained as R(ationalis) S(ummae) R(ei) rather than as a local mint-mark. The fabric and style of these coins associate them with London rather than any other mint. Exceptional denarii are those inscribed *virtus inv(icti) aug(usti)* with the mint-mark L.

The bulk of the coinage issued by Carausius from the London mint consists, however, of "antoniniani" of copper washed with silver, bearing the mint-mark ML or S(acra) M(oneta) L(ondinii); many have also other issue-marks which have not yet been explained.

In addition to the pieces already described, Carausius struck at London aurei with the name and portrait of Maximian and the legend *salus augg.* on the same low standard as those in his own name, as well as copper of Maximian and Diocletian with the London mark. That he also struck aurei with the name and portrait of Diocletian is to be presumed, though no example has survived. The famous copper coin with the portraits of the three emperors jugate, *Carausius et fratres sui*, was not issued from London; it has the mint-mark C (Camulodunum? Clausentum? Corinium?).

The number of officinae operating at the London mint is uncertain; it has been thought that there were as many as six; but so elaborate an organization is unlikely to have existed in the circumstances.

Allectus (293-296)⁴ issued from London gold (on the same standard as had been used by Carausius) and copper (silvered) with the mint-marks ML or MSL, but no silver. With the disappearance of the usurper and the capture of London (commemorated on a remarkable medallion of Constantius I, which

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1867, 57-62, 321 ff.

² *Num. Chron.*, 1907, 359 ff.

³ See especially P. H. Webb, *The Reign and Coinage of Carausius*, 1908 (reprinted from *Num. Chron.*, 1907).

⁴ Webb in *Num. Chron.*, 1906, 127-171.

was, however, struck not at London but at Trier),¹ the London Mint came into line with the other mints as reorganized by the reform of 296. It was, however, never again to issue gold or silver, except for a brief spell in the reign of Magnus Maximus. If we set aside the coins of Lugdunum which have been wrongly assigned to London, we find that, under the tetrarchy, the Mint issued folles of the usual types, with the marks LN, LON or PLN (*percutsa Londinii*), as well as a large number without any mint-mark, the attribution of which to London is based on their comparative commonness in British hoards. Not all unmarked folles, however, are necessarily of the London Mint. During the next period² from 305 onwards, a greater variety of mint-marks is found; PLN as before, PLON, MSL, MLL, MLN, possibly also PL—not to mention minor differentiae in the field of the coin. Of these, the form MLL still awaits explanation. A few unmarked coins have also been assigned to London. It would appear that this Constantinian coinage at London came to an end after the deaths of Crispus and Fausta, which took place in July and August 326; or perhaps earlier, since there are no coins of Constantius II, who became Caesar in Nov. 324. The coins offer no evidence of the existence of more than one officina during this period.

Hereafter Britain had to depend almost entirely on the Gallic mints for its new money. The coins of Valentinian I, Valens and Gratian inscribed S.M.L.A.P. which have been assigned to London³ are of Lugdunum.⁴

There are, however, gold solidi and silver siliquae of Magnus Maximus (383–388) bearing the letters AVGOB (*Augustae obryzum*) and AVGPS (*Augustae pusulatum*) or AVG alone. These mint-marks have been explained in the light of the fact that, probably about A.D. 368–9, Londinium received the name Augusta.⁵ One of the siliquae mentions the quinquennalia of the Emperor; unless, therefore, as is very probable, the vows were anticipated, the Mint must have been working down to 388, the last year of his reign. Otherwise we should have supposed that Magnus Maximus did not require to use the London Mint after he had secured his position in Gaul. In this connexion it is necessary to mention a base-metal coin of Theodosius I, of the types and fabric of the solidus, with the mint-mark AVGOB. The only recorded example, which is in the British Museum, appears to be cast from a genuine solidus; it seems to be not, as Count de Salis supposed, an ancient imitation, but a modern one. It is, however, evidence that genuine solidi existed. But, just as the coins of Maximian and Diocletian with the London mint-mark were issued by Carausius, it may be supposed that it was issued not by the Emperor whose name it bears, but by the usurper Magnus Maximus.

With these coins the activity of the Roman Mint of London, so far as the evidence of the coins allows us to judge, comes to an end.

KEY TO PLATE 65.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. CARAVSIUS 286–293. Gold. CONSERVATORI
AVGGG—ML. | 11. CONSTANTIVS I. Consecration. 306. Bronze.
MEMORIA FELIX—PLN. |
| 2. MAXIMIAN I struck by Carausius. Gold. SALVS
AVGGG—ML. | 12. LICINIVS I 307–24. Bronze. SOLI INVICTO
COMITI—TF—PLN. |
| 3. CARAVSIUS Silver. FELICITAS—RSR. | 13. CONSTANTINE I 309–313. Bronze. COMITI
AVGG—PLN. |
| 4. „ Bronze. PAX AVGGG—SP—
MLXXI. | 14. CONSTANTINE I 309–313. Bronze. SECVRITAS
AVGG—PLN. |
| 5. „ Bronze. IOVI VICTORIA—FO—
ML. | 15. CRISPVS 320–324. Bronze. BEATA TRANQ-
LITAS—PLON. |
| 6. ALLECTVS 293–296. Gold. VIRTVS AVG—
MSL. | 16. HELENA 324–326. Bronze. SECVRITAS REIP-
VBLICE—PLON. |
| 7. ALLECTVS 293–296. Bronze. PAX AVG—SA—
ML. | 17. MAGNVS MAXIMVS 383–8. Gold. VICTORIA
AVGG—AVGOB. |
| 8. DIOCLETIAN 296–305. Bronze. GENIO POPVLI
ROMANI. | 18. MAGNVS MAXIMVS Silver. VICTORIA AVGG—
AVGPS. |
| 9. MAXIMIAN. Abdication 305–6. Bronze. PROVI-
DENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG. | 19. MAGNVS MAXIMVS Silver. VOT V MVLT
X—AVG. |
| 10. MAXIMIAN. Restored 306–10. Bronze. MARS
VICTOR—PLN. | |

¹ The gold medallion (Pl. 67) of Constantius I, found at Beaurains, near Arras, on 21st September, 1922, weighs 53 gr. 10 and measures 42 mm. in diameter. On the obverse is the bust of Constantius Caesar to r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass, with the inscription FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOBIL CAES. On the reverse the Caesar, similarly attired, and carrying a spear in his r. hand, rides towards London, which is represented by a gate with two towers; before it kneels a woman holding out her hands to him. Below her, the word LON; below the line on which the Caesar rides, a galley to r., with four rowers, on waves; inscription around, REDDITOR LVCIS AETERNAE, and in exergue PTR. The lines of the ground under the rider and under the kneeling figure are on different levels. There is no indication of a bridge.

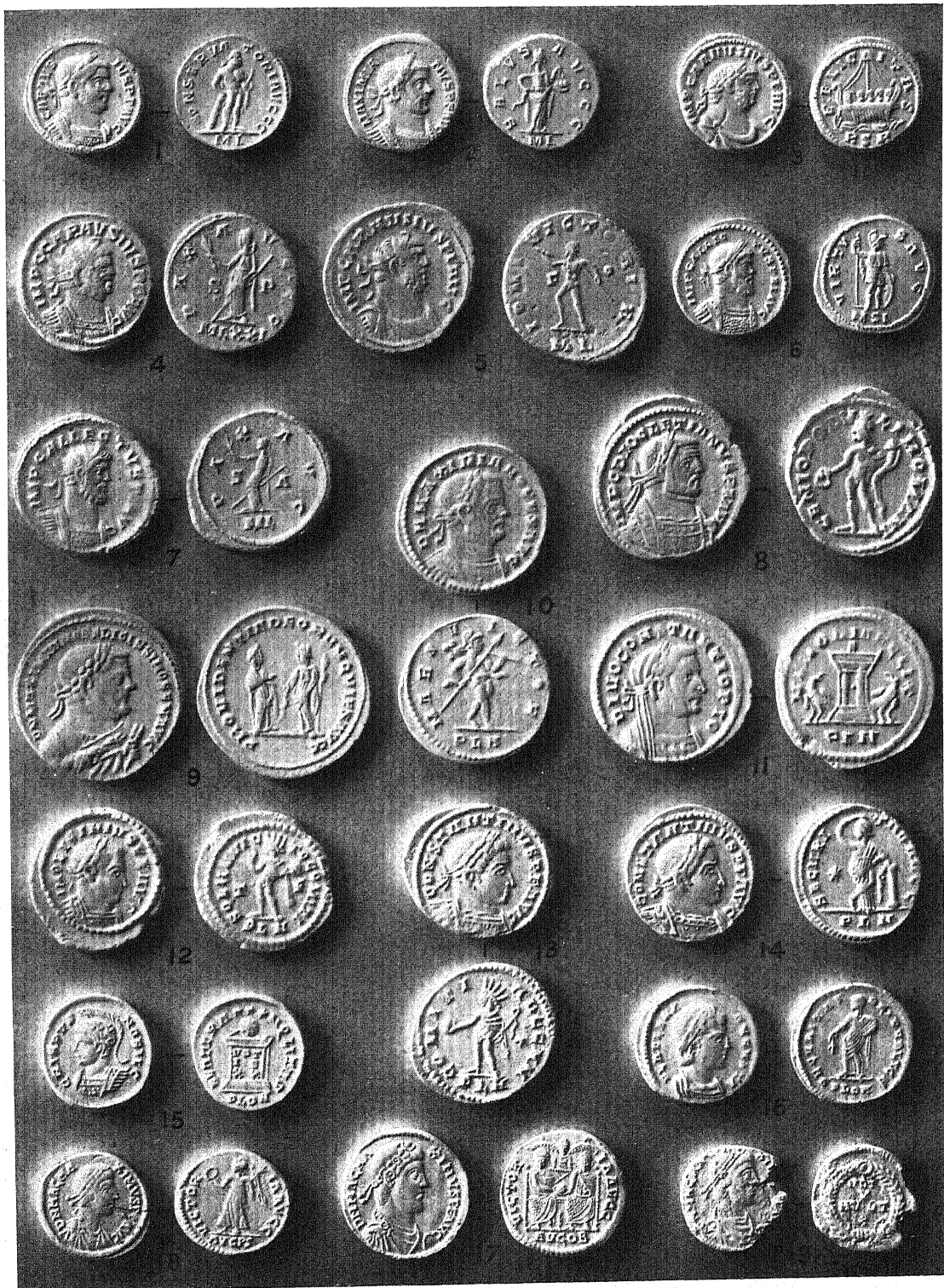
Frequently illustrated, first by J. Babelon in *Archéologie*, Jan., 1924, Pl. VII. The reading LEGIS for LVCIS proposed by Alföldy, *Zeitschr. für Numismatik*, 36, 1926, 171–2 is not substantiated by the electrotype facsimile of the medallion. This piece having been scheduled as a national monument, has been acquired by the Arras Museum. Two other smaller gold medallions of Constantius Caesar, from the same find, representing him raising Britannia from the ground, with the legend PIETAS AVGG, are in the British Museum; these also were struck at Trier. Doubtless the tools of the London Mint were not adequate to the production of such large pieces.

² J. Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne*, II, 1–64.

³ *Num. Chron.*, 1915, 482 ff. (Evans).

⁴ *Amm. Marc.*, XXVII, 8, 7, and XXVIII, 3, 1; cf. "Londinium Augusti" in the Ravenna Geographer.

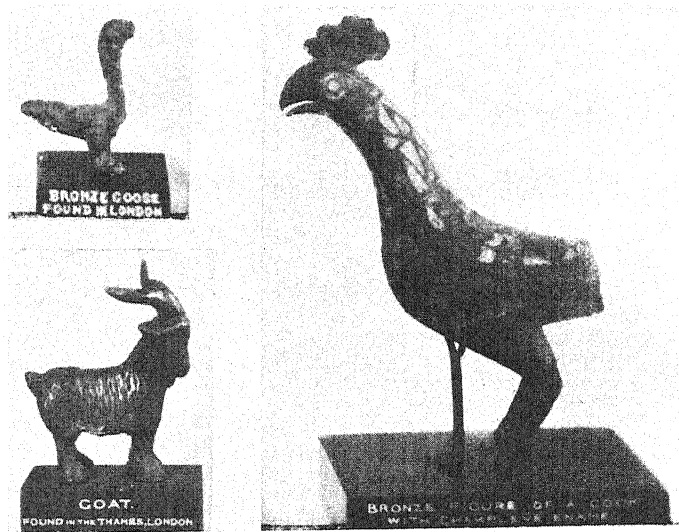
⁵ *Num. Chron.*, 1924, 69–74 (Alföldy).



CASTS OF COINS of the Roman Mint of London. *British Museum.*
(See list p. 188).



BRONZE STATUETTES found in the Thames, etc. *British Museum.* (1/2).
See p. 194.



BRONZE FIGURES found in the Thames, etc.
British Museum. (1/2). See p. 194.



GOLD MEDALLION of Constantius I found near Arras, 1922.
 See pp. 33 and 188.
 From *Aréthuse*.



BRONZE STATUETTE found in Queen Street, 1842.

British Museum. (1/2). See p. 46.

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(II) LIST OF THE CHIEF FINDS.

A.—HOARDS.

1. ALDERSGATE STREET. A vase of red ware, which when found contained denarii, was formerly in the Hilton Price Collection [V.C.H. London, I, 86].
 2. CLAPTON. "During some repairs at Temple Mills, on the borders of Hackney Marsh, in the year 1783, an urn was found full of Roman coins . . . from Julius Caesar to Constantine the Great" [*Trans. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, III, 196].
 3. FENCHURCH STREET. Found in July, 1922, at a depth of 18 ft., in relaying house-drain by No. 146, 12 denarii (perhaps part of a larger hoard), now in Guildhall Museum. Vespasian (3), Trajan (4), Hadrian (2), Antoninus Pius (1), Faustina I (1) and M. Aurelius (1). The last: M ANTONINVS AVG ARM PARTH MAX, Head r. laureate, bearded. Rev. TR P [XX] IMP III COS III and in exergue PAX. Peace standing l, holding branch in r., cornucopiae in l. Cohen, 434—A.D. 166.
 4. FENCHURCH STREET. 1926. 23 antoniniani of Valerian I (3), Gallienus (2), Salonina (1), Saloninus (2), Postumus (13), Tetricus I (1), Tetricus II (1); 20 attributable to Gaul (Lugdunum), three to Rome; now in London Museum. Note by H. Mattingly (unpublished).
 5. FETTER LANE. Autumn, 1908. Pot containing 46 billon and copper tetradrachms struck at Alexandria, said to have been dug up during excavations for the erection of a house. The coins range from Nero, year 5, to Carinus (A.D. 283-285), year 2. In spite of the long period covered, the appearance of the coins (which are in the British Museum) favours the assumption that they come from one find, and, since Alexandrian coins are very frequently found sporadically in this country, both alone and in association with Roman, there is no strong reason to doubt the authenticity of this discovery [F. D. Ringrose in *Num. Chron.*, 1911, pp. 357-8].
 6. HIGHGATE. Hoard of 4th century bronze rumoured to have been found at Highgate "a few years ago"; none seen [H. Mattingly in *Num. Chron.*, 1925, 398].
 7. LIME STREET, 1882. Pot found at a depth of 17 or 18 ft. containing a gold ring and about 500 denarii and antoniniani, silver and billon, of Commodus and nearly all emperors and empresses from Albinus to Trajan Decius. Date of deposit in or after 249 or 250 [J. Evans in *Num. Chron.*, 1882, 57-60; 1883, 278-281].
 8. LOMBARD STREET and BIRCHIN LANE. 1786. Found in digging a sewer in these streets. "Near 300 brass" of "Constantinus and Tetricus" were found in the ground together. Other finds, apparently disconnected, comprised gold of Nero, Galba, and Antoninus Pius, a denarius of Severus Alexander, and æs of various persons from Claudius to Diocletian [Gough in *Arch.*, VIII (1787), 126; T. Allen, *Hist. Lond.*, I, 29].
 9. LONDON BRIDGE APPROACH. On the site of Lloyd's Bank, 17 burnt bronze coins, 2 of Agrippa and the remainder of Claudius were found together at a depth of about 15 ft. [F. Lambert in *Arch.*, LXXI, 57; subsequently reviewed by H. Mattingly].
 10. NICHOLAS LANE. Eleven brass coins—5 of Trajan, 1 of Hadrian, 1 of Aelius Caesar, 1 of Lucilla, 1 of Faustina the Elder and 2 of Antoninus Pius from a rubbish pit at a depth of 22 ft., are in the London Museum. Identified by H. Mattingly.
 11. OLD FORD. February, 1866. A quarter of a mile from the Ferry towards London, in a fork between the two roads which branched off, one to the N.W. to cross Cambridge Heath, the other to the S.W. to Bethnal Green. Pot full of "3rd brass" coins of Allectus; about one-third examined, all with "galley" reverse. Number not stated [Wm. Allen in *Num. Chron.*, 1866, 304-5].
 12. SOUTHWARK. Seen April, 1902. Found during excavations for "tube" railway, close to the river, 18 ft. below surface, on a bed of peat moss, 17 æs of Agrippa (1), Claudius (3), Nero (11) and Vespasian (2) [G. F. Hill in *Num. Chron.*, 1903, 99-102].

13. SOUTHWARK. In or before 1825, "in digging for the erection of a steam-engine at Messrs. Barclay and Perkins' Brewery [on the W. side of Borough High Street], a human skeleton was discovered, and between the legs was found a vessel with several Roman coins, chiefly of the lower empire, in it" [*Gent. Mag.*, 1825, II, 633].

14. SOUTHWARK. In Grove Street (probably The Grove, now part of Ewer Street) in 1864, "on May 1 there was discovered, in digging a trench at the corner of Grove Street, Southwark, two skeletons; and between them remains of an earthen *olla* which had been filled with small brass coins, 554 of which . . . consisted entirely of rude imitations of the imperial money of the second-half of the 3rd century, some bearing the busts and names of Victorinus, Tetricus I and II, and Claudius Gothicus" [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XX, 339].

15. TAVISTOCK SQUARE, BLOOMSBURY. November, 1924. Some 700 bronze of the Constantinian period. Of these 667 were examined: Licinius I (12), Constantine I (308), Crispus (113), Constantine II (148), Constantius II (46), Helena (26), Fausta (12), Constantinopolis (2). Mints: Aquileia (7), Arelate (41), Constantinopolis (1), Cyzicus (4), Heracleia (5), Londinium (47), Lugdunum (71), Nicomedia (5), Rome (26), Siscia (31), Thessalonica (21), Ticinum (22), Treviri (375), Uncertain (11) [H. Mattingly in *Num. Chron.*, 1925, p. 398].

16. WELL STREET, JEWIN STREET, 1846. "Close by the old London Wall, a few yards from the outside of the circular bastion still remaining in Cripplegate churchyard." Between 70 and 80 denarii of Galba, Vespasian, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Sabina, Antoninus Pius and Faustina, in good preservation [*Num. Chron.*, 1846-1847, 85]. A note in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, II, 272, implies that this was a hoard.

B.—OTHER FINDS.

1. CHRIST'S HOSPITAL. Discovered separately during the digging of the site in 1908-9: *æs* of Nero (1), Vespasian, (4), Domitian (1), Trajan (1), Hadrian (1), Ant. Pius (1). Faustina (2), Tetricus I (4), Carausius (2), Allectus (2), Constantius I (1), Constantine I (1), Licinius (3), Constantine II (1) [F. Lambert in *Arch.*, LXIII, 338].

2. LONDON BRIDGE. Coins found at various times from 1834 to 1841, in the bed of the Thames along the line of London Bridge. Several thousands, ranging from the Republican period (silver, base silver, and lead plated) to the time of Honorius; three brass medallions of M. Aurelius, Faustina Jun. and Commodus; 2 gold of Maximian (one struck by Carausius), 1 gold of Crispus; Imperial denarii and antoniniani (the greater proportion of bronze washed with silver; these especially abundant of Severus and Julia); silver of Caracalla and Otacilia purposely broken in half; also a half of the Urbs Roma type in silver. *Aes* of the Empire from Augustus to Honorius; and some hundred minimi [C. Roach Smith in *Num. Chron.*, IV, 1841-2, 147-168, 186-194, and *Arch.*, XXIX, 161 ff. (Cp. *Arch.*, XXV, 600, for coins found from 1824 to 1831)]. Roach Smith's theory that these coins came, at least in part, from dedicatory deposits, is confirmed by the prevalence of the plated or base metal coins [see G. Macdonald on the use of tin and lead coins for dedication, *Num. Chron.*, 1905, 14 ff].

3. LONDON WALL and THROGMORTON AVENUE, corner of. About 1872. Found in excavation of site of the Hall of the Carpenters' Company, 44 Roman or Byzantine

coins, mostly in poor condition; 7 denarii from M. Aurelius to Severus and Domna; 37 *æs* from Augustus to Constantine II; also 9 bronze of Byzantine emperors from Justin II (565-578) to Andronicus II (1282-1328) and 15 modern coins. No record of the numbers of separate finds [P. H. Webb in *Num. Chron.*, 1903, 102-104].

4. POST OFFICE, ST. MARTIN'S-LE-GRAND. Excavations on the site of the old Post Office in 1913 produced: Claudius (1), Nero (1), Domitian (1), Trajan (2), Antoninus Pius (2), Faustina I (1), Jewish, Second Revolt, A.D. 132-135 (1), Victorinus (1), Valentinian I (1). The Jewish coin of bronze; metal of others not stated [F. Lambert in *Arch.*, LXVI, 240-241].

5. QUEEN STREET, CHEAPSIDE. 1842. Coins of Carausius and Allectus found at a depth of 12 to 15 ft. not many yards from the spot near the Wall from which the bronze figure of an archer came [W. Chaffers in *Arch.*, XXX, 544].

6. TOWER. September, 1777. "Found in digging for the foundations of a new office for the Board of Ordnance": Two gold solidi of Arcadius (Rome and Milan), one of Honorius (Milan) and a stamped silver ingot [J. Milles in *Arch.*, V (1779), 291-305; A. J. Evans in *Num. Chron.*, 1915, 509].

7. WARWICK SQUARE. Discovered in 1881 on site of premises of J. Taylor & Sons, 37 *æs*, ranging from Claudius I to Constantius II, found separately [A. Taylor in *Arch.*, XLVIII, 245-247].

In considering the evidence of finds on the question of the relative intensity of occupation at various periods, the number of coins found dispersed is more important than the numbers found in hoards. For hoards may be imported, and their discovery is so much a matter of accident, that a single hoard of large proportions may completely throw out the balance. It has also been observed that, whatever the civil population, the legions had to be paid, and silver hoards may be explained by that necessity. The following table, combined from the details given above, shows in column A the numbers of coins of all metals when hoards and dispersed finds are included together, in column B only the numbers of coins found dispersed. In compiling the table it has been necessary to ignore such indications as "near 300 brass of Constantinus and Tetricus found in the ground together" and "a pot full of third brass of Allectus"; and even so, the data available are so vague that only a very distant approximation to accuracy is possible. Obviously,

if figures were to be had for all hoards, the difference between the two columns would be more striking. As it is, the Lime Street silver hoard alone would make the slackening of occupation in the early 3rd century seem much less obvious were it not for the observation as to the necessity of pay for the legions above recorded.

	A	B
Pre-Imperial	6	6
Augustus to Vitellius	217	167
Vespasian to Commodus	845	819
Pertinax to Trebonianus Gallus	672	76
Valerian to Allectus	919	326
Diocletian to Constans	860	192
Magnentius to Honorius	27	24

Column B, which, as observed, gives the more trustworthy evidence as to the intensity of civil occupation, is entirely in keeping with the evidence from other sites.

A glance at the selection of coins exhibited at the Guildhall Museum, which may be taken as representative of coins found in London, shows that silver is well represented from Vespasian to Trajan and from Septimius Severus to Severus Alexander. From this last emperor onwards the larger æs, properly speaking, is scarce, the currency consisting from Philip onwards of antoniniani, gradually becoming baser, and of other small bronze down to Valens.

APPENDIX V.

ON THE SITE OF THE ROMAN BRIDGE AT LONDON.

BY GUY PARSLOE.

the problem of the Roman bridge at London lies largely in the fact that its solution throw some light upon the street-plan of the city, and in particular upon the position from south to north. Competent authorities have long assumed the existence of a bridge, the absence of positive proof being compensated by the weight of probability.¹ The picture itself is known to have come to light, and the recorded archaeological evidence, to strengthen the argument from probability for the existence of a bridge, seems to termine exactly the site on which it stood. In 1834, oak and chestnut piles were found in names Street at the end of Botolph's Wharf gateway and warehouse, but these, so closely packed, appear to have continued both eastward and westward, and in their value as evidence of a bridge at this point.² In the bed of the river at the mediaeval bridge were found at various times in the first half of the last century coins and other objects, including thousands of coins of all periods,³ but the possibility is difficult to accept these finds as final proof that the Roman bridge and its mediaeval bridge occupied the same line.

Archaeological evidence is scanty and inconclusive, but its interpretation may perhaps be aided by a piece of supposed literary evidence which has long encumbered the area. It is held by many students of London antiquities,⁴ that the Roman bridge was situated at the site erected by Peter of Colechurch has often been supported by Stow's statement in 1176. the Stone Bridge over the river of Thames at London, was begun to be built by the Peter of Cole Church, neare unto the Bridge of timber, but some what more I read that Buttolfe wharfe was in the Conquerors time at the head of London

who first directed attention to a copy of the charter on which Stow's opinion was based contains a misprint, the repetition of which in such a place as *Archæologia*⁵ suggests only a waste of time to put together a few notes upon the document in question. It is a known cartulary of St. Peter's, Westminster, now among the Cottonian collection, and purports to be a copy of a confirmation by William I of a gift made to the monks of *de porta Sancti Botulphi* and confirmed by Edward the Confessor. This portion is ascribed by Sir G. F. Warner to the late 13th century,¹⁰ while another copy of the Westminster Domesday,¹¹ belonging to the early 14th century,¹² has been printed with the description "spurious."¹³ The essential part of the supposed charter follows: "Sciatis me concessisse deo et sancto Petro Westmonasterii et vitali modus de porta sancti Botulphi eis dedit quum monachus ibi effectus fuit id est cum domibus suis et unum wearf quod est ad capud pontis Londoniarum et alias lem urbe habuit."¹⁴

nith, see *Arch.*, XXIX, 159 ff. and *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 20-21; cf. J. E. Price, *Rom. Antig. . . on the site of the Nat.* Dr. P. Norman in *Arch.*, LX, 219-29; Prof. Haverfield in *Journ. Rom. Studies*, I, 152-3; and Prof. Lethaby,

these discoveries in Appendix I to these notes.

, see Appendices 2 and 3 to these notes and *V.C.H., London*, I, 109-11, which gives further references. cent *Contributions to the Early History of London*, in *History*, IX, 93.

1. *Exch.*, XII; J. E. Price, *op. cit.*, 18-19.

Stow's method may be clearly seen by comparing his translation of the charter (I, 43) with the passage quoted above me grant in the *Survey*, I, 21-2, 206.

63b.

Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey, 99.

Key Monuments: fo. 98a.

93.

Monum., I, 126-7 (XXXI), 58 (217).

63 b.: abbreviations expanded.

Professor Lethaby, in a recent book,¹ has already expressed doubts as to the validity of the interpretation put upon this document by Stow and adopted by his followers. It will be observed that there is actually no mention of St. Botolph's wharf in the supposed grant. Stow transfers the donor's name to the property, using "gate" and "wharf" interchangeably. But even if we assume that *Alunodus de porta Sancti Botulphi* was so named from the ownership of Botolph wharf, we are surely not forced to assume further that the "unum wearf" of the charter was necessarily that wharf. Indeed the rubric in the Westminster Domesday seems to imply the gift of both "porta" and "wharf" as different things, for it reads: "Item carte eiusdem regis de wearf quod est ad capud pontis et de porta sancti botulphi Londoniarum."²

The same gift is mentioned in a second charter, purporting to be of the date 1067, the earliest copy of which is among the Cotton Charters at the British Museum.³ In the manuscript catalogue of Cotton Charters there it is said to be "probably a forgery or attempted facsimile," and the date is given conjecturally as about 1250. The Westminster Domesday again provides an early 14th-century copy,⁴ and later exemplifications are to be found on the Charter Rolls and elsewhere. It is summarized by Professor Davis⁵ and printed in full in the Calendar of Charter Rolls,⁶ in each case with the description "spurious." The part relating to the wharf reads as follows: "Iterum quidam alius honorabilis vir eiusdem urbis Aluuoldus nomine de porta sancti botulphi quia heredem non habuit consentiente Eadwardo rege sanctum Petrum heredem fecit de dominica curia sua et de domibus et de terris suis et de uno hwearfo quod est ad applicationem navium ad caput pontis illius civitatis,"⁷

It would of course be rash to suggest that these fabricated charters lack all foundation of truth, but we may take it that the manufacturer of the copies we possess, dating from the late 13th and early 14th century, had in view the establishment of a title to property either already in the monastery's hands or the object of an attempt to obtain possession. We might, therefore, be tempted to make the double assumption suggested above and to identify the wharf at the head of the bridge as Botolph wharf, if we could prove that the Abbey ever possessed it or ever asserted a claim to its possession. So far no evidence in support of either alternative has been advanced, and while the earlier history of the property is somewhat obscure, there can be no doubt that in the later years of the 13th century and thenceforward Botolph wharf was in quite other hands. For in 1297 John Bretun, warden of the City, appointed by the King, restored to the Commonalty "the common wharf, in a ruinous condition, known as St. Botolph's wharf, with all rents, ruins and appurtenances,"⁸ From the use of the word "restored" it seems likely that the wharf had been seized for the King in 1285, when the civic constitution was suspended, but we do not at present know at what date it first passed into the City's possession, though in 1367/8—1368/9, we are told that "the said wharf was given to the City in severalty, as appears by divers muniments in the Treasury of the City in the custody of the Chamberlain, for the profit of the Commonalty of the said City."⁹ Strype cites a grant of 10 Edward I (1281–2) giving "one common Key of St. Butolph next Billingsgate" to a person whom he names in one place Henry and in another Richard de Kingston.¹² Strype asserts that the grant was for the use of the Vintners and refers to the records of the Company as his authority but access to these has unfortunately proved impossible and other available sources, including the archives of the Corporation at the Guildhall, have so far failed to yield any confirmation of Strype's story. A grant for the benefit of the Vintners at this time would well agree with the benevolent attitude assumed by Edward I towards the wine trade,¹¹ and a Richard de Kingston, whose will was enrolled at the Court of Husting in 1286/7, certainly left property in the parish of St. Botolph Billingsgate.¹² From the Husting Rolls, however, we can trace the process by which his property was obtained, and a study of the bounds specified proves that it lay on the N. side of Thames Street, at the eastern corner of Botolph Lane or Pudding Lane.¹³ Clearly then if Richard de Kingston received the wharf in 1281–2 he must have disposed of it before his death, and it is curious that no record of that transference remains on the Husting Rolls. The records of the Bridge Estate, not yet available for consultation, may perhaps reveal the steps by which the wharf passed into the keeping of the city. For our immediate purpose the existing evidence is adequate: it proves that in the late 13th century the wharf did not belong to the Abbey.

¹ *Londinium*, 82.

² fo. 98a: abbreviations expanded.

³ Cott. Chart., VI, 3.

⁴ fo. 51.

⁵ *Regesta*, I, 4 (11).

⁶ IV, 330 ff.

⁷ Cott. Chart., VI, 3: abbreviations expanded.

⁸ *Calendar of Letter-Book B*, 243.

⁹ *Calendar of Letter-Book G*, 225.

¹⁰ *Stow's Survey*, ed. Strype, I, Bk. 2, p. 166: II, 193.

¹¹ See A. L. Simon, *History of the Wine Trade*, I, 132 ff.

¹² Guildhall: Husting Roll, XVII, 2.

¹³ Husting Rolls: X, 29, 30, 31: XVII, 2, 36.

Enough has been said, we think, to show how little reliance can really be placed upon Stow's charter by those who seek to determine the site of the Roman bridge. The documents themselves are not charters of William I but fabrications of the late 13th and early 14th century, and it is doubtful whether by the "unum wearf" of which they speak we should understand Botolph's wharf or some one of the other wharves belonging to the Abbey. We have no other reason to suppose that Botolph Wharf belonged to St. Peter's in earlier times and we know that when these documents were manufactured it neither belonged to the Abbey nor stood at the head of London Bridge, save in a very loose sense. Such dubious evidence is a hindrance rather than a help in the solution of the problem, and it is to be hoped that its removal may open the way to a fresh examination of the question. Fresh evidence might yet be revealed by a careful study of the early topography of the banks of the Thames at and about this point.

1. *Discoveries at Botolph's Wharf, 1834.*—(The following note from Kelsey, *Descr. of Sewers*, was printed by Dr. P. Norman and Mr. F. W. Reader in Appendix I to their article on "Recent Discoveries in connexion with Roman London," in *Arch.*, LX, 235. Compare Tite, *Cat. Antiq. Roy. Exch.*, XXIV, and Price, *Rom. Antiq. Nat. Safe Dep. Co.'s Premises*, 18.)

"West End of Lower Thames Street, 1834."

"In building this sewer nearly the whole line was found full of oak and chestnut piles, but much closer and larger at the end of Botolph's Wharf gateway and warehouse than in other places, and in continuation of it westward at the foot of Fish Street Hill very substantial masonry was found, and beneath it was a strong run of clear water."

2. *Discoveries in the Thames at New London Bridge, 1824-31.*—The most important objects discovered "in excavating for the foundations of the new London Bridge, and its approaches" were "a considerable quantity of Roman coins" ranging from Augustus to Alexander Severus, "with a great variety of others of the Lower Empire," recovered between 1824 and 1831 (*Gent. Mag.*, 1827, II, 69; *Arch.*, XXV, 600). In 1825 "a small silver figure of Harpocrates" was found, according to Roach Smith in the Thames (*Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 73; pl. XXII, 1, 2), but according to T. Allen "in digging the southern abutment foundation" of the new bridge (*Hist. and Antiq. of Lond.*, I, 32; pl.). In addition to these the *Gent. Mag.*, 1827, II, 69, mentions "a leaden figure of a horse."

3. *Discoveries during the demolition of Old London Bridge.*—The removal of the old bridge and the deepening of the river at this point resulted in the discovery of a large number of objects. Of these the first is the head of a bronze statue of Hadrian found "near the third arch from the London side of the new London Bridge, opposite Fresh and Botolph Wharfs" (*Gent. Mag.*, 1835, I, 493), or "a little below old London bridge, on the Southwark side of the river" (*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, I, 287; cf. *Arch. Journ.*, I, 113; Roach Smith, *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 65, and *Retrospections*, I, 118, II, 206). A late account gives the date of the discovery as 1832 (*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXIV, 75).

Next came a set of mutilated bronze statuettes, a large number of coins, and some miscellaneous objects. Five bronzes were found in January, 1837, representing "a Priest, or devotee of Cybele; a Mercury; an Apollo; an Atys; and the fragment of a Mercury, or, in the opinion of Sir Richard Westmacott, of a Jupiter. A pedestal of bronze was also found in the same spot" (*Arch.*, XXVIII, 38-46). The site is defined as "near the foundations of the old Bridge, and principally about a dozen yards below the second arch of the new edifice" (*Arch.*, XXIX, 160-6), but the Atys and the right leg of the Jupiter were recovered from gravel taken thence and spread along the towing path of the Thames between Hammersmith and Barnes (Roach Smith, *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 68-70, pls. XV-XIX, and *Cat. Lond. Antiq.*,

p. 5, No. 13). Two other bronze statuettes followed, the first of a "male figure girt in a toga over a tunic" and supposed by Roach Smith to represent "an artisan of some kind, at work" (*Cat. Lond. Antiq.*, 7, No. 16, and *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 74-6), and the second a "disjointed and decapitated figure" apparently of "a captive seated," which was found at Barnes probably about 1845-6 (*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, II, 100; Roach Smith, *Cat. Lond. Antiq.*, 5, No. 14, pl. II, and *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 68-70).

The coins, "a series extending from Julius to Honorius" (*Arch.*, XXIX, 160-6) numbered many thousands. The bulk of those found between 1834 and 1841 were described by Roach Smith in the *Num. Chron.*, IV, 147-68, 187-94, and there are many references to isolated specimens (*Gent. Mag.*, 1833, I, 161; 1835, II, 80; *Arch. Journ.*, I, 113; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, IV, 55-7; Roach Smith, *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 20, 74-6, and *Retrospections*, I, 118, 128; II, 206). Many were gathered from "gravel spread on the banks of the Surrey Canal, and on the towing path between Hammersmith and Barnes, and at Putney" (*Num. Chron.*, IV, 194).

Further objects discovered at the same time were recorded by Roach Smith in *Arch.*, XXIX, 160-6. They are "a peacock in bronze" (see also Roach Smith, *Cat. Lond. Antiq.*, 9, No. 23; *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 74-6; and *Retrospections*, II, 206); "two elegant bronze handles of vases" (cf. Roach Smith, *Cat. Lond. Antiq.*, 10, No. 25; and *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 74-6); "three weights," "the beams of scales in brass," "a figure of a goat in iron cased with silver" (Roach Smith, *Cat. Lond. Antiq.*, 8, No. 21, and *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 74-6); fibulae, spear-heads, rings (cf. *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, II, 199), and a bronze forceps "ornamented with the heads of deities and animals" (*Arch.*, XXX, 548-50, pl. XXIV; *Arch. Journ.*, I, 113; Roach Smith, *Coll. Antiq.*, II, 60; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.*, 12, No. 29; and *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 72-3, pl. XXI). The date of the discovery of the last is stated as 1840, and the others were probably found about the same time.

The "head of a wolf or dog" found "in a mass of conglomerate in the bed of the Thames, near London Bridge" (Roach Smith, *Cat. Lond. Antiq.*, 9, No. 24; and *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 74-6), the representation in bronze of "the prow of a galley" (Roach Smith, *Cat. Lond. Antiq.*, 10, No. 26, pl. III, fig. I; and *Illus. Rom. Lond.*, 74-6), "abundance of broken Roman tiles and pottery" (*Arch. Journ.*, I, 113), and the "head of a Roman statuette of marble" found "near the site of the old London bridge" in 1837 (*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XIII, 317-8), complete the list of finds that can with certainty be ascribed to this operation, though an iron key found in the "Thames, near the site of old London Bridge" in 1846 probably belongs to the same group (*Guildhall Museum Cat.* (1908), 65, No. 44). In the Guildhall are also an iron knife, an iron javelin-head, three bronze keys, and a vase of yellowish ware, all from the same part of the Thames (*Cat.* (1908), 37, No. 68; 57, No. 259; 65-6, Nos. 48, 58 and 63; and 93, No. 362).

APPENDIX VI.

(a) LIST OF REFERENCES ON MAP A.

The headings are those under which the individual items are described in the Inventory.

1. Tower of London. Cold Harbour Tower.
2. Tower Hill, E., side.
3. Jewry Street, Nos. 18-20.
4. Crutched Friars, Northumberland Alley.
5. Fenchurch Street, No. 80A.
6. " " , near Billiter Street.
7. " " Nos. 46-47.
8. " " , near Mincing Lane.
9. " " No. 9.
10. Mincing Lane, N. End.
11. " "
12. " " Dunster Court.
13. " " Commercial Sale Rooms.
14. Mark Lane.
15. " " No. 27.
16. Seething Lane, near St. Olave's church.
17. Water Lane, Lower Thames Street.
18. St. Dunstan's Hill.
19. Thames Street, Lower, Coal Exchange.
20. " " Custom House.
21. " " Billingsgate and Botolph's Wharf.
22. " " foot of Fish Street Hill.
23. Pudding Lane.
24. Monument S. side.
25. Monument Street.
26. Eastcheap. Site of St. Andrew Hubbard.
27. " Roman Roadway.
28. Gracechurch Street, opposite St. Benet's Place.
29. " Site of St. Benet Gracechurch.
30. Fenchurch Street. W. end.
31. " Nos. 15-17.
32. " Site of St. Gabriel's Church.
33. Gracechurch Street. S. of Bell Yard.
34. " Between Corbet Court and Bell Yard.
35. Corbet Court, Gracechurch Street.
36. Leadenhall Market. Continuation of Basilica, on W. side of street.
37. " Site of Basilica.
38. " No. 7 Central Avenue.
39. Gracechurch Street. Spread Eagle Yard.
40. " No. 85.
41. " opposite St. Peter's Church.
42. Leadenhall Street. Pavement opposite E. India House.
43. " Site of East India House.
44. " Site of Rochester Buildings.
45. " Foundations on site of Lloyds.
46. " Pavements E. of Whittington Avenue.
47. " Pavements under roadway.
48. " P. and O. site.
49. Crosby Square, Bishopsgate Street.
50. St. Helens (Little).
51. Camomile Street.
52. St. Mary Axe, N. end.
53. Leadenhall Street. No. 77.
54. Bishopsgate Street (within). Pavement under No. 10 (old numbering).
55. " " Pavement under building of Gordon and Co.
56. " " Pavement behind Nos. 31 and 33.
57. Broad Street (Old). Pavement under Old Excise Office.
58. Bishopsgate Street (within). Pavement under No. 15.
59. Broad Street (Old). Pavement near Winchester House.
60. London Wall, top of Throgmorton Avenue.
61. " Site of Pitt Rivers' excavations.
62. Copthall Avenue.
63. Tokenhouse Yard.
64. Throgmorton Street, corner of Bartholomew Lane.
65. Lothbury, S.W., corner of Tokenhouse Yard.
66. " Pavement opposite St. Margaret's Church.
67. " Pavement opposite Founders' Court.
68. " Founders' Court.
69. Bank of England. Mosaic pavement.
70. " Pavement, etc.
71. " Well.
72. Bartholomew Lane.
73. Royal Exchange.
74. Cornhill. Site of Bank Buildings.
75. Threadneedle Street. No. 62.
76. " French Protestant Church (site of).
77. " N. of Merchant Taylors' Hall.
78. " Crown Court.
79. Cornhill. Bank of Australia.
80. " Nos. 56 and 57.
81. " No. 50.
82. " Site N. of St. Michaels' Church.
83. " No. 36.
84. Finch Lane.
85. " W. side.
86. Birchin Lane.
87. Cornhill No. 15.
88. Lombard Street.
89. St. Mary Woolnoth.
90. Lombard Street. No. 25.
91. " N. angle with Gracechurch Street.
92. Abchurch Lane.
93. Nicholas Lane.
94. King William Street, corner of Nicholas Lane.

95. Nicholas Lane. Site of pavement.
96. Nicholas Lane. Find-spot of inscription and wall.
97. King William Street. Nos. 3-6.
98. " " " Nos. 61-66.
99. Clement's Lane.
100. London Bridge Approach. Site S. of St. Michael Crooked Lane.
101. " " " Site of outer embankment.
102. " " " Site of inner embankment.
103. Miles Lane. E. side
104. " " " W. side.
105. Thames Street, Upper, corner of Arthur Street.
106. " " " foot of Suffolk Lane.
107. Laurence Pountney Lane.
108. Suffolk Lane.
109. Bush Lane.
110. " " " opposite Scot's Yard.
111. " " " Scot's Yard.
112. " " " Little Bush Lane.
113. " " " No. 10.
114. Cannon Street. Original site of London Stone.
115. " " " near Bush Lane.
116. Cannon Street Station. Site of Turnwheel Lane.
117. " " " "
118. Dowgate Hill.
119. College Street, Dowgate Hill. Dyers' Hall.
120. Cloak Lane.
121. " " " Site of St. John the Baptist, Walbrook.
122. Watling Street. *See also under* Cannon Street.
123. Budge Row.
124. Sise Lane.
125. Bucklersbury. Pavement, site now covered by Queen Victoria Street.
126. Queen Victoria Street. No. 1.
127. Pancras Lane.
128. Mansion House.
129. Poultry. St. Mildred's Court.
130. " " " Chapel Court.
131. Grocers' Hall, Princes Street.
132. Prince's Street.
133. St. Olave, Old Jewry.
134. Coleman Street. S. end.
135. " " " Site of Coleman Street Buildings.
136. Moorgate Street. Swan's Nest P.H. (site of).
137. King's Arms Yard, Moorgate Street.
138. Guildhall.
139. Love Lane, Wood Street.
140. Gresham Street, corner of Aldermanbury.
141. " " " corner of Wood Street.
142. " " " N.E. corner of Wood Street.
143. Huggin Lane, Wood Street.
144. Honey Lane. Site of Honey Lane Market.
145. King Street.
146. St. Mary le Bow, Cheapside.
147. Cheapside, near Bread Street.
148. Goldsmith's Hall, Foster Lane.
149. St. Martin le Grand.
150. Friday Street. Site of St. Matthew's church and adjoining site.
151. Watling Street.
152. " " " crossing of Queen Victoria Street.
153. Cannon Street, part formerly Basing Lane.
154. " " " Bath on S. side.
155. " " " part formerly Little Friday Street.
156. " " " E. of Basing Lane. (*See also under* St. Thomas Apostle).
157. " " " crossing of Queen Street.
158. Queen Street.
159. St. Thomas Apostle.
160. Maiden Lane, Garlick Hill.
161. Trinity Lane, Queen Victoria Street.
162. Bread Street Hill, now under Queen Victoria Street.
163. Huggin Lane, Thames Street.
164. Bread Street Hill.
165. Friday Street, corner of Knightrider Street.
166. Lambeth Hill.
167. Knightrider Street.
168. St. Peter's Hill, Upper Thames Street. N. end.
169. " " " " S. end.
170. Fish Street Hill (Old).
171. Sermon Lane.
172. Carter Lane.
173. Ludgate Square.
174. St. Paul's Cathedral, N.W. corner.
175. " " " N.E. corner of churchyard.
176. Paternoster Row.
177. " " " corner of Canon Row.
178. Paternoster Square, N.W. corner.
179. " " " W. corner of Rose Street.
180. " " " Nos. 26-27.
181. Warwick Square.
182. King Edward Street.

(b) LIST OF REFERENCES ON MAP B. (p. 150).

1. High Street, Southwark.
2. " " " " site of pavement.
3. " " " " King's Head Yard.
4. Stoney Street.
5. St. Thomas' Street.
6. St. Thomas's Hospital (site of).
7. St. Saviour Southwark, S.E. corner of churchyard.
8. " " " pavement S. of church.
9. St. Saviour Southwark, site of Grammar School.
10. Park Street, corner of Clink Street.
11. " " "
12. Southwark Street, site of Cure's College.
13. " " "
14. " " " site between Southwark Square and Worcester Street.
15. " " " site on N. side.

GLOSSARY.

- Acanthus.**—A plant, the leaves of which are used in the decoration of the Corinthian and Composite Orders of architecture.
- Amphora-ae.**—An earthenware vessel for storing wine or oil, generally of large size and with a blunt point at the base.
- Arretine Ware.**—A type of red glazed pottery made chiefly at Arretium (Arezzo) in Tuscany.
- Basilica.**—A large hall used as a court of justice and for other public purposes.
- Cantharus.**—A fountain or cistern in an atrium or courtyard.
- Castor Ware.**—Coarse pottery sometimes with applied slip-ornament, made in the neighbourhood of Castor in Northamptonshire.
- Chalcedony.**—A semi-precious stone of quartz.
- Crater.**—A vessel, for mixing wine and water, often bell-shaped and standing on a foot.
- Denarius.**—A Roman silver coin, equivalent to ten asses.
- Dupondius.**—A Roman coin, equivalent to two asses.
- Fibula-ae.**—A brooch with a pin, guard and catch, generally on the principle of the modern safety-pin.
- Guilloche.**—A running ornament consisting of curved interlacing or intersecting bands.
- Hallstatt Culture.**—A central and western European culture of the end of the Bronze and the beginning of the Iron Age (c. 1000–500 B.C.); so called from a cemetery in Upper Austria.
- Hypocaust.**—A low space contrived under some of the rooms of a Roman house for the circulation of hot air; the floor of the room above was commonly supported on a series of small piers called pilae.
- Lachrymatory** or tear-bottle, a fanciful use attributed in the 17th and 18th centuries to small glass vessels, actually used for holding perfumes or ointments.
- La Tène Culture.**—A western European culture equating with the early Iron Age; so called from a site on Lake Neuchâtel, Switzerland. Its stages are differentiated by the numbers I, II and III, and in this country IV is sometimes used for the latest stage which overlaps the Roman period.
- Mortarium-a.**—A flat basin with a flange and a roughened inner surface for pounding food.
- Opus signinum.**—A form of flooring composed of cement mixed with pounded brick.
- Patera-ae.**—A shallow saucer-like dish used, *inter alia*, for pouring the libation at a sacrifice.
- Pila-ae.**—A small pier used to support the floor of a room over a hypocaust.
- Samian ware** or **terra sigillata.**—A red glazed ware made in Gaul and Germany and often stamped with the name of the potter. So called from its false identification with the pottery of Samos.
- Strygil.**—A curved instrument, generally of metal, used to remove sweat from the body.
- Taurobolium-a.**—The rite of purification by the blood of a sacrificed bull, in the worship of Cybele and other deities.
- Tessera-ae.**—Small cubes of stone, marble, earthenware or glass used in the composition of mosaic pavements.
- Thyrsos** or **Thyrsus.**—A staff, terminating in a pine-cone and entwined with ivy, used in the rites of Bacchus.
- Upchurch Ware.**—A grey coarse pottery made at Upchurch and other places in Kent and Essex.

INDEX.

- Abchurch Lane**, pp. 106, 125.
Adelfius, Bishop of Colonia Londinensium, p. 5.
Administration, Roman, pp. 1, 33, 57, 60-2.
Aedui, Gaulish tribe of the, p. 26.
Aelius Caesar, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
Aeruli, tribe of the, p. 5.
Aesica, Roman fort of, p. 60.
Africa, Colonies founded by Septimius Severus in, p. 58.
Agrippa, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
Aislingen, Roman fort of, pp. 24, 181.
Aisne, potters of the, p. 21.
Akeman St., *see section* THE ROMAN ROADS OUTSIDE THE WALLS, p. 49 *et seq.*
Albinus, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
Albion, Island of, Britain alluded to as, p. 3.
Aldborough, Yorkshire (Roman town of), wall, p. 76.
Aldermanbury, p. 121.
 " **Postern**, pp. 90, 97.
Aldersgate St., and neighbourhood, pp. 35, 72, 91, 145.
Aldgate, and neighbourhood, pp. 14, 55, 85, 97, 157.
Alemanni, German tribe of the, p. 5.
Alexander Severus, *see* **Severus, Alexander**.
Alexandria, p. 3.
Alie Street, Whitechapel, Great and Little, p. 159.
All Hallows Church and Churchyard, pp. 80-1, 86, 94, 103.
Allectus, EMPEROR, pp. 1, 3, 4, 33, 61, 187; *see also under* **Coins**.
Altars, pp. 56 (to Augustus); 43, 120, 177 (to Diana).
America Square, pp. 75, 85, 94, 99.
Ammianus Marcellinus, HISTORIAN, pp. 1, 5, 34, 59, 60.
Amphitheatre, Southwark, p. 43.
Androgeus, son of Lud, p. 8.
Andronicus II, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
Anencletus, p. 59.
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, London mentioned in, under the year 457, p. 62.
Anonymus Ravennas, *see* **Ravennas, Anonymus**.
Antonine Itinerary, pp. 1, 3, 33.
Antoninus Pius, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
- Bacchante**, pp. 45, 108, 117.
Bacchus, pp. 45, 127.
Ball Court, p. 116.
Balmuildy, p. 154.
Baltic House, potters' stamps found on site of, p. 186.
Bank of England, site of, and neighbourhood, pp. 15, 16, 22, 46, 106, 155, 176.
 " **Australia, Union**, site of, p. 115.
 " **Station**, p. 155.
Barnes, objects found at or near, p. 194.
Bartholomew Lane, and neighbourhood, pp. 107, 144.
Basilica, The LONDON, pp. 35-42, 48, 110, 115, 121, 127.
 " **IN OTHER BRITISH TOWNS**, p. 42.
Basing Lane, pp. 111, 177.
Bastion House, Windsor Court, Aldersgate, site of, pp. 82, 104.
Bastions of the Town Wall, *see Special Section*, pp. 99-106; also pp. 69, 75, 79, 80-2.
Batavi, tribe of the, pp. 5, 6, 26.
Baths and Bath-Buildings, remains of, pp. 43-4, 111, 132, 134, 142, 144, 147.
Battersea, p. 169.
- Aosta**, city of, p. 82.
Apollo, temple to, pp. 9, 43.
Aqueducts, *see* **Drains and Drainage**.
Aquileia, city of, coins from mint of, p. 190.
Aræ Flaviae, Roman Station of (now **Rottweil**), pp. 57, 183.
Arcadius, EMPEROR, p. 82; *see also under* **Coins**.
Architectural Materials re-used, pp. 80-2, 92-3, 99, 100.
 Remains, pp. 34-45.
 " **Areas of Romano-British and Gallic towns**, pp. 35, 78.
Arelate, *see* **Arles**.
Arezzo, *see* **Arretium**.
Arles (Arelate), pp. 4, 34 (Council of); pp. 77-8, 81; coins from mint of, p. 190.
Arras, city of, medallion found at Beaurains near, pp. 33, 188.
Arretine Ware, *see* **Pottery** OF ITALIC ORIGIN.
Arretium (now Italian Town of **Arezzo**), pp. 24, 179-80.
Arrian, Hadrian's legate of Cappadocia, quotation from letter of, p. 44.
Arthur, KING, p. 63.
 " **Street**, pp. 134, 143.
Asclepiodotus, Military Colleague of Constantius Chlorus, pp. 16, 33.
Attacotti, tribe of the, p. 6.
Attis-Cybele cult, pp. 43, 194.
Augulus, Romano-British Bishop of London, p. 34.
Augusta, London known as, pp. 6, 7, 34, 59, 60, 73, 188.
Augustine, St., pp. 60, 67.
Augustus, EMPEROR, pp. 24, 27, 56, 58; *see also under* **Coins**.
Aulus Plautius, Roman Army of Invasion under, in the year 43, p. 2.
Aurelius, Marcus, EMPEROR, *see* **Marcus Aurelius**.
 " **Victor**, HISTORIAN, p. 33.
Authorities, CLASSICAL, p. 1.
 " **POST-CLASSICAL**, p. 7.
Autun, pp. 35, 77-8.
Auxerre, p. 77.
Avenches, city of, pp. 35, 77-8.
Aylesford, pp. 23, 154.
- Battle Bridge**, p. 172.
Bayswater Road, p. 53.
Bear Garden, Southwark, p. 43.
Beaurains, near Arras, medallion found at, pp. 33, 188.
Beauvais, p. 78.
Beddington, early Saxon Cemetery at, p. 65.
Bell Alley, *see* **Copthall Avenue**.
Bell Yard, Gracechurch Street, p. 121.
Berkshire, pp. 64-5.
Bermondsey, p. 12.
Bethlehem Hospital, p. 89.
Bethnal Green, pp. 55, 164.
Bevis Marks, pp. 85 (structural remains); 100 (bastion); 139.
Billingsgate, pp. 46, 107, 193.
Billiter Street, p. 118.
Birchin Lane, pp. 107, 116, 119, 128, 189.
Birkbeck Bank, site of, p. 165.
Bishops, BRITISH, pp. 1, 4, 34.
Bishopsgate, and neighbourhood, pp. 14, 27, 31, 35, 48, 55, 76, 86, 97, 99, 111, 116, 159, 173.
 " **Within**, pp. 107-8.

- Bishopsgate Without**, pp. 145, 159.
Bitterne, p. 33.
Blackfriars, pp. 11, 92, 173.
Blackheath, pp. 150, 169.
Blackwall Railway, *see* **Southend Railway**.
Blomfield Street, pp. 18, 43, 87-9, 145, 161.
Bloomsbury, p. 190.
Bond Court, sculptured fragment found near, p. 46.
Bond Street, Old, *see* **Old Bond Street**.
Bonus Eventus or **Genius**, headless figure of, p. 46.
Bordeaux, pp. 60 (inscription), 77.
Borough High Street, Southwark, and neighbourhood, pp. 148, 150, 167, 190.
Botolph Lane, pp. 134, 176, 193.
Botolph's Wharf, pp. 47, 107, 143, 192-4.
Boudicca, Queen of the Icenii, and the Boudiccan Revolt, pp. 1, 16, 32, 35, 42, 44, 47, 51, 57, 76, 79, 186.
Boulogne, Roman town and fort of, pp. 3, 5, 6, 33.
Bow, p. 164.
 " **Bridge**, p. 55.
 " **Church**, *see* **St. Mary-le-Bow**.
 " **Lane**, pp. 30, 155.
Bowyer Tower, *see* **Tower of London**.
Bradwell, Roman fort of, p. 74.
Brass objects, miscellaneous, *see under* **Finds, Miscellaneous**.
Bread Street, pp. 111, 113.
 " **Hill**, p. 108.
Brecon Gaer, Roman fort of, p. 154.
Bregenz, pp. 183, 185.
Brentford, p. 53.
Bretun, JOHN DE, warden of the city, A.D. 1297, p. 193.
Bricks or tiles, stamped, *see* **Stamped bricks or tiles**.
Bridge Street, p. 14.

Caerleon-on-Usk, pp. 5, 60-1, 173.
Caerwent, Monmouthshire, pp. 30, 42, 58, 72, 77, 81-2.
Caesar, Aelius, *see* **Aelius Caesar**.
 " **Constantius Chlorus**, *see* **Constantius Chlorus**.
 " **Julius**, *see* **Julius Caesar**.
Caistor, Lincolnshire, p. 81.
Caistor-by-Norwich, p. 81.
Caligula, EMPEROR, pp. 24, 180.
Calleva Atrebatum, *see* **Silchester**.
Camberwell, p. 11.
 " **Marshes**, p. 56.
Cambrai, p. 65.
Cambrensis Giraldus, *see* **Giraldus Cambrensis**.
Camden, WILLIAM, p. 9.
Camden Gardens, (replaced by **Corfield Street**), p. 164.
Camomile Street, pp. 45-6, 75, 80-1, 86, 100, 111, 139, 153, 174.
Camulodunum, *see* **Colchester**.
Cannon Street, and neighbourhood, pp. 16, 43, 48, 110-13, 125, 135, 155, 170, 177.
 " **Station**, pp. 11, 93, 110, 112.
Canterbury (Daruernum or Durovernum), pp. 3, 10, 33.
Cantii, tribe of the, p. 3.
Cantons or Civitates, p. 58.
Cappadocia, Arrian, legate of, p. 44.
Caracalla, EMPEROR, p. 73; *see also under* **Coins**.
Carausius, EMPEROR, pp. 33, 187; *see also under* **Coins**.
Carinus, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
Carlisle, p. 183.
Carpenters' Buildings, pp. 87-8.
Carpenters' Company Hall, site of, and near-by, pp. 83-9, 190.
Carter Lane, pp. 69, 113.
Carvings, STONE, *see* **Sculpture**.
Casineg Street, *see* **Watling Street**.
Cass School, pp. 85, 100.
Cassibela (Cassibelaunus), pp. 8, 20.
Cassius Dio, pp. 1, 2, 19.

Bridges, ROMAN, OF LONDON, pp. 19, 42, 47-8, 50-1, 94, 98, 107, 114, 136; *see also* APPENDIX V. "Notes on the site of the Roman Bridge at London," pp. 192-4.
Britannia Prima, Province of, p. 61.
 " **Secunda**, Province of, p. 61.
Broad Street, New, pp. 94, 161.
 " **Old**, pp. 45, 108, 155.
Brock, E. P. LOFTUS, p. 10.
Bronze Age, pp. 12, 20.
 " **Objects**, miscellaneous, *see under* **Finds, Miscellaneous**.
Brute, p. 8.
Bucklersbury, pp. 48, 79, 109.
Budge Row, pp. 110, 141, 170.
Buildings, PRIVATE (dwelling-houses, shops, stores, work-shops), pp. 44-5.
Buntingford, Hertfordshire, p. 55.
Burials, *see* APPENDIX I, pp. 153-169:—(BURIALS WITHIN THE COMPASS OF THE ROMAN TOWN WALL, pp. 153-5; BURIALS WITHOUT, BUT CLOSE TO THE TOWN WALL, pp. 157-163; BURIALS MORE REMOTE, WITHIN THE LONDON DISTRICT, pp. 163-169); *see also* pp. 12, 15, 28-32, 35, 49, 50, 52-3, 55-6, 65 (Saxon burials), 76, 79, 87, 99, 111, 121, 135, 137, 139, 140, 145.
Bury, J. B., p. 7.
Burwood Place, p. 54.
Bush Lane and Little Bush Lane, pp. 48, 93, 110, 111, 143.
Busts, *see* **Statues**.
Butcher Hall Lane, *see* **King Edward Street**.
Byzantine Emperors, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
Byzantium, Stephen of, *see* **Stephen of Byzantium**.

Castle Street, *see* **Goring Street**.
Castle Street, Southwark, p. 148.
Cateaton Street, formerly, *see* **Gresham Street**.
Causeways, pp. 49, 56, 139, 143.
Celtic Bronze Coin, *see under* **Coins**.
Celtic Pile-Dwellings, pp. 19, 20.
Cemeteries, *see* **Burials**.
Chapel Court, Poultry, p. 136.
Charing Cross Hospital, p. 165.
Charlton, p. 150.
Charon, representation of, p. 140.
Cheapside, pp. 49, 113, 123, 153-4, 185, 190.
Chequers Court, formerly, p. 110.
Chester, pp. 30, 49, 60-1, 81.
Chichester, *see* **Regnum**.
Chlorus, Constantius, *see* **Constantius Chlorus**.
Christianity, and evidences of, pp. 1, 4, 7, 34, 43, 67.
Christ's Hospital (now part of **General Post Office**), pp. 72, 75, 80-1, 91, 94 (ditch), 104 (bastion), 163 (burials), 190 (coins).
Chroniclers, MEDIAEVAL, *see* **Authorities**, POST-CLASSICAL.
Church Lane, Whitechapel, p. 172.
Churches, Saxon, p. 50.
Cirencester, pp. 33, 35, 42, 50, 61.
Cists, *see* **Burials**.
City of London School, Honey Lane, p. 122.
Civilis, revolt of, p. 26.
Civitates, *see* **Cantons**.
Clapton, Lower, pp. 11, 56, 164, 173, 189.
 " **Upper**, p. 164.
Classical Authorities, *see* **Authorities**, CLASSICAL.
Claudius, EMPEROR, pp. 19, 24, 27, 29, 57; *see also under* **Coins**.
Claudius Gothicus, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
Clement's Lane, pp. 46, 113.
Clink Street, Southwark, p. 149.
Cloak Lane, pp. 113, 172.

Clothworkers' Hall, pp. 119, 134.

Coal Exchange, Lower Thames Street, pp. 44, 69, 94, 142.

Cockspur Street, pp. 53, 165.

Codex, Toulouse, *see* **Toulouse Codex**.

Coffins :

WOODEN, pp. 31, 139, 155, 161, 163, 165.

LEAD, pp. 73, 145, 157, 163-4, 167, 169.

STONE, pp. 73, 147, 159, 163-5.

Coins, identified :

(*See also* **Mints** and **APPENDIX IV** :—" Roman Coinage in London," pp. 187-191.)

AELIUS CAESAR : p. 189.

AGRIPPA : p. 189.

ALBINUS : p. 189.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS, *see* SEVERUS, ALEXANDER.

ALLECTUS : pp. 33, 89, 135, 188-191.

ANDRONICUS II : p. 190.

ANTONINUS PIUS : pp. 87, 111, 128, 130, 138, 141, 142, 153, 159, 189, 190.

ARCADIUS : pp. 43, 64, 175, 190.

AUGUSTUS : pp. 51, 190-1.

BYZANTINE EMPERORS, p. 190.

CAESAR, AELIUS, *see* AELIUS CAESAR.

" JULIUS, *see* JULIUS CAESAR.

CARACALLA : p. 125.

CARAUSIUS : pp. 33, 141, 188, 190.

CARINUS : p. 189.

CELTIC BRONZE COIN : p. 167.

CLAUDIUS : pp. 28, 31, 32, 117, 125, 135, 139, 141, 150, 151, 154, 159, 167, 189, 190.

" GOTHICUS : pp. 77, 169, 190.

COMMODUS : pp. 135, 189, 190-1.

CONSTANS : pp. 141, 191.

CONSTANTINE FAMILY : p. 150-1.

" I THE GREAT : pp. 164, 188-190.

" II : p. 190.

CONSTANTIUS I : pp. 141, 188, 190.

" II : pp. 189, 190.

CRISPUS : pp. 188, 190.

DECENTIUS : p. 141.

DIOCLETIAN : pp. 188-9, 191.

DOMITIAN : pp. 30, 125, 130, 135, 138, 141, 149, 155, 190.

DOMNA, JULIA, *see* JULIA DOMNA.

DRUSUS : p. 51.

FAUSTA : p. 190.

FAUSTINAE, THE : pp. 73, 87, 135, 138, 141, 149, 189, 190.

GALBA : pp. 32, 189, 190.

GALLIENUS : pp. 56, 189.

GALLUS, TREBONIANUS, *see* TREBONIANUS GALLUS.

GORDIAN : p. 164.

GRATIAN : pp. 138, 161, 188.

HADRIAN : pp. 130, 138, 189, 190.

HELENA : pp. 188, 190.

HONORIUS : pp. 43, 64, 151, 175, 190-1, 194.

JEWISH COINS, second revolt : p. 190.

JULIA AUGUSTA : p. 117.

" DOMNA : p. 190.

" MAMMAEA : p. 125.

JULIUS CAESAR : pp. 164, 189, 194.

JUSTIN : pp. 149, 190.

LICINIUS : pp. 188, 190.

LUCILLA : p. 189.

MAGNENTIUS : pp. 141, 191.

MAGNUS MAXIMUS : p. 188.

MARCUS AURELIUS : pp. 73, 138, 142, 189, 190.

MARK ANTONY : p. 151.

MAXIMIAN : pp. 188, 190.

NERO : pp. 58, 128, 130, 137, 142, 159, 167, 189, 190.

NERVA : pp. 130, 138, 141, 190.

OTACILIA : p. 190.

PERTINAX : p. 191.

PHILIP (THE ARAB) : p. 191.

Coins, identified : *contd.*

POSTUMUS : p. 189.

PUPIENUS : p. 164.

RICHBOROUGH, coins found at : p. 64.

SABINA : p. 190.

SALONINA (wife of Gallienus) : pp. 161, 189.

SALONINUS : p. 189.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, *see* SEVERUS, SEPTIMIUS.

SEVERUS, ALEXANDER : pp. 125, 189, 190-1, 194.

" SEPTIMIUS : pp. 125, 138, 149, 190-1.

TETRICUS : pp. 33, 77, 149, 169, 189, 190.

THEODOSIUS I : p. 188.

TIBERIUS : p. 149.

TRAJAN : pp. 130, 138, 159, 189, 190-1.

" DECIUS : p. 189.

TREBONIANUS GALLUS : p. 191.

URBS ROMA : pp. 82, 190.

VALENS : pp. 141, 157, 188, 191.

VALENTINIAN I : pp. 188, 190.

VALERIAN : pp. 189, 191.

VESPASIAN : pp. 30, 117, 125, 129, 130, 135, 138, 149, 155, 159, 165, 189, 190-1.

VICTORINUS : pp. 169, 190.

VITELLIUS : p. 191.

Colchester (Camulodunum), pp. 2, 5, 10, 21-2, 24-7, 30, 33, 35, 49, 57, 59, 61-2, 72, 74, 76, 79, 181.

Colchester Road, *see* section "THE ROMAN ROADS OUTSIDE THE WALLS", pp. 49 *et seq.*

Coleman Street and neighbourhood, pp. 16, 90, 114, 155.

College Street, Dowgate Hill, p. 114.

Cologne, pp. 35, 78, 82.

Colonies, Roman, in Britain, pp. 57-9.

Commerce, *see* **Trade**.

Commodus, Emperor, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.

Constans, Emperor, pp. 34, 59; *see also under* **Coins**.

Constantine family, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.

Constantine I the Great, Emperor, pp. 33, 59; *see also under* **Coins**.

Constantine II, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.

Constantine's Vision of the Cross, disc-head of pin thought to represent, p. 43.

Constantinople, coins from mint of, p. 190.

Constantius I (Chlorus), Emperor, pp. 1, 3, 33, 61, 79, 187; *see also under* **Coins**.

" II, p. 188; *see also under* **Coins**.

Cooper's Row, p. 83.

Copthall Avenue (formerly **Little Bell Alley**), pp. 89, 115.

Corbet Court, Gracechurch Street, pp. 115, 120-1, 127.

Corfield Street (formerly **Camden Gardens**), p. 164.

Cornhill, pp. 43, 107, 115, 119, 121.

Council of Arles, *see* **Arles, Council of**.

" **Provincial**, pp. 57, 59, 62, 170.

Crecganford (possibly **Crayford** in Kent), pp. 62, 66.

Creed Lane, *see* **Ludgate Square**.

Cremation-burials, *see* **Burials**.

Cripplegate, and neighbourhood, pp. 79, 90, 97.

Crispus, Caesar, p. 188; *see also under* **Coins**.

Crooked Lane, pp. 30, 116, 129, 155.

Crosby Hall, Bishopsgate, near site of, p. 108.

" **Square, Bishopsgate**, p. 116.

Crown Court, Threadneedle Street, p. 144.

Croydon, early Saxon Cemetery at, p. 65.

Crutched Friars, Northumberland Avenue, pp. 85, 116, 123.

Cullum Street, pp. 117-8.

Cult, Attis-Cybele, *see* **Attis-Cybele Cult**.

" *see* **Divinity of the Emperor**.

Culverts, *see* **Drains**.

Cunobelin, pp. 25-7, 181.

Cupid, figure of, p. 163.

Cure's College, Southwark Street, p. 150.

Custom House, pp. 46-7, 49, 143.

Custom House and Officers, Roman, *see* **Portitores**.

Cybele, *see* **Attis-Cybele Cult**.

Cyzicus, coins from mint of, p. 190.

- Dacia**, pp. 26, 181.
Dagenham, p. 13.
Dartford, p. 13.
Daruernum or **Durovernum**, *see* **Canterbury**.
Dead Meat and Poultry Market, Smithfield, p. 161.
Deaf and Dumb Asylum, Old Kent Road, burial at, pp. 52, 167.
Decentius, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
Defences, The, pp. 69-99.
Deptford, pp. 12, 51-2.
Deverell Street, Kent Road, pp. 52, 148, 167.
Diana, pp. 9, 43, 140, 154, 177.
Dicalidones, tribe of the, p. 6.
Dijon, p. 78.
Dio, Cassius, *see* **Cassius Dio**.
Diocletian, EMPEROR, pp. 62, 77, 187; *see also under* **Coins**.
Distaff Lane, p. 111.
Ditch, The, *see* **Special Section**, pp. 94-6; *also* p. 72.
Divinity of the Emperor; Emperor-Worship; Imperial Cult, pp. 43, 56-9, 62, 170.
Dominicans, CONVENT OF THE, p. 69.
-
- Ealdredesgate=Aldersgate**.
East Ham, pp. 56, 164.
East India Co's Warehouses, Northumberland Alley, p. 116.
East India House, Leadenhall Street, p. 127.
Eastcheap, pp. 32, 48, 54, 116.
Eboracum, *see* **York**.
Eborius, Bishop of York, p. 5.
Edgware Road, pp. 50, 53.
Edict of Milan, p. 34.
Egypt, GRANITE exported from, to Rome, in classical times, p. 42.
Eltham, p. 169.
Embankment, Riverside, pp. 12, 129.
Emperor, Divinity of the, *see* **Divinity of the Emperor**.
-
- Farringdon Street**, pp. 14, 161.
Fausta, EMPRESS, p. 188.
Faustinae, The, EMPRESSES, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
Fenchurch Street, and neighbourhood, pp. 22-3, 27, 29, 31, 35, 117-9, 155 (burial), 189 (coins).
Fetter Lane, p. 189.
Finch Lane, pp. 119, 143.
Finds, Miscellaneous Recorded (lamps, forceps, statuettes, rings, sandals, keys, bells, scales, seals, knives, awls, chisels, etc.), pp. 43-6, 53, 87-9, 94, 104, 107, 113-5, 117-8, 121, 125, 127, 129, 130, 134-42, 145, 147, 149, 150, 154, 157, 161, 163, 167, 175-6, 194.
BRASS OBJECTS: p. 194.
BRONZE OBJECTS: pp. 43, 44, 46, 118, 121, 130, 136-7, 140, 154, 157, 163, 175, 194.
GLASS VESSELS, etc.: pp. 113, 117, 130, 135, 141, 147, 149, 157, 167.
GOLD OBJECTS: pp. 137, 161, 175.
IRON OBJECTS: pp. 130, 135, 137-8, 167, 175, 194.
IVORY OBJECTS: pp. 154, 163.
JET OBJECTS: pp. 157, 161.
LEAD OBJECTS: pp. 145, 194.
LEATHER OBJECTS: pp. 16, 46, 130, 138, 176.
MARBLE OBJECTS: pp. 46, 150, 194.
PEWTER OBJECTS: pp. 43, 175.
SILVER OBJECTS: pp. 43, 175, 194.
TERRA-COTTA OBJECTS: pp. 118, 167.
-
- Domitian**, EMPEROR, p. 24; *see also under* **Coins**.
Domna, Julia, *see* **Julia Domna**.
Dorchester, Oxfordshire, p. 65.
Dorset, p. 64.
Dover, *see* **Dubris Portus**.
Dover Street, Great, *see* **Great Dover Street**.
Dowgate Hill, pp. 14, 114, 116.
Drains and Drainage, AQUEDUCTS, CULVERTS, etc., pp. 15-8, 48-9, 87-9, 97, 109, 113, 125, 132, 134, 142-4, 147, 149.
Drobeta, town of Dacia, pp. 26, 181.
Drury Lane, p. 174.
Drusus, CAESAR, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
Dubris Portus (Dover), pp. 3, 32, 49, 50.
Dugdale, SIR WILLIAM, p. 9.
Duke Street, pp. 80, 85.
Duke's Place, p. 100.
Dun Cow, Old Kent Road, burial at, pp. 52, 167.
Dunster Court, p. 134.
Dyers' Hall, College Street, Dowgate Hill, p. 114.
-
- Endell Street**, p. 165.
Enfield, p. 55.
Eppillus, son of Commius, coins of, p. 181.
Erith, Kent, p. 13.
Ermine Street, *see* **section THE ROMAN ROADS OUTSIDE THE WALLS**, p. 49 *et seq*; *also* pp. 73, 97.
Eros, p. 180.
Essex, p. 64.
Ethelred II, Charter of, to Westminster Abbey, p. 53.
Etruscan Burial-grounds, p. 29.
Eumenius, pp. 1, 3, 33.
Eutropius, p. 33.
Excise Office, Broad Street, pavement on site of old, pp. 107-8.
-
- Finsbury**, pp. 14-5, 20.
" Chambers, p. 89.
" Circus, pp. 18, 161.
Fire of London (1666), p. 9.
Fish Street Hill (Old), pp. 119, 143, 194.
Flavia Caesariensis, Province of, pp. 8, 61.
Fleet, River, pp. 11, 14, 32, 51.
" Lane, near, p. 106.
" Street, and neighbourhood, pp. 53, 99.
Folkestone, pottery found at, p. 22.
Ford, Old, *see* **Old Ford**.
Fords, p. 19.
Forests, SUNKEN, p. 13.
Forts, *see* **" Saxon Shore " Forts**.
Forum or Market Place, p. 42.
Foster Lane, p. 120.
Founders Court, Lothbury, pp. 46, 130.
Foxton, Cambridgeshire, p. 180.
Franks, tribe of the, pp. 4-6, 65-7.
Fréjus, pp. 77-8, 81.
French Protestant Church, Threadneedle Street, site of, pp. 90, 143.
Frescoes, *see* **Plaster, painted**.
Friday Street, and **Little Friday Street**, p. 119.
Frilford, Berkshire (Saxon site), p. 65.

- Galba**, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
Gallembourne (Saxon name of the Walbrook), *see* **Walbrook The**.
Gallia Comata, Province of, p. 59.
 " **Narbonensis**, Province of, p. 56.
Gallienus, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
Gallo-Roman Cities, pp. 35, 77-8.
Gallus, p. 16.
Garlick Hill, *see* **Maiden Lane**.
Gates, The, *see* **Special Section**, pp. 97-9.
Gaul, and the Gauls, pp. 5, 6, 24, 26, 57-8, 63-4, 66-7, 74, 77-9, 81, 179, 183, 188.
Gaulish Pottery, *see* **Pottery**.
General Post Office, Old, St. Martin le Grand, site of, pp. 21, 27-8, 35, 43-4, 154, 175-6, 183, 190.
 " " " **New, see **Christ's Hospital**.
Genius or Bonus Eventus, headless figure of, p. 46.
Geoffrey of Monmouth, pp. 8, 16, 63.
Geographical and Geological Setting, pp. 10 *et seq.*
George Street, p. 85.
 " " **Little**, p. 100.
Germanus, St., pp. 62-3, 65-7.
Germany and the Germans, pp. 2, 24, 34, 56, 63, 65, 67, 77.
Gibbs. Anthony Gibbs' Counting House, No. 15, Bishops-gate Street, p. 108.
Gibson, EDMUND, p. 9.
Gildas, p. 63.
Giraldus Cambrensis, pp. 8, 61.
Glass Objects, miscellaneous, *see under* **Finds, Miscellaneous**.
Glass-Working, possible traces of, pp. 46, 113.
Gloucester, p. 57.
Gold Objects, miscellaneous, *see under* **Finds, Miscellaneous**.
Goldhawk Road, Hammersmith, p. 53.**
-
- Hackney Marsh**, *see* **Temple Mills**.
Hadrian, EMPEROR, pp. 43-4, 58, 194; *see also under* **Coins**.
Hadrian's Wall, p. 60.
Half Moon Court, p. 120.
 " **Passage**, p. 121.
Hallelujah Victory, p. 63.
Haltern, Roman Station of, pp. 179-81.
Hammersmith, pp. 12, 53, 194.
Hampshire, pp. 22, 33, 64; *see also* **Silchester**.
Hampstead, pp. 11-2.
Harpocrates, recorded find of silver figure of, p. 194.
Harrow, p. 12.
Haverfield, F., p. 10.
Haydon Square, p. 157.
Helena, EMPRESS, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
Hengist, p. 62.
Hengistbury Head, Hampshire, p. 22.
Heracleia, city of, coins from mint of, p. 190.
Herculaneum, city of, p. 74.
Heruli, tribe of the, p. 6.
High Street, Southwark, *see* **Borough High Street**.
Highgate, p. 189.
-
- Iceni**, tribe of the, p. 1.
Imperial Towns, Gallic, table of areas of, p. 78.
Inhumation-Burials, *see* **Burials**.
 " **Rite of**, pp. 30, 76.
Inscriptions of Roman London, *see* APPENDIX II, pp. 170-7; *see also* pp. 43, 59.
 " **SPURIOUS**, p. 177.
Insulae, pp. 48-9.
Iron Age, Early, pp. 12, 20.
-
- Goldsmiths' Hall, Foster Lane**, altar to Diana now in, pp. 120, 177.
Goodman's Fields, p. 157 (burials), 171.
Gordian, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
Gordon & Co., Premises of, Bishopsgate Street, Within, p. 108.
Goring Street (formerly **Castle Street**), and neighbourhood, pp. 72, 80, 85, 100, 159, 174.
Gothicus, Claudius, *see* **CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS**, *under* **Coins**.
Gough, RICHARD, p. 9.
Gracechurch Street, and neighbourhood, pp. 32, 40-2, 44, 115, 118, 120, 127, 129, 185-6.
Graffiti, pp. 176-7.
Gratian, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
Gravel Lane, p. 100.
Gray's Inn Road, pp. 164-5.
Great Alie Street, *see* **Alie Street**.
 " **Dover Street**, pp. 52, 167.
 " **Eastcheap**, *see* **Eastcheap**.
 " **Tower Street**, p. 155.
 " **Trinity Lane**, p. 111.
Greco-Roman Sculpture, p. 46.
Greenwich, pp. 51, 151.
Gregory, POPE, p. 60.
Grenoble, p. 77.
Gresham House Court, p. 108.
 " **Street** (formerly **Maiden Lane, Lad Lane**, and **Gateaton Street**), p. 121.
Grimmlinghausen, pp. 24, 180-1.
Grocers' Hall, Princes Street, p. 121.
Grosvenor House, Park Lane, p. 54.
Grove Street, Southwark (probably **The Grove**, now part of **Ewer Street**), pp. 167, 190.
Guildford Street, Southwark, p. 148.
Guildhall, p. 122.
-
- Historians**, *see* **Authorities**.
Hoards of Coins, chief finds of, pp. 189-90.
Hod Hill, p. 185.
Hofheim, Roman Station of, pp. 23-4, 181-5.
Holborn, pp. 35, 55, 147, 164-5.
 " **Circus**, p. 164.
 " **Viaduct**, p. 163.
Holiday Yard, Greed Lane, *see* **Ludgate Square**.
Honey Lane, p. 122.
Honorius, EMPEROR, pp. 62, 66, 82; *see also under* **Coins**.
Horncastle, p. 81.
Horsley, JOHN, pp. 7, 8.
Horsleydown, p. 12.
Hosier Lane, Smithfield, p. 163.
Houndsditch, pp. 174-5.
Hoxton, p. 15.
Huggin Lane, Thames Street, p. 123.
 " **Wood Street**, p. 123.
Huns, p. 67.
Hut-Circles. (STRUCTURAL REMAINS OF ROMANO-BRITISH HUTS AT TILBURY), p. 13; *see also* p. 151.
Hyde Park, pp. 53, 147.
Hypocausts, pp. 44, 109, 110, 119, 121, 132, 134-6, 141-2, 148.
-
- Irish**, The, p. 63.
Iron Objects, miscellaneous, *see under* **Finds, Miscellaneous**.
Isis, p. 43.
Isle of Wight, *see* **Wight, Isle of**.
Islington, pp. 45, 174-5.
Italian Traders, p. 32.
 " **Ware**, *see under* **Pottery**.
Ivory Objects, *see under* **Finds, Miscellaneous**.
Ivy Lane, p. 135.

Janus, head in marble, p. 150.
 Jerome, St., pp. 7, 59.
 Jet Objects, miscellaneous, *see under* Finds, Miscellaneous.
 Jewish Coins, *see under* Coins.
 Jewry, Old, *see* Old Jewry.
 " Street, pp. 85, 100, 123.
 Jocelin, of Furness, p. 8.
 John Street, neighbourhood of, p. 100 (bastion).

Kempe, ALFRED JOHN, p. 10.
 Kensington, p. 53.
 Kent, pp. 13, 61.
 " Road, and Old Kent Road, pp. 52, 148, 150, 167.
 Kilns, Pottery, pp. 11, 32, 46, 140.
 King Edward Street (formerly Butcher Hall Lane), and neighbourhood, pp. 91, 94, 104, 123.
 King Street, Cheapside, p. 123.
 " " Southwark, p. 167.

Lad Lane, formerly, *see* Gresham Street.
 Lake-Dwellings, prehistoric, p. 19.
 Lambert, FRANK, p. 10.
 Lambeth, pp. 12, 50.
 " Hill, pp. 69, 92, 125.
 Lamb's Conduit Street, p. 175.
 Lane-Fox, COLONEL (afterwards GENERAL Pitt-Rivers), p. 10.
 Laurence Pountney Lane, pp. 125, 155.
 Lay-out and street-plan of the walled city, p. 47.
 Le Mans, p. 78.
 Lea, River, pp. 11, 15, 55-6.
 Lead Objects, miscellaneous, *see under* Finds, Miscellaneous.
 Leadenhall Market, pp. 14, 31, 35, 121, 127, 179.
 " Street, pp. 45, 127, 185.
 Leather Goods, *see under* Finds, Miscellaneous.
 Leatherhead Downs, pp. 52-3.
 Legend of the original foundation of London, p. 8.
 Lemanis Portus, *see* Lymne.
 Lethaby, PROFESSOR W. R., p. 10.
 Lexden, near Colchester, p. 27.
 Licinius, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* Coins.
 Lime Street, pp. 118, 128, 189, 191.
 Lincoln (Lindum), Roman Colony of, pp. 3, 5, 57, 60.
 Little Alie Street, *see* Alie Street.
 " Bell Alley, *see* Copthall Avenue.
 " Bush Lane, p. 110.
 " Eastcheap, *see* Eastcheap.
 " George Street, *see* George Street, Little.
 " Friday Street, *see* Friday Street, Little.
 " St. Helens, *see* St. Helens, Little.
 " St. Thomas Apostle, *see* St. Thomas Apostle.
 Liverpool Street, p. 159.
 Livy (Liui), p. 8.
 Lloyds, Leadenhall Street, site of, p. 128.
 London IN A.D. 43, *see* Special Section, pp. 19-27.

Macdonald, SIR GEORGE, p. 10.
 Magnentius, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* Coins.
 Magnus Maximus, EMPEROR, pp. 33, 59; coins of, *see under* Coins.
 Maiden Lane, Battle Bridge, p. 172.
 " " Garlick Hill, p. 132.
 " " formerly, *see* Gresham Street.
 Maitland, WILLIAM, p. 9.
 Malcolm, JAMES PELLER, p. 9.
 Mammaea, Julia, *see* JULIA MAMMAEA, *under* Coins.
 Mansell Street, pp. 157, 159.

Jovian Legion, p. 6.
 Julia Augusta, EMPRESS, coins of, *see under* Coins.
 " Domna, " " " "
 " Mammaea, " " " "
 Julian, EMPEROR, pp. 5, 34, 60.
 Julius Caesar, p. 8; *see also under* Coins.
 Justin, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* Coins.
 Jutes, tribe of the, pp. 63, 67.

King William Street, and neighbourhood, pp. 11, 29-32, 44, 48, 106, 123, 186.
 Kingston or Kingston, de, RICHARD, p. 193.
 King's Arms Yard, Moorgate Street, p. 123.
 " Head Yard, High Street, Southwark, p. 149.
 Kingsland Road, p. 55.
 Knight, CHARLES, p. 9.
 Knighttrider Street, pp. 108, 120, 125, 141.

London IN A.D. 60, *see* Special Section, pp. 27-32.
 " AFTER A.D. 60, *see* Special Section, pp. 33-56.
 " IN THE 5TH CENTURY, *see* Special Section, pp. 62-7.
 " STATUS OF ROMAN LONDON, *see* Special Section, pp. 56-62.
 " COINS FROM MINT OF, *see* APPENDIX IV (1) " The Roman Mint of London," pp. 187-8, and p. 59.
 " Bridge, and neighbourhood, pp. 14, 32, 42, 47, 51-2, 56, 125, 190, 194.
 " " Station, pp. 116, 129, 179, 185, 189.
 " Coffee House, p. 173.
 " Orphan Asylum, Clapton, p. 164.
 " Stone, pp. 48, 111.
 " Street, p. 118.
 " Wall, and neighbourhood, pp. 15-6, 19, 20, 43, 86-90, 130, 155, 173-4, 190.
 Long Lane, Smithfield, p. 147.
 Long Reach, p. 13.
 Lot, p. 63.
 Lothbury, pp. 43, 106-7, 114, 130, 176.
 Love Lane, Wood Street, p. 132.
 Lower Clapton, *see* Clapton, Lower.
 " Thames Street, *see* Thames Street, Lower.
 Lucilla, coins of, *see under* Coins.
 Lud, King, p. 8.
 Ludgate, and neighbourhood, pp. 8, 53, 55, 69, 99, 106.
 " Hill, pp. 14, 173.
 " Square (formerly Holiday Yard, Creed Lane), p. 132.
 Lugdunum, *see* Lyon.
 Luguvalium (Carlisle), p. 3.
 Lupicinus, ROMAN GENERAL, pp. 5, 34, 60.
 Lupus, p. 62.
 Lymne or Lypne (Portus Lemanis), Roman fort of, pp. 3, 74.
 Lyon (Lugdunum), city of, pp. 35, 56-9, 78, 188, 190.

Mansion House, site of, pp. 14, 132.
 Marble Arch, pp. 50, 53-5.
 Marble Objects, miscellaneous, *see under* Finds, Miscellaneous.
 Marcellinus, Ammianus, *see* Ammianus Marcellinus.
 Marcian, p. 7.
 Marcus Aurelius, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* Coins.
 Margidunum, Roman Town of, pottery found at, p. 22.
 Marinus, p. 2.
 Maritime Trade, p. 12.
 Mark Antony, coins of, *see under* Coins.

- Mark Lane**, pp. 55, 132, 155.
Market, SITE OF MEDIAEVAL, p. 31.
Marne, potters of the, p. 21.
Martin, DR. WILLIAM, p. 10.
Maxima Caesariensis (Province of), p. 61.
Maximian, EMPEROR, pp. 77, 187; coins of, *see under* Coins.
Maximus, Magnus, *see* Magnus Maximus.
Medallion, recording triumphal entry of Constantius Chlorus into London, pp. 33, 188.
Medway Estuary and Valley, pp. 23, 66.
Merchant Taylors' Hall, neighbourhood of, p. 144.
School, p. 141.
Middlesex, " 64.
Milan, Edict of, *see* Edict of Milan.
Miles Lane, and neighbourhood, pp. 22, 32, 46, 132, 134.
Mincing Lane, pp. 44, 117-8, 134.
Minerva, figures of, p. 167.
Minorities, The, pp. 76, 157.
Mint, The, site of, p. 15.
Mint Street, Southwark, p. 149.

Mints, pp. 24 (pre-Roman at Silchester), 27, 33, 43, 59, 60, 190; *see also* APPENDIX IV, Section (1) "The Roman Mint of London," pp. 187-8.
Miscellaneous finds recorded, *see* Finds, Miscellaneous.
Mitcham, early Saxon Cemetery at, p. 65.
Mithras, pp. 43, 170.
Mitre Street, Southwark, p. 149.
Moesians, tribe of the, p. 5.
Mommsen, T., p. 7.
Monkwell Street, pp. 104, 186.
Monmouth, Geoffrey of, *see* Geoffrey of Monmouth.
Mont Beuvray, p. 180.
Montague Court, p. 145.
Monument, The, and neighbourhood of, pp. 69, 134.
Monument Street, p. 134.
Moorfields, pp. 18, 161.
Moorgate, pp. 80, 97.
" Street, pp. 89, 114, 123, 135, 161, 171.
Mortlake, p. 12.
Mosaic Pavements, *see under* Pavements.
Mother Goddesses, The, Sculpture representing, pp. 43, 45, 141, 170.
Municipalities, p. 58.

Nantes, p. 78.
Nantgallim, *see* Walbrook, The.
Narbonne, City of, p. 57.
National Safe Deposit Co's Premises, Queen Victoria Street, pp. 31, 137, 185.
Navy Pay Office, Old, *see* Winchester House.
Nero, EMPEROR, p. 27; coins of, *see under* Coins.
Nerva, " coins of, *see under* Coins.
Neuss, Roman Station of, p. 181.
New Broad Street, *see* Broad Street, New.
" Cannon Street, *see* Cannon Street, New.
" Cross, p. 12.
" Oxford Street, *see* Oxford Street, New.
" Street, p. 181.
Newcastle Street, p. 163.
Newgate, and neighbourhood, pp. 49, 55, 71, 73, 75-6, 79, 82, 91-2, 98, 106, 154, 161.

Newgate Market, *see* Paternoster Square.
" Prison, site of, p. 96 (ditch).
" Street, pp. 154-5, 176.
Newington, site of Trinity Church, pp. 52, 167.
Newstead, p. 154.
Nicholas Lane, pp. 60, 125, 135, 170, 189.
Nicomedia, city of, coins from mint of, p. 190.
Nimes, city of, pp. 35, 77-8, 81.
Noiomagus (*see* Noviomagus).
Norfolk, p. 27.
Norman, DR. PHILIP, p. 10.
Norman, Prior of Holy Trinity, 1108-47, p. 97.
Northumberland, pp. 64, 76.
" Alley, p. 116.
Notitia Dignitatum, pp. 1, 7, 33.
Notting Hill, pp. 55, 164-5.
Noviomagus, pp. 2, 151.

Oculist's Inscription, p. 176.
Old Bailey, pp. 92 (structural remains), 163 (burial).
" Bond Street, p. 147.
" Broad Street, *see* Broad Street, Old.
" Ford, pp. 55, 164, 189.
" Jewry, p. 140.
" Kent Road, *see* Kent Road, Old.
" Street, p. 56.
Ordnance Office, Tower Hill, p. 172.

Page, WILLIAM, p. 10.
Paintings, Wall, *see* Plaster, Painted.
Palace of Roman Governor, p. 110.
Pancras Lane, p. 135.
Paris, p. 5.
Park Lane, p. 54.
" Street, Southwark, pp. 149, 150.
Paternoster Row, pp. 31, 135, 153-4.
" Square (formerly Newgate Market), p. 135, 186.
Paulinus, Suetonius, *see* Suetonius Paulinus.
Pavements:
MOSAIC: pp. 16, 45, 47, 106-9, 111, 113, 116, 118-9, 127, 135-6, 139, 141, 143, 147, 149.
HERRINGBONE: pp. 55, 109, 113, 114, 121, 128.

Pedestal Urns, *see* Pottery.
Pelagian Heresy, pp. 62-3.
Peninsular Steam Navigation Co's. Premises, Leadenhall Street, site of, p. 127.
Perigueux, city of, p. 78.
Pertinax, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* Coins.
Peter of Colechurch, p. 192.
Petilius Cerealis, p. 2.
Pewter Objects, miscellaneous, *see under* Finds, Miscellaneous.
Philip (The Arab), EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* Coins.
Phoenix House, p. 32.
Piccadilly, p. 54.

- Picts**, tribe of the, pp. 5, 6, 34, 63, 65, 67.
Pile-Structures, pp. 16, 18-20, 35, 44, 76, 92, 98, 109, 111, 113-5, 125, 130-2, 139, 143, 192.
Pitt-Rivers, GENERAL, *see* COLONEL Lane-Fox.
Pius, Antoninus, *see* ANTONINUS PIUS, *under* Coins.
Plaster, Painted, pp. 45, 107, 109, 110, 111, 113, 118, 121, 127-9, 137, 139, 141, 144-5, 149, 150, 176.
Plautius, Aulus, *see* Aulus Plautius.
Playhouse Yard, Blackfriars, pp. 92, 173.
Pleshey, Essex, pp. 24, 180.
Plumstead, pp. 13, 169.
Pompeii, city of, p. 74.
Population and Wealth of Roman London, eastward trend of, etc., pp. 27-9, 45, 58.
Portitores, or **Custom Officers**, bricks marked with stamp probably of, pp. 43, 60, 176.
Post Classical Writers on Roman London, *see* Authorities, POST-CLASSICAL.
Post Office, *see* General Post Office.
Postumus, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* Coins.
Potters and Potters' Stamps, pp. 32, 107, 114, 123, 130, 135-6, 140, 176-186.
Pottery :
See Special Sections :—
 POTTERY SUGGESTING PRE-ROMAN TYPES ("coarse," pedestal), pp. 20-4.
Pottery : *contd.*
 POTTERY OF ITALIC ORIGIN (Samian, terra-sigillata, Arretine), pp. 24-7.
 POTTERY (OTHER THAN THAT ASSOCIATED WITH BURIALS) OF A DATE PRIOR TO A.D. 60, pp. 28-9.
 BURIAL URNS, pp. 153-169.
 TERRA-SIGILLATA, PRIOR TO A.D. 60, ((i) Italian Ware ; (ii) Provincial Ware), pp. 179-86 ;
see also pp. 12, 16, 18, 20, 30-2, 130, 135, 137, 140, 153, 169.
Pottery-Kilns, *see* Kilns.
Poultry, pp. 15, 135-6.
Price, J. E., p. 10.
Prince's Street, and neighbourhood, pp. 107, 121, 136.
Private Buildings, dwelling-houses, shops, stores, work-shops, *see* Buildings, Private.
Prospectors, possibly early Roman, p. 26.
Prosper of Aquitaine, p. 63.
Provinces, Britain broken up into, pp. 60-1.
Provincial Council, p. 44, 59.
 " **Ware**, *see* Pottery.
Ptolemy, pp. 2, 33.
Pudding Lane, pp. 134, 136, 176, 193.
Pupienus, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* Coins.
Purfleet, p. 13.
Putney, objects found at, p. 194.
-
- Quadrant Arcade, Regent Street**, p. 165.
Queen Street, and near-by, pp. 46, 111, 136, 141, 155, 190.
-
- Radcliffe Field**, p. 163.
Rainham, p. 13.
Rape of the Sabines, *see* Sabines.
Ravennas, Anonymus or the Ravenna Geographer, pp. 1, 7.
Reader, FRANCIS W., p. 10.
Regent Street, p. 165.
Regnum (Chichester), pp. 3, 49.
Religions, p. 43.
Religious Tract Society's Premises, Paternoster Row, p. 135.
Rennes, city of, p. 78.
Restitutius, BISHOP OF LONDON, pp. 5, 34.
Richborough (Rutupiae or Ritupiae), Roman town and fort of, pp. 3, 5, 6, 23, 33, 34, 64, 66, 74, 81, 181, 183.
-
- Queen Victoria Street**, pp. 49, 108-9, 111, 123, 137, 145, 185-6.
Queenhithe, pp. 80, 92, 143.
-
- Roads**, pp. 42, 57, 79, 116, 130, 137, 145 ; *see also* Special Section, THE ROMAN ROADS OUTSIDE THE WALLS, pp. 49-56.
Rochester Buildings, Leadenhall Street, site of, p. 128.
Rockholt House, p. 56.
Roman Wall House, p. 85.
Rome, pp. 42, 56, 179, 190.
Rose Street, p. 135.
Rotherhithe, p. 56.
Rottwell, *see* Arae Flaviae.
Royal Exchange, and neighbourhood, pp. 115, 119, 137.
Rutupiae, *see* Richborough.
-
- S. Colombe**, p. 35.
Sabina, coins of, *see under* Coins.
Sabines, Rape of the, fragment from scene representing, p. 46.
St. Albans, pp. 50, 53.
St. Alphege's Churchyard, p. 90.
St. Andrew Hubbard, Eastcheap, site of, p. 117.
St. Augustine, *see* Augustine, St.
St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Smithfield, pp. 161, 163.
St. Benet's, Gracechurch, site of, p. 120.
 " **Place**, p. 120.
St. Botolph's Churchyard, Aldersgate, pp. 91, 145.
St. Clement's Church, Cheapside, near, p. 113.
 " **King William Street**, p. 125.
St. Dunstan's Hill, pp. 139, 155.
St. Gabriel's Church, Fenchurch Street, site of, p. 118.
St. George's Church, Southwark, p. 149.
 " **Fields** (now represented by **St. George's Circus and Borough Road, Southwark**), pp. 12, 52, 149, 167, 169.
 " **Street, Shadwell**, p. 56.
St. Germanus, *see* Germanus, St.
St. Giles' Churchyard, p. 104 (bastion).
St. Helens Little (now **St. Helen's Place**), p. 139.
St. Jerome, *see* Jerome, St.
St. John the Baptist, Walbrook, site of, p. 113.
St. Martin-in-the-Fields, pp. 53, 147, 165.
 " **le-Grand**, pp. 21, 31-2, 139, 153-4 ; *see also*
 " **General Post Office, Old**.
 " **Outwich**, pp. 86, 144.
 " **Ludgate Hill**, p. 173.
St. Mary Axe, pp. 127, 139.
 " **le-Bow, Cheapside**, pp. 49, 113, 139.
 " **Woolnoth**, pp. 128, 139.
St. Matthew's, Friday Street, site of, pp. 119, 120.
St. Michael's, Cornhill, pp. 115-6.
 " **Crooked Lane**, pp. 117, 129, 155.
 " **Gresham Street**, p. 121.
St. Mildred's Court, Poultry, p. 135.
St. Olave's, Old Jewry, p. 140.
 " **Seething Lane**, near, p. 141.
St. Paul's Cathedral, Churchyard, and neighbourhood, pp. 11, 14, 31-2, 76, 140-1, 153-4.
St. Peter's Church, Cornhill, pp. 115-6.

- Tottenham Court Road**, p. 45.
Toulouse, city of, pp. 65, 78.
Toulouse Codex, p. 5.
Tours, city of, p. 78.
Tower Hill, pp. 15, 71-2, 99, 145, 171-2.
 " **of London**, pp. 43, 69, 72, 80, 83, 145, 175, 190.
 " **Postern**, p. 97.
 " **Royal**, p. 111.
Towers, use of, characteristic of the Urban Defences of the Augustan period, p. 81.
Town Wall of London, pp. 14, 31, 35, 69-82 (The Defences), 83-94 (Structural Remains), 94-96 (The Ditch), 97-99 (The Gates), 99-106 (The Bastions).
Trade, pp. 19, 23, 26-7, 32-3, 46, 58-9.
Trafalgar Square, pp. 53, 165.
Traffic, focus of, p. 11.
Trajan, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
 " **Decius**, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
Trapezus (Trebizond), city of, p. 44.
Treasury, at London, pp. 7, 33.
- Ubii**, tribe of the, p. 56.
Union Bank of Australia, site of, p. 115.
 " **Street, Southwark**, p. 167.
Upchurch Pottery, pp. 23, 154.
- Valens**, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
Valentinian, EMPEROR, pp. 5, 34; *see also under* **Coins**.
Valerian, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
Varus, p. 56.
Vauxhall, p. 12.
Veturiones, tribe of the, p. 6.
Venedotians, The, p. 16.
Verulam or **Verulamium** (St. Albans), pp. 2, 26-7, 35, 50, 58, 62-3, 65, 79.
- Walbrook**, pp. 170, 176.
Walbrook, The Stream (Saxon name, GALLEMBOURNE; British name, NANTGALLIM), pp. 11, 14-6, 19, 28, 32, 35, 44, 48, 51, 73, 75-6, 79, 114, 144, 171.
Wall-Paintings, *see* **Plaster, Painted**.
Wall, Town, *see* **Town Wall**.
Walters, H. B., p. 10.
Wandsworth, p. 169.
Wardrobe Tower, *see* **Tower of London**.
Ware, Hertfordshire, p. 55.
Warwick Lane, Newgate Street, p. 176.
 " **Square**, pp. 31, 92 (structural remains), 145, 153-4 (burials), 190 (coins).
Water Lane, Lower Thames Street, p. 145.
 " **Pipes**, *see* **Drains and Drainage**.
 " **Street**, p. 148.
Watling Street (Watling Street (S), formerly known as **Casincg Street**), *see* Section "THE ROMAN ROADS OUTSIDE THE WALLS," pp. 49 *et seq.*; *see also* pp. 57, 60-1, 111, 136, 145.
Weaver, JOHN, p. 9.
Well Court, p. 137.
 " **Street, Jewin Street**, pp. 104, 163, 190.
Wells, pp. 107, 109, 115, 117, 119, 125, 134, 139, 140, 144, 145.
- Trebonianus Gallus**, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
Trier (Treviri), city of, pp. 35, 74, 78, 188, 190 (coins from mint of).
Trinity Church, Newington, burial at, pp. 58, 167.
 " **High Water**, pp. 12-4.
 " **Lane, Queen Victoria Street**, p. 145.
 " **Hospital, Greenwich**, p. 151.
 " **Place**, pp. 72, 83, 99.
 " **Street**, p. 167.
Trinobantes, tribe of the, London supposed at one time to have been named after (TROY NOVA, TRINOBANTUM, TROYNOUANT or TRENOUANT), p. 8.
Troyes, p. 78.
Tudor Street, p. 148.
Turnmill Brook (now **Bridge Street** and **Farringdon Street**), p. 14.
Turnwheel Lane, p. 112.
Twelve tables, Law of the, p. 29.
Tyburn Brook, pp. 54, 56.
- Upper Thames Street**, *see* **Thames Street, Upper**.
Urbs Roma, coins, *see under* **Coins**.
Urns, BURIAL, PEDESTAL, ETC., *see under* **Pottery**.
Uther, King, p. 63.
- Vespasian**, EMPEROR, pp. 26, 57; *see also under* **Coins**.
Victor, Aurelius, *see* **Aurelius Victor**.
Victorian Legion, p. 6.
Victorinus, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
Vienne, city of, pp. 35, 78.
Vikings, The, pp. 65-6.
Vintners' Hall, near, pp. 93, 143.
Visigoths, The, pp. 62, 65, 67.
Vitellius, EMPEROR, coins of, *see under* **Coins**.
- Welwyn**, p. 23.
West Street, Finsbury, p. 161.
Westgetum = Newgate.
Westminster, pp. 11, 26, 49-51, 165.
 " **Abbey and Precincts**, pp. 148, 165, 173, 177.
Wharves, pp. 46-7, 107, 132, 143, 192-4.
Whitechapel, pp. 157, 159, 172.
Whittington Avenue, Leadenhall Street, pavements found near, p. 128.
Wiesbaden, p. 180.
Wight, Isle of, p. 4.
Wiltshire, p. 64.
Winchester, pp. 10, 58, 63.
Winchester House, Broad Street, and near-by, pp. 108-9, 155.
Windsor Court, Monkwell Street, pp. 81, 104.
Wood Street, pp. 43, 121, 123, 132, 145.
Woodward, DR. JOHN, p. 9.
Woolwich, p. 169.
Worcester Street, Southwark, p. 150.
Wren, SIR CHRISTOPHER, p. 9.
Writers on Roman London, *see* **Authorities**.
Wroxeter, pp. 33, 35, 42, 49, 58, 154.

Xanten, Roman fortress of, pp. 180-2.

York (Eboracum), pp. 3, 5, 49, 58, 60-2.
 " **Street, Southwark**, p. 167.

Zosimus, p. 62.

